

THE MODERN REVIEW

JULY 1968



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—Chaitanya

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NOTES

The Lesson of Gaullists Return to Power

The elections in France following the worker-student upheaval have proved that General de Gaulle is not only a mighty restorer of law and order; even if his methods have been barbarous and utterly ruthless; but he is also a master tactician in organising election campaigns; though he harbours no moral scruples. One may defend General de Gaulle's attachment to frightfulness by citing the inhuman rules of all struggles for existence. It was a choice between being beaten into submission by others or beating those others into submission. General de Gaulle risked everything in his fight against those who opposed his plans of making France prosperous and great by following time honoured methods which did not provide any scope to those who did not belong to the selected coteries. He came through successfully though at the cost of his reputation as the leading statesman of

a nation which had made great contributions to human civilisation and progress. The world will not easily forget nor forgive the treatment that his troopers had meted out to the students of Paris. Merciless beatings, attacks with gas grenades, breaking into houses, insulting and assaulting girl students, brutalities which defy description—all added up to give General de Gaulle the notoriety of the *Conquistadores*.

In the elections Gaullists came back to power with 350 seats as against their previous 242 seats out of a total of 485. They called it a landslide victory, for it reduced the seats held by opposing parties very greatly. The Federation of Left came down to 57 seats from 118. Communists to 34 from their previous 73. Centre Party were down to 29 as against 39. But this landslide victory does not give a correct picture of the general feeling for and against Gen. de Gaulle. The total number of voters who

voted for the Gaullists in the first round numbered 10 millions and those who voted for others were 9.1 millions. In the second round Gaullists obtained 6.7 millions and the others 6.1 millions. It was therefore a close shave for the Gaullists and while they ruled France they would be feeling how near they had been to defeat. With a little more unity and organisation the opposers of Gen. de Gaulle can overthrow the present regime and that stands out clearly from the details of votes cast. In many cases Gaullist candidates have won by a few dozen votes. One may say quite truthfully that there are as many supporters of General de Gaulle in France as there are those who wish to see the end his regime.

The upheaval in France and certain other countries which attained the dimensions of a civil war, was not engineered by Communists for the overthrow of capitalism. The forces which opposed authority did not line up against the established governments on account of their faith in Marxism, Maoism or any other creed. They thought power was being abused by the governments concerned to serve the interests of inner circles of persons engaged in controlling political, economic, educational and other institutions and establishments; and that constitutional cures for such abuse of power did not exist. That is why they tried force to put a stop to illicit use of power obtained by constitutional means.

• One can easily understand the mental condition of the people who tried to knock moral sense into men in authority. Influence, wire pulling, corrupt practices in every field of social existence are well known facts of constitutionally established systems

of administration. The purpose of democracy is not the creation of special interests, nor the creation of jobs, contracts, licences and permits for selected persons. Even admissions in educational institutions, the appointment of teachers, the selection of text books and many other advantages connected with the education of boys and girls draw the avid attention of political personages doling out favours to their followers. We do not know if selection of examiners, preparation of question papers and other details of educational organisations also receive the blessings of politicians; but we should not be surprised if such things happened. The involvement of students in political matters must have an element of reciprocity in it. The best way to improve the position in this field is to separate education from politics. If political persons did not interfere in any way with the education of boys and girls, the conditions prevailing in educational centres would vastly improve.

The lesson that one has to learn from France is that abuse of power by officials and politicians is the root cause of student unrest. It is also the cause of carrying on industrial disputes endlessly and without just settlement. Going deeper into the causes of opposition to democratically elected majority governments, we find that the principles of greatest good of the greatest number or of government of the people, by the people and for the people are not observed by the political parties, cliques and coteries. The people are forgotten after they have been made to give their votes and only the party men and their immediate followers and supporters remain to enjoy the favours of persons in power. There are also some who are not partymen,

nor of their entourage, who buy favours by payments made to party funds or to persons of importance. Unless democracy is made clear in its operation and all people obtain, more or less what they are entitled to and deserve, without having to curry favour with very important persons, the oppositions will gain in power and will either overthrow governments by Communistic coups d'etat or by creating everchanging coalitions. The French majority may be overthrown by a new coalition, as may many other majorities in other democratic countries. The cry of "wolf, wolf," against Communism may also become a reality here and there. In fact it is high time the people of all democratically governed countries took an interest in their political affairs and saw that their democracies were real and not farcical. If the rules of democratic constitutions were observed in letter only and not in spirit, that is, if elections were held and people were elected on the party basis and thereafter, the power thus obtained were used only to achieve selfish ends and not for general welfare and to establish the rights of the people, fairplay and justice; then democracy would become a farce and the forces of disorder would seek and obtain the confidence of the people. But these forces too would soon go the way of the parties in power for, the overthrow of a bad government by use of force and disorder could not guarantee the honesty of purpose and the integrity of the leaders who would take over power. There are certain moral principles on which are built the foundations of a social order. If these principles are not observed scrupulously and immorality creeps in everywhere then the foundations are progressively

loosened and the social structure collapses. These are facts which determine the health of all societies, communistic, socialistic, monarchical or of any other type. If the people shut their eyes to these facts and allowed imposters to rule them by use of false promises, lies and corrupt methods, then the people would be responsible for the evils that would inevitably befall them.

Great Men

How do men prove their greatness? In Western Countries they have done so by winning battles or elections. Great scientists, philosophers, artists or writers have also been recognised as great men; but not quite so great as the commanders of victorious armed forces. In the middle ages, in certain highly cultured lands, great artists could perhaps hold their own against generals; but such countries were few and the periods during which sculpture could vie with cavalry charges were of short duration. In ancient times culture occasionally put the names of great thinkers prominently on the map of civilisation, and one gave a high place to the Aristotiles, Platos or Socrateses alongside the Alexanders. But great killers and conquerors always had a higher ranking so to speak, than those who saved life and made it more worth living. That is why there has always been a certain degree of competition between the great writers and their battling heroes. Homer was indeed great; but how did he compare with Achilles? Valmiki and Ramchandra or Vyasdeva and Arjuna would give scope for further speculation. In ancient India, leaving out the mythological characters, great men

have always been judged by the greatness of their souls. In fact the modern concept of a Maha-Manava (great man) was not there in ancient times. A Maha-Atma (great soul) was considered to be the only type of great man that could be openly admired. In historical times Indians always showed the greatest respect to their religious teachers. Thus the Jain Tirthankars or Goutama the Buddha could easily establish their superiority among many great fighters. Even when wars had become very important in our life, we never forgot to appreciate our sri Chaitanyas, Guru Nanaks and other expounders of religion. During recent years we have been imitating the Western countries in our adoration of winners of elections. But even then we have not quite forgotten to appreciate true human greatness. A Rabindranath still occupies the highest place in Indian hearts by reason of his unique genius and talent in the spheres of poetry, literature, music, philosophy, painting, drama and dance. He was called Gurudeva by the greatest men of his time and his superiority in creative emotion and profundity of thought was unquestioned. He was a truly great man by virtue of the rare greatness of his soul. India has produced scientists, industrialists, generals and political leaders too. But Indians have never forgotten the ultimate objective of human existence which cannot be achieved through any or all of these practical arts which bring success to ordinary mortals. The ultimate truth can only be realised by tuning the soul to what lies beyond all material phenomena. No degree of control over the forces of nature will yield that essence of all knowledge in a measurable manner. They are the truly great who have come the nearest to that inner

realisation. And they are not those who win battles or elections.

The Romans were great fighters and Roman generals won many battles. But when a victorious general returned to Rome and led his victory march through the Roman roads, a man always stood behind him and repeated constantly : Remember, thou too art mortal". This kept the mortal man from having any vain thoughts about his unchallenged greatness. He knew he would go the way, of his ancestors and nothing would be left of him in the dust to which he would be duly reduced by death. Humanity could only agree to remember that part of his deeds which served the cause of life and progress. Our national heroes, who win elections quite often by adopting sinful means, should remember that posterity would judge them, not by the number of votes they obtained, but by their actions. During the last twenty years and more, they have done little to make life more worth living for the people of India. Self-denial has played no part in their plans of political work and human progress even less. This is the time when many individuals and groups will begin to think of taking over the management of the affairs of the nation. They should now concentrate upon a fuller understanding of human values. political jargon and slogans make the realisation of these values difficult and their dimensions obscure. But if the people showed any critical attitude towards the actions of these representatives, the facts of human life and progress would soon begin to be recognised as the only things that mattered. All else that helped the leaders and their parties ; but left the people to suffer untold miseries for achieving objectives of a vague

and mysterious kind, should be left to one side as unrealities which had no bearing on life and progress but were only a camouflage for the baser motives of politicians,

The Indian Olympic Association

The Indian Olympic Association is affiliated to the International Olympic Association which organises the World Olympic Meet every four years in which the sportsmen and sportswomen of the World compete for championship honours in various games and sports. According to the rules of the International Olympic Association the various National Olympic Associations with their different affiliated National Federations of particular games and sports are the final and controlling authorities in the matter of managing amateur sports for the purpose of the world Olympic competitions. It is expressly stated in the rules of the International body that any interference in management by persons other than the members of the National Olympic Councils would be considered a violation of the Olympic code, which demands that all persons controlling games and sports should be hundred percent amateurs and should be working for the spread of the Olympic ideals on an absolutely honorary basis. Control over the Olympic committees by paid Government servants therefore would constitute a violation of the Olympic code by the International Olympic Council. All governments of all countries, therefore, leave their National Olympic Councils absolutely free in managing Olympic matters in order to maintain the dignity and honour of the International Olympic Organisation. The Indian Government gives financial assistance to some

Indian sportsmen and sportswomen occasionally so that they can go to foreign countries for participation in tournaments controlled by the International Olympic Association. The Government can give or not give money according to their own wishes; but they cannot use the granting of financial assistance as an instrument of exercising control over the selection of contestants for the international tournaments. The Government cannot also set standards of selection, nor express any opinion as to the correctness of any selections made by the Indian Olympic Association. Such interference by the Government of India, in the powers exercised by the I. O. A. would violate the International Olympic rules and render all Indian participants in World Competition liable to disqualification.

We do not know how far the Government officials go in their dealings with the Indian Olympic Association but we have a feeling that they go quite close to the violation of the International Olympic code. The officials, perhaps, do not realise that they cannot dictate nor even induce or influence where players or athletes are being selected for the Olympic championship. They cannot say "this is not upto the mark" or "that is sub-standard". Apparently the Ministers of Education and Finance have officials who cannot work within the limits set by international authorities. A breach of friendly relations between the sportsmen and athletes of India and the Indian government will be very regrettable indeed.

Vietnam

The War in Vietnam has slowed down, no doubt, but the peace talks have yielded

little positive results. We cannot, however, assume that the nations involved in the war have changed their attitude towards the forcible establishment of political points of view, which really brought about the conflict. The North Vietnamese with the South Vietnamese Vietcong supported by Russia and China on one side desires the forcible establishment of a Communistic Government in South Vietnam. The American Government supported by several other nations are for maintaining the present government of South Vietnam in power, for the preservation of democracy in South East Asia. The war has not been restricted to South Vietnam. The Americans have bombed North Vietnam territory repeatedly and the North Vietnamese too have openly attacked American forces in the area. No side is winning in a manner which affects the morale of the other side. The Americans are feeling the pressure of public opinion at home and abroad and Ho Chi Minh is feeling the destructive weight of the American bombs. Both sides are therefore willing at heart, to stop this stupid killing and destruction, but no side is admitting anything. Ho Chi Minh, after all, cannot call off the Vietcong who are the revolutionary pro-communists of South Vietnam; and the Americans are fighting the North Vietnamese for self-defence and to keep law and order in South Vietnam where certain insurgents are trying to overthrow the Government established by law. But the facts of the war are not simple. It is quite obvious to all who wish to face those facts that the Russians, the Chinese and the Americans are embroiled in a bitter ideological conflict in Vietnam, where hundreds of thousands of people, soldiers and civilians

have died at the hand of the insurgents, due to American bombing and as a result of Russian made rocket firing by the North Vietnamese. The Paris peace talks have not developed in the manner that such negotiations should. Rather, there have been infructuous accusations and counter-accusations, without any growth of friendly feelings. The only hopeful signs are the slowing down of bombing by the Americans and the slackening of the efforts made by rocket firing squads of infiltrators".

The main thing that is holding up the negotiations is the reluctance of the North Vietnamese to follow a "hands off" policy in regard to South Vietnam. They want the Americans to go away, leaving the South Vietnam people to the tender mercies of the combined forces of Russia, China and Ho Chi Minh. The Americans feel that they have not sacrificed the lives of countless young Americans, just to go away without achieving any objective. They therefore want a guarantee that the South Vietnam Government will not be forcibly overthrown by any Communist supported insurgents. But the Communists are not keen to renounce their right to infiltrate, carry on underground warfare, organise fifth column engage in subversion and so forth. For that would be repudiation of creed. The Americans are however in better position now than they had been so far. World conditions now favour anti-communist forces.

Population Control

Population Control has been a top priority sociological problem in the world for a long time. From Malthus to the modern social philosophers we have had no shortage of

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expert opinion on the subject. We know that if population grows unchecked a time will come when the Earth's land surface will be packed with human beings leaving little space between two persons. Many will have to live in floating homes on the oceans of the Earth. Assuming that the Earth's population will increase at a rate of 250% every 100 years steadily and without any great losses caused by epidemics, wars or famines, this tight packed position will be reached in about one thousand five hundred years from now. Even assuming that that process will be considerably slowed down by various kinds of natural and artificial checks, the position will go on deteriorating as time passes. For the first one hundred years or so, the problems of growing population will be met by growing production of consumer goods; but after that the pressure will begin to be felt and the question of population control will have to be answered by active organisation of social forces available to the peoples of the Earth. Or famines, wars, epidemics and organised genocide may begin to operate as active checks to the growth of population. In the face of such dire possibilities, the thoughtful and disciplined sections of the peoples of the earth will begin their work of population control without any loss of time. This work of control will be carried on in many different ways. The most important of these will be raising the age of marriage in all backward countries like India where people try to become parents even before they attain full physical growth. In India there are laws restricting marriage of men before 18 and women before 14; but these laws are not enforced and many persons in government

service marry their sons and daughters off before they attain the age of ten. The question of propaganda and instruction about birth control can be considered when the parties concerned are of mature age. Juvenile parents will be innocuous to any such propaganda. In India therefore the age of marriage should be made 25 for men and 21 for women and the laws enforced. *No men who are married before the legal age should be engaged or kept in government service. No men who marry off their children below the legal age should also be kept in government service.* Once this is done, the idea can be carried to other spheres viz people may be barred from voting or standing for elections when they actively help to negate the principles behind the marriage laws. The present arrangements for population control will be quite useless unless all these steps are taken. For all we know, the persons who have been employed by government to carry on this work, may be violating the principles of population control in a free and easy manner. In India, in all spheres of life the law makers are the law breakers. The government should look at our social and economic problems taking into consideration this peculiar circumstance. There are various other considerations attached to this knotty problem. Religious ideas interfere with population control: but no one really bothers about that. China thinks increase of population is one way of world conquest; but that also cannot be taken seriously by persons who do not believe in Mao's thoughts.

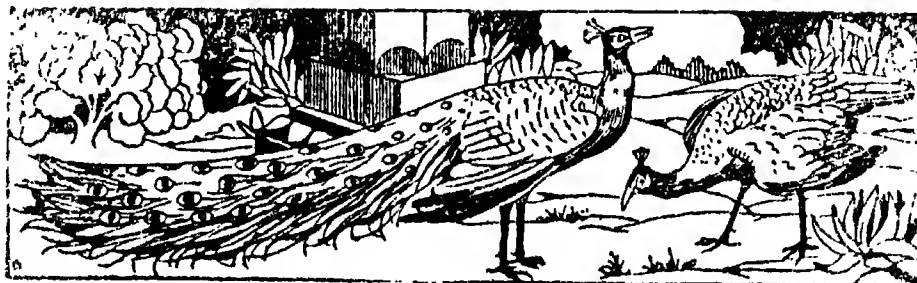
Election in November

There are many ways of looking at the question of fixing a suitable time for the elections

that will be held in the States in which representative government has ceased to operate and President's rule has been imposed. Initially one should consider the reasons for which stable ministries could not be maintained in these States ; for if the circumstances which created the instability still remained as powerful as ever in them, mid-term elections would provide no cure for the political disease that forced President's rule upon these states. At least attempts should be made to strengthen the political parties and to stimulate the growth of sincere political opinion and stronger loyalties among the followers of the parties, so that defections did not occur as frequently and easily as had happened during recent months. Self-seeking persons to whom party loyalties mean nothing should be replaced by others who are not quite such weather-cocks and are not swayed by every slight breeze. The people of the particular States should also make it clear to the parties that they require representatives in the legislatures who would uphold clearly acknowledged social, economic and political ideals and not nose around to seek personal advantages or to achieve the narrow interests of cliques. We do not feel that the political atmosphere is any cleaner now than it was when the defections from parties began. If after the

mid-term elections the parties come back to the legislatures to form and break up coalitions, the nation would have spent large sums of money in the elections without achieving anything. If this could not be stopped by public propaganda, laws may be passed for penalising defectors. They may be forced to seek re-election or debar from using their powers after defection for a period of time.

The month of November is also not a very suitable time for election. Being very near the Pujas, when people go for holidays or get involved in all sorts of festivities, the public mind does not respond very enthusiastically to any political fervour. Certain classes of people do not get back to their normal ways of life even during that month. Ordinary people, that is those who have no party backing, require several months to get acquainted with their voters. The more such people come into the political field the better it would be for democracy. Party candidates will have a definite advantage over non-party men if not much time is made available for going round from house to house. Hurried elections make it easy for affluent and well organised parties to win seats. That sort of arrangement is not fair to individual candidates.



EMERSON'S CONCEPT OF MAN

S.P.DAS

Emerson's concept of man is essentially mystical. To say that his concept of man is exactly Classical or Romantic, Platonic or Neo-Platonic, Transcendental or Existential, Eastern or Western is to be unfair to him. He possessed a genius which enabled him to combine and integrate, and at times to anticipate, some of these concepts to a degree which is peculiarly his own. His knowledge of man was not reached by way of assembling the conclusions of other men, but mainly by that mystical intuition or vision which makes us aware at certain moments of life of some hidden source and power in us. It was his deep insight that gave him clues to the mystery of man's life. He never tried to define man in a scientific or even in a philosophical manner. However, when he was sure of his intuitive flashes, he could succinctly put his thoughts concerning man into a few words. When he says of man that he is a "god in ruins"¹ or that every man is a "divinity in disguise"², he is speaking volumes. There is no pretension in Emersons, and he clearly acknowledges man's limitations to probe into the whole mystery of life. He says that "no power of genius has ever yet had the smallest success in explaining existence. The perfect enigma remains."³ What he has attempted to do is to record those flashes that came to him at moments of intuitive perception, and thereby to arouse his fellowmen to similar consciousness of life. The process of knowing is not "by any addition or subtraction or other comparison of known quantities, but it is arrived at by untaught sallies of the spirit, by a continual self-recovery and by entire humility."⁴ This is the way of Emerson's knowing the world and ourselves.

Emerson's first essay, *Nature* (1836), states his basic concepts of Man, Nature and God. His

subsequent lectures and essays are primarily illustration or elaboration of those concepts with the help of new insight he gained. His basic concept of man does not alter at any time; though he does make some modification to resolve some contradictions in it in the light of his experience and wider acquaintance with various thoughts. Of this, more a little later.

In *Nature*, Emerson has tried to locate man in relation to nature on the one hand and God on the other. He has also made an attempt to see how man fulfils his destiny and realises his end. He locates man at the centre of nature. Nature not only surrounds him, it subserves him. It "receives the dominion of man"⁵; it is helpful to him in the realisation of his higher ends, and in the fulfilment of his destiny. At the physical level Nature caters to his bodily needs and the needs of the senses. He considers body to be a part of nature, and therefore, like it, an inferior incarnation of God the unconscious. Man is God's superior incarnation in the conscious. Nature is the shadow that we, our essential selves, cast. It is even the creation of our mind. When we perceive the underlying principle in Nature, we come to know our essential self. Through the perception of the exterior beauty of Nature, man becomes conscious of the spiritual beauty of the Universe. This is not automatic: for, only when our senses are properly sharpened and harmonised with our inner self can we begin to see more than mere outward beauty. This is the moment at which we are awakened to our essential being. Through Nature's beauty we begin to see our selves. This is the way in which Nature is made "to conspire with spirit to emancipate us."⁶ The ground of our being is this beauty, this underlying principle, and once we apprehend this truth we begin really to exist.

To Emerson, beauty and truth are the same things. When he says "our life is embosomed in beauty", he means by beauty the Soul, "within which every man's particular being is contained."⁸ Therefore, Emerson's aesthetics is inseparable from life and is a means to realisation of deeper truth in life. Michel Angelo's idea appeals to Emerson, as it fits with his idea of beauty in Nature: "It is the frail and weary weed in which God dressed the soul which He has called into time."⁹ This frail beauty expresses the Universal Soul. Once we realise this, we do not see surface and facts alone, but the Soul that is immanent. Similarly, Art is also an embodiment of the same principle, and as such it also "throws a light upon the mystery of humanity."¹⁰ Art is nothing but a "nature passed through the alembic of man. Thus in Art does Nature work through the will of a man filled with beauty of her first works."¹¹ Thus poetry is also "the perpetual endeavour to express the spirit of the thing, to pass the brute body, and to search the life and reason which causes it to exist."¹²

Through the triangular relationship of man, nature and God, the position of man is explained and ascertained. However, Emerson knows it is not possible for him to explain why and how the Universal Soul incarnates in man; and thus, the major part of this mystery cannot be unravelled. But there is no uncertainty in Emerson's thoughts as to the Soul being the ground of man's existence. "The Foundations of man are not in matter, but in spirit."¹³ For Emerson "every being is an inlet to the same and to all of the same."¹⁴ Because of the soul's participation in the Divine substance, there is no limit to the possibilities in man's life. This Emerson called the "infinitude of the private man,"¹⁵ and this he preached all his life. This means that man's essential self is capable of transcending the finitude of existence and of becoming one with the Infinite. For Parrington, "one great miracle is the daily rebirth of God in the individual soul."¹⁷ The purpose of man's life, therefore, is to recognize his own essential self

and the cosmic unity. It is in the very constitution of man to seek and strive in order to realise this unity in his life.

Emerson's high idealism of the oneness of things did not completely erase the importance of the individual. This is perhaps the part of his cultural and religious heritage. He does not believe in a rugged type of individualism, but one in which one trusts one's essential self. Therefore this kind of individualism does not smack of selfishness or egotism. The self-reliance of Emerson is the reliance upon soul or God. He believes in the freedom of the individual, though it must be added that the possibility of individual freedom is ultimately incapable of analysis. But, as Gray points out, if given a choice between the dilemma of his idealism and his belief in the freedom and integrity of the individual, Emerson would probably have held to the latter.

For he that ruleth high and wise,
nor pauseth in his plan,
Will take the sun out of the skies
Ere freedom out of man.¹⁸

Freedom of the individual is dear to Emerson's concept of man. According to him, man contains all that is needful to his government within himself. He is made a law unto himself. All real good or evil that may befall him must be from himself.... The purpose of life seems to be to acquaint man with himself.¹⁹ In other words, man's basic nature is to affirm himself and to seek his identity. This is a process both in time and degree.

Emerson nowhere lumps all of humanity together. There is distinctness of personality, though all have the same potentialities.

The mass of creatures and of qualities are still hid and expectant. It would seem as if each waited, like the enchanted princess in fairy tales, for a destined human deliverer. Each must be disenchanted, and walk forth into the day in human shape.²⁰

Emerson divides men into two broad types. According to him: Each man is born with a

EMERSON'S CONCEPT OF MAN

predisposition to one or the other of these sides of nature ; and it will easily happen that men be found devoted to one or the other. One class has the perception of difference and is conversant with facts and surfaces, cities and persons, and the bringing certain things to pass—the men of talent and action. Another class have perception of identity, and are men of faith and philosophy, men of genius.²¹

Emerson knew that men live at different levels of existence. There are some who live to the utility of symbol. Another class live to the beauty of symbol. The third class live above the beauty of things signified—these are wise men. The first class have common sense, the second taste, and the third spiritual perception.²²

According to Emerson, man seems to possess a three-fold nature : sensory organism, understanding, and reason, in the order of ascendancy. The same person may be guided by one or the other and accordingly he would be either fulfilling the purpose of his life or obstructing it. Also in the same personality there can be manifestations of various qualities, if the soul is allowed a free play. "When it (man's soul) breathes through his intellect, it is genius ; when it breathes through his will, it is virtue ; when it flows through his affection, it is love."²³

No doubt, great men are representative of essential humanity ; and, therefore, their "thought and feeling cannot be impounded by any fence of personality." But great men are also those who have developed their special faculty to the highest pitch, and who never remind us of others. Such men are born in centuries. On the other hand, every individual is left free to grow independently. "Nature wishes everything to remain itself" and it "steadily aims to protect each against every other. Each is self-defended. Nothing is more marked than the power by which individuals are safeguarded from individuals."²⁴

The integrity of the individual's personality must remain unencroached upon by systems, institutions or society. The tendency of our

society is to break the individual into parts, and it was against this tendency that Emerson raised his voice. He feels that society everywhere is in "conspiracy against the manhood of every one of its members," and so he exhorts that those "who would be men must be nonconformist."²⁵ Let men act with original views and be themselves. "Insist on yourself ; never imitate.... Do that which is assigned you and you can never hope too much nor dare too much."²⁶ In this way, man will remain man and will save himself from the destruction which various forces are trying to bring about in him.

Emerson always stressed the essential self, and came back to it frequently. According to him, "Life only avails, not the having lived."²⁷ Here and elsewhere, he does not appear to be taking into account the threat of non-being which is contained within the self. Most of the time he focuses all his thoughts upon the infinitude of the private man."

However, man's ability to transcend the finitude and ambiguity of his existence implies that these qualities are contained in life. The negative concept is thus inherent in his positive concept of man. This inseparability of the negative aspect from his positive view is detectable in Emerson as he begins to incorporate ideas of the evolution of life and nature into his thought. It came to his rescue by resolving the contradiction of the duality of man's nature as Emerson earlier conceived of him. Earlier, Emerson's monism was clearly marked by dualism and he sincerely acknowledges this in his journals of this time : "I see my being imbedded in Universal Mind.... I believe in unity but behold two."²⁸ He tries to bring about a kind of compromise, as Gray points out, in his lecture on "Human Culture." He quotes from Cabot's analysis the following :

Man drinks of that nature whose property it is to be Cause. With the first surge of that ocean he affirms *I am*. Only Cause can say I. But as soon as he has uttered this word he transfers this me from that which it really is to the frontier

region of effects, to his body and its appertenances, to place and time. Yet he is continually wooed to abstract himself from effects and dwell with causes: to ascend into the region of law. Few men enter it, but all men belong there.²⁹

But Gray considers this to be the most impossible of compromises. "Man cannot 'belong' in one kind of existence and 'be' another."³⁰ The theory of emanation could not solve this dilemma. We cannot be part and parcel of God and at the same time detach ourselves from Him. Emerson found that his broad theory of evolution, coloured with idealism and idealistic interpretation, could help him solve the dilemma of duality.

I presume that Parrington has missed the mark in the second part of his statement when he says that: Emerson had looked within himself and discovered the divinity of the individual soul: but he had not probed the non-self, the great encompassing universe of matter by which the individual is circumscribed and of which he is the part.³¹

Whicher, on the other hand, rightly perceives in the *Journals* contemporaneous with *Nature* that "Emerson's inquiry into the meaning and purpose of nature is at the bottom an effort to assimilate nature into himself; to reduce the NOT ME to THE ME."³² But he found that nature cannot be so easily assimilated. He had to go a long way before his ideas on evolution were formulated and integrated with his growing religious beliefs and mysticism.

When Emerson had finally moved to this position outgrowing the Emanation theory, he saw nature as propelled by a vital energy towards a higher destiny which culminates in the birth of man. "The face of the planet cools and dries, the races meliorate, and man is born." But there is the other side of it also that is implied in this theory. Emerson recognises this fact:

It is very unhappy, but too late to be helped, the discovery we have made that we exist. That discovery is called the Fall of Man.³³

It is implied here that nature's movement

toward consciousness is in fact a process of deterioration, so to speak. However, there is in it always "a small excess of good" which eventually leads to the salvation of man. But the attainment of this salvation is always threatened by circumstances in nature:

Circumstance is nature. Nature is what you may do. There is much you may not. We have two things—the Circumstance and the life. Once we thought positive power was all. Now we learn that negative power, or Circumstance, is half. Nature is the tyrannous circumstance, the thick skull, the sheathed snake, the ponderous rocklike jaws; necessitated activity; violent direction; the conditions of a tool, like the locomotive, strong enough on its track, but which can do nothing but mischief off of it; or skates, which are wings on ice but fetters on the ground.³⁴

Emerson realises that there is an element of fate or uncertainty in the whole process of evolution. "Our life is not so much threatened as our perception: ghostlike, we glide through nature, and should not know our place again."³⁵ Emerson is clearly aware of this negative principle operative in nature and life, and calls it by various names in his essay, "Experience." It may be illusion which prevents us from seeing reality. "Sleep lingers all our life time about our eyes, as night hovers all day in the boughs of the fir trees." Dream delivers us to dream, and there is no end to illusion. Life is a train of moods like a string of beads. Our temperament "puts all divinity to rout." Life is capricious and full of surprises, and "our chief experiences have been casual." There is also a yawning gap between the objective and subjective. "An innavigable sea washes with silent waves between us and the things we aim at and converse with". Is there any escape for the man from "the links of the chains of necessity?" Much of man's activity is confined to the aggrandisement of his sensual and bodily needs.

Emerson came to be painfully aware of the negative principle in man's being. But never dwelled long enough there to become a pessimist,

EMERSON'S CONCEPT OF MAN

as he firmly believed in the "small excess of good" and in the purpose and divinity of the evolutionary process. He saw that there is divinity "behind our failures and follies also." And so Emerson emerges from his dark night with a strong life-affirming note towards the end of his essay, "Experience."

If I have described life as a flux of moods, I must now add that there is that in us which changes not and which ranks all sensations and states of mind. The consciousness in each man is a sliding scale, which identifies him now with the First Cause, and now with the flesh of his body; life above life, in infinite degree.³⁶

Man's consciousness makes him aware of the divinity as the meanness of his life. But Emerson perceives that this sliding scale tilts toward his divinity. After all it must be from some vantage point that man is conscious of his "fall." "We grant that human life is mean, but how did we find out that it is mean?"³⁷ Perhaps it is the "inner light" which brings us intimation of the kingly state to which we belong.

There is something deep in man, call it "inner light, of "moral sentiment," or "intuition," which is a window opening into our eternity, bringing us to the light of day which we need to wake up.

Emerson reaches a point where selfhood of man has no importance. It has to be surrendered so that it fully merges into the Divine. Now he is prepared to disregard, if not completely abandon, the idea of personal immortality. In fact future immortality for him becomes meaningless. The conclusion that he reaches about the soul approximates the Vedantic idea of Atman.

An individual body is the momentary arrest or fixation of certain atoms, which, after performing compulsory duty to this enchanted statue, are released again to flow in the currents of the world. An individual mind in like manner is a fixation or momentary eddy in which services and powers are taken up, and minister petty

niches and localities, and then, being return to the unbounded soul of the world.³⁸

1. "Nature," *The Writings of R.W. Emerson*, ed. Brooks Atkinson. The Modern Library College Edition. New York, 1940, P. 39

2. Newton Dillaway, *Prophet of American: Emerson and the Problem of Today*. Boston, 1936, P. 3.

3. *English Traits and Representative Men*, New York, 1893, Vol IV, 314

4. "Nature," P. 37.

5. *Ibid.*, P. 22.

6. *Ibid.*, P. 28.

7. *The Writings of R.W. Emerson*, "Spiritual Laws," P. 190. All future references to the essays will be from volume unless otherwise noted.

8. "The Over-Soul," P. 262

9. "Nature," P. 32.

10. *Ibid.*, P. 13.

11. *Ibid.*, P. 14.

12. *Letters and Social Aims*, New York, 1893, vol. VI, 12.

13. "Nature," P. 39.

14. "History," P. 123.

15. *The Heart of Emerson's Journals*, ed. Bliss Perry, New York, 1926, p. 151.

16. "The Over-Soul," P. 275

17. *Main Currents in American Thought*, New York, 1951, vol. II, 385

18. Henry David Gray, *Emerson: A Statement of New England Transcendentalism as Expressed in the Philosophy of Its Chief Exponent*, New York, 1965, P. 37.

19. *The Heart of Emerson's Journals*, P. 79.

20. "Uses of Great Men," P. 261.

21. *English Traits*, vol. IV, 367.

22. *Letters and Social Aims*, vol. VI, 123

23. "The Over-Soul," P. 263.

24. *English Traits*, vol. IV, P. 277

25. "Self Reliance," P. 148.

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| 26. <i>Ibid.</i> ; P. 166. | <i>An Inner Life of Ralph Waldo Emerson</i> , |
| 27. <i>Ibid.</i> , P. 160 | Philadelphia, 1953, p. 52. |
| 28. <i>Journals</i> , vol. IV, 247. | 33. "Experience," P. 269. |
| 29. Cabot, <i>A Memoir of Ralph Waldo</i> | 34. Dillaway, P. 195. |
| <i>Emerson</i> , New York, 1887, vol. II, 734. | 31. "Experience," P. 255. |
| 30. Gray, P. 43. | 36. <i>Ibid.</i> , P. 357. |
| 31. <i>Main Currents</i> , P. 381. | 37. "The Over-Soul," P. 261. |
| 32. Stephen E. Whicher, <i>Freedom and Fate</i> : | 38. <i>Works</i> , XII, 25. |

ENGLISH WRITINGS OF POET BHARATI

P.N. VENKATACHARI

How many of us know that the greatest Tamil poet of the recent times is also an author of prose and verse in English in which he has reached a high level of expression. It is unfortunate that this stormy petrel of Tamil poetical world should have been snatched away by cruel death at his thirtyninth year who if left alive, would have shown to the world that the power of imagination and reason could blossom in more than one language.

Subrahmanya Bharati (1882-1921) left off his studies after passing matriculation. Nevertheless by his own efforts he had educated himself to a level of any of the highly educated individuals of his times. The evidence of his masterly handling of English is known from a slim volume of his English writings, published eighteen years after his premature death. Most of these were written in 'New India', an English periodical edited by the poet himself. The editors of his English writings (entitled 'Agni and other Essays') were S. Venkataramani, an Indo-Anglican writer of repute and C.R. Reddy, the then Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University and an

eminent educationalist. They consider that these essays are 'in wonderfully compact verse form not merely without a flaw, but with a polished brilliance which it is a joy to contemplate'. Further according to them Bharati steers clear of the extreme of 'pedantic metaphrase and licentious paraphrase'.

Some of the vedic hymns have been rendered into English by him as also some of the exquisite poetry of the Tamil Vaishnavite Saint Nammalvar.

Some of the thoughts are gnomic in their brevity. Mark the following.

"He who writes for others affects.... He is a slave who receives favour... He sells himself who asks...". There is also a touch of irony in some of them. "Where there is a will there is a way.

But Oh Heaven.' Where is the way to get a will!"

His conception of life in terms of time (*Kalam*) is highly revelatory. This poem, though originally written in Tamil, is rendered into English free verse by the poet himself. Mark how onomatopoeic the poem is :

"It was a mighty torrent with a breaking, maddening
terrible speed,

Like that of the flaming forces that leap through
the wilds of the mind

I saw it was time.

And we were a few that watched its course
from the Bank

When a powerful desire did seize us

And we leaped in the midst of

the tumult, the force
and range of the torrent

'Then Hands came down to lead us and

we swim divinely on

Against the mad wreck of this Doom

in a torrent's forces

Onward, onward, onward, higher and

still higher

Precipice growing on precipices, further

dizzier end

My comrades and I did swim on and

great was the joy of the
swimming

This ride on the waters of Time,

this touch of the forces of law.

This race on the tides that

aeons are called amongst men

At last I was tired of this play and

I called to my comrades
saying

"Stay ! let us land on that bank

with groves and hills and fields

Have some taste of summer dreams

and then plunge back in the torrent"

Some came, but the others

sped on with a grand disdain for repose

That bank is the realm called 'Life' and that race

Is the race of the spirits".

Being a great feminist himself, poet Bharati declares in one of his English essays on the subject that 'civilisation' is the taming down of man by woman'. He adds "Man, indeed, have till now been trying, with scant success, to civilise one another by means of the sword and the bullet, the prison cell, the gibbet and the rack. But it has been the lot of woman to have no other weapon than fables, parables and symbols in the work of civilising man".

His views on love and marriage are quite modern. Here is a sample of his English on the subject of love. "The little birds do not hasten to seek their mates as they come out of their eggs. The laws of nature are divine; they are the visible manifestation of the will divine that ordains this universe. And it is a law of nature that the male and female shall unite only after reaching their adolescence their pakva (ripeness)."

On marriage he had this to exhort, keeping in mind the necessity of his time when child marriage was rampant particularly in Hindu society. "My youthful brother and sisters of the motherland, my appeal is to you: Defer marriage as long as possible even after reaching adolescence. And when you feel sure that you have found out your soul's true companion, love, claim and win...".

Unfortunately no serious study of Bharati's English works has been done as probably due to their being laden with serious thought. But a diligent student of Bharati will never fail to observe that Bharati's poetical genius is the happy result of a cross fertilisation of Eastern and Western cultures. Had Bharati been destined to live longer, his contributions in English would be of no less value than his Tamil writings.



THE TRAVANCORE REBELLION

Dr. S. R. BAKSHI

The relations of the East India Company with Travancore were established as early as 1684, when a British Commercial resident was stationed there. Since then friendly relations subsisted between them. Beside the commercial advantages, the East India Company also received material and military assistance from Travancore, whenever there was desperate need for it, particularly during the second Carnatic and Mysore Wars against the French and the formidable Sultans of Mysore ; ¹ and in return, it safeguarded the interests of its steadfast ally against the encroachments of Tipu Sultan in 1788 and 1789. ²

The first political treaty of subsidiary character with Travancore was concluded in 1795 by which its Raja, Vanji Bala Ram Varma, engaged to pay an annual subsidy adequate to maintain three battalions of sepoys, together with a company of European artillery and two companies of lascars, to be stationed in his Capital or on its frontiers or in British districts contiguous of it. ³ In return, the integrity of his state was guaranteed. By a subsequent Treaty, concluded in 1805, his successor, Raja Rama Varma Perumal, agreed to pay annually an additional subsidy, for the maintenance of one more infantry regiment, in six equal instalments commencing from January 1, 1805. ⁴ In case of need for greater military assistance for its defence against aggression, a reasonable proportion of his net revenues was to

be contributed. ⁵ In lieu of it, the Raja surrendered his foreign relations to the East India Company, agreed to pay the utmost attention to British advice and promised not to recruit any European national in his service to provide shelter to him within his territories without previous British sanction. Eventually, the total subsidy payable by him was fixed at eight lacs of rupees per annum. ⁷

When Lord Minto took over office as Governor General, the subsidy to the tune of Rs. 626, 669 was found to be in arrears. ⁸ On the demand being pressed, the Raja apprized the Governor General of his distressed financial condition and the inadequacy of the resources of his state to defray the expenses of the additional subsidiary force posted in his capital by the last treaty, in the hope of getting the financially burdensome stipulations of the existing engagements abrogated. Some time later, he addressed a similar appeal to the Governor of Madras. ⁹ But these requests evoked no favourable response from them. The latter, however, conveyed to the Raja through his resident that any relaxation in the existing engagement was beyond his jurisdiction and that he should fulfil the engagement as it was. ¹⁰

Consequently, Colonel Macaulay, the British Resident in Travancore pressed the Raja for payment of the arrears of subsidy with relentless severity. It is alleged by

Vailu Thampi, the Dewan of the state, that Dr. Macaulay, the nephew of the Resident met him several times in this connection and remarked discourteously that 'something must happen' in the eventual non-compliance ; and asserted the British right to advise the Raja of Travancore on every point connected with the administration of his state. ¹¹

The Chief Secretary to the Madras Government ascribed the delay in the payment of subsidy not to the want of Raja's means, but to his disinclination to comply with the British demands. ¹² But the Resident was of the view that the Raja's difficulty was mainly due to the diversion of his resources to the formation and maintenance of the Carnatic Brigade, which the British Govt. viewed with suspicion. The real question in dispute, thus was whether the subsidiary force or the Carnatic Brigade should be reduced ; the Raja advocating the former and the Resident the latter. He threw the blame for this contingency on the Dewan to whom the British interference in the affairs of Travancore was inconvenient. ¹⁵ He was convinced that so long as the Dewan was at the helm of affairs, British position in Travancore would not be safe. ¹⁶ He considered the Dewan to be guilty of inattention to and disregard of British advice, and addressed repeated reminders to him to pay the arrears of subsidy without further delay. The Dewan did make frequent and solemn promises, but they were never fulfilled. In this procrastination of the Dewan, the Resident suspected some serious design on his part to disturb the existing relations between the two States. He was, therefore,

asked to advise the Raja to disband the expensive Carnatic Brigade. ¹⁷

The Dewan, however, dwelt upon the heaviness of the British financial demand and the inadequacy of the resources of the Raja to pay it. Moreover, the Raja was reluctant to reduce or discharge the Carnatic Brigade as he looked upon it as an essential part of his honour and dignity. He treated, the British proposal to disband it as a preliminary step to the 'seizure of his person and the annihilation of his authority'. Enumerating the services which the personnels of the Carnatic Brigade had faithfully rendered to the British in the past in the region between Madura and Cavery and valuable assistance he had received from them in the collection of revenues, he did not feel morally justified in throwing them out of employment and making them a prey to poverty and hunger. ¹⁹

The Governor of Fort St. George did not give credence to these views of the Dewan and finding no substantial reason for the non-payment of subsidy, threw the entire blame on him for the delaying tactics, as it was evident to him that the management of the affairs of Travancore was exclusively in his hands ; and the Raja's views were unnecessarily dragged into the controversies. Thus Vailu Thampi was held responsible for the strained relations between the British Government and the State of Travancore, and was considered the chief obstacle in the restoration of cordial relations with the Raja. ²⁰ He was alleged to be strong willed, courageous, arrogant and headstrong. Finding himself in this predicament, Vailu Thampi became exasperated and decided not to yield to the pressure of the Resident

which he thought would not be in the best interests of the State.²¹ Instead, he prepared to meet the critical situation with the full conviction, that in so doing, he was simply discharging his duty with courage and firmness. He revived the key post of Generalissimo of the military forces of the State and appointed his younger brother to that exalted office.²² Under him the state forces were reorganised and made more efficient by regular and proper training.²³ The Resident alleged that Vailu Thampi had issued instructions to the several district officials to train a portion of the population under their charge in the use of offensive weapons.²⁴ A large number of people were employed day and night in the manufacture of powder, the cleaning, of arms and the fabrication of bows and arrows and lances in every district. Several officers in charge of Divisions were furnished with orders to keep certain classes of people ready for assemblage, and their names were registered, and security was taken from them. On a given signal, they were required to repair to some fixed rendezvous.²⁵ It was also whispered that the Dewan had sought French help by sending emissaries to the Island of Mauritius to solicit a reinforcement of 500 men of artillery to meet any eventuality of a British attack on Travancore for the recovery of arrears of subsidy.²⁶ It was suspected

that the Dewan of Cochin, who enjoyed as much authority in his state as Vailu Thampi in Travancore, was in agreement with the views of his counterpart and was in league with him.²⁷ For want of an impartial verdict on the conduct of Vailu Thampi by a committee of enquiry, it is difficult to

judge the veracity of the allegations made by the British Resident against him.

The alarming reports received from the Resident of Travancore soon engaged the serious attention of the Madras Government. The conduct of Vailu Thampi was looked upon with suspicion and distrust; and the sincerity of his intentions and the motives of his actions were suspected. His activities were considered dangerous and subversive to British interestst in Travancore.²⁸ Effective measures were, therefore adopted to nip in the bud the suspected plan of defiance by the Dewan; as his early removal from his vantage position was considered indispensable. Consequently, the Resident was authorized to take action for placing him under restraint in order to save the situation from deteriorating. Under the assumption that the conduct of the Dewan was at variance with the wishes of the Raja of Travancore, the Resident was advised to explain to the Raja that, under the administration of his Dewan, the essential provisions of the existing Treaty had not been scrupulously observed, while the British Government had fulfilled its part of the engagement.²⁹ Consequently, a large arrear of subsidy had accumulated and was daily increasing. The repeated remonstrances addressed to the Dewan had brought only fresh excuses and promises, but no fruitful results.³⁰

Under these circumstances, the government of Madras felt that it would not be in the British interests to let the state of affairs to continue in Travancore with its dangerous effects on the neighbouring British districts. Realising the seriousness of the situation, it gave orders to the officers, commanding the

Southern Division and the cost of Malabar for immediate movement of a considerable body of troops towards Travancore with ammunition, camp equipage and stores.³¹ Similar orders were issued to the officers, commanding the British detachments at Trichinopoly and Seringapatam.³² To strengthen the British position in Travancore, the subsidiary force was reinforced with³³ strong contingent of artillery and was furnished with adequate supplies of ammunition and provisions in order to meet any eventuality. The movements of the Malabar and Southern Divisions were directed with a view to launching a two-pronged attack on Travancore; and with this end in view, all possible devices were employed to ensure quick success in their projected military campaign.³⁴ Lord Minto fully approved of the policy.

These British military preparations inside and outside Travancore convinced Vailu Thampi that the British Government would not at any cost allow the State administration to have its own way. Sensing the impending danger of British military action against his ascendancy in the State administration; and knowing the futility of a conflict ruinous to him, he felt disgusted and informed the Resident through Colonel Dally, the Commandant of the Carnatic Brigade, expressing his willingness to resign and quit the state, if his personal safety was guaranteed.³⁵ The Resident lost no time in acceding to his desire. Thinking that his exit from Travancore would well serve the British purpose, assured him protection and residence in the Company's territories; and also promised him a handsome allowance for his maintenance.³⁶ To ensure his undisturbed and secret exit from Alleppey to Calicut, he despatched palanquins, conveyances and a strong military escort under a European officer on the night of December 28,

1803.³⁷ Palpanah Pillai, his confidential friend and Tombi, his brother, were the only persons of distinction who were to accompany him, and Colonel Dally was to attend the quitting party.³⁸

This plan, however, could not materialize as the Dewan changed his mind and decided to resist the injustice done to him. He was bent upon destroying the British influence in Travancore root and branch. A little after midnight of the same day, a party of Nairs numbering about one thousand, headed by Palpanah Pillai and the Dewan of Cochin, surrounded the house of the British Resident and opened musketry fire at every attempt by the inmates to escape. Therefore, they disarmed the guards, broke into the house, pillaged it and ultimately withdrew at the break of day without getting hold of the Resident.³⁹

The attack on the Resident's house was the expression of an open defiance of the British authority. It was reinforced by creating excitement among the people of Malabar against the British. This incident made the Madras government alive to the imminent danger of an immediate rebellion. Prompt and effective measures were, therefore, taken to meet the serious situation. Besides ordering the march of troops to Travancore, the Government of Fort St. George issued a proclamation on January 5 1809 to the people of Malabar, asking them not to be excited by the Dewan's anti-British propaganda and cautioned them against taking law in their hands and bringing calumny to them.⁴⁰ The Raja of Travancore was also apprized of the situation created by his Dewan's rebellion and was assured of the security of his position and authority, as British manoeuvres were directed entirely against the rebellious elements in the state: and not against him and his royal house.⁴¹

In the meantime, Sir George Barlow, the Governor of Madras received intelligence of a desperate plan of Vailu Thampi and his rebel associates to attack the British military station

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at Quilon and excite rebellion all over Malabar. Therefore, Colonel Gibbs of His Majesty's 59 Regiment was ordered to march to Malabar with a sufficient force to foil the intrigues of the rebels.⁴² A European Regiment was called in with the greatest promptitude from Ceylon to cope with the grave situation and to maintain law and order in Travancore. The British force under Colonel Picton and Colonel Chalmers met the Carnatic Brigade at Quilon and ascending the heights to the west of Cantonment, opened fire on it and forced its soldiers to surrender their guns. This victory was won on January 15, 1809 with 111 casualties on the British side and a large number on the rebel side.⁴³

After this reverse at Quilon, Vailu Thampi concentrated his attention on Cochin which was then held by a strong British force under Major Hewitt. Here the Cochin troops joined hands with him and attacked the British force under Major Hewitt on January 19, 1809.⁴⁴ The battle lasted for an hour and ended in the rout of the insurgents with considerable slaughter and the loss of a field piece.⁴⁵

After these two military encounters in which the rebels were beaten and dispersed with considerable losses, a concentrated two-pronged drive was made against Travancore to capture its territories and denude it of the rebels. Colonel Cuppage, along with his forces, marched through the Northern frontier and advanced to the South without meeting any opposition. Colonel St. Leger pushed on towards Aramboly with a force composed of one Regiment of European soldiers, another of the Indian cavalry and three battalions of Indian infantry. A detachment of artillery and a regiment from Ceylon joined him. Two divisions, commanded by Colonel Wallace and Colonel Gibbs were stationed in the Tinnevely district, in the vicinity of Wynaad, to keep the Travancoreans in check, and eventually to cooperate with Colonel St. Leger who arrived from Trichinopoly with his forces and encamped near the Aramboly pass on February 6, 1809.

The pass was protected by a strong wall, supported by well-built bastions mounted with guns. The ascent was reached with enormous difficulty and it took six hours to reach the foot of the walls.⁴⁶ Ultimately, the Aramboly Lines were captured the next morning and the fortifications of the gate were dismantled.⁴⁶ This success of the British demoralized the rebels who ran helter-skelter for safety. Their leader, Vailu Thampi, found his cause lost, and quitted Travancore which he was not destined to see again.⁴⁷

Thus Travancore was now completely under British possession. Its ruler accepted humiliating terms on March 1, 1809⁴⁸ and the allowed to continue as a separate subordinate political entity under him. He agreed to pay all the expenses of war and also the arrears of the subsidy. The Carnatic Brigade and some Nair battalions in the Raja's service were disbanded and dismissed. The defence of the State became the exclusive responsibility of the subsidiary troops. Womayah Thampi, who enjoyed the confidence of the British Resident, was appointed Dewan in place of Vailu Thampi who was dismissed. On the conclusion of this engagement, the British occupation troops were withdrawn immediately and a part of the subsidiary force was permanently quartered in the proximity of Trivandrum. This arrangement received the approval of the G-General who sent cordial congratulations to the Government of Madras on the successful termination of hostilities in Travancore.⁴⁹ He also praised the wisdom shown in planning the military operations and the skill, energy and valour which distinguished the execution of them.⁵⁰

The ruler of Travancore was not completely absolved of the responsibility of the rebellious proceedings of his Dewan. The course of events convinced the British that the Raja acquiesced in the doings of his minister. They did not find any evidence of an attempt on the part of the Raja to prevent his minister from the open exhibition of his resentment. Hence the interests of the Raja were not treated as distinct from

those of his Dewan. To the Calcutta Government, the spirit of hostility in Travancore appeared to have been deeply rooted and originated not so much in the pecuniary burden of the subsidy, nor in personal enmity towards the Resident, as in a systematic design to shake off its connection with the British Government and the subversion of British power and authority in that region.⁵⁴ The Dewan was condemned as unscrupulous, barbarous and cruel and his rebellious conduct was considered to be a project conceived long back, systematically pursued and precipitated by the demand for arrears of subsidy.⁵⁵

The Dewan fled into the thickets towards the Northern frontier of the State.⁵⁶ He was closely pursued by the parties despatched by the Raja to apprehend him.⁵⁷ He was obliged to move from place to place to avoid the disgrace of surrendering and falling a victim to the vindictiveness of the British. At last, he was found out from the pagoda of Bhagwadi, where he had put an end to his life rather than be captured alive by the British. On entering that edifice, his pursuers found the corps of Vailu Thampi. His brother, found in the same premises, was taken captive to Quilon and was hanged as an accessory in the murder of the British, in the presence of the 12 Regiment, drawn out to witness his execution. The Dewan's body was taken to Trivandrum, where it was exposed on a common gibbet.⁵⁸ This act of the Resident was not appreciated by the Governor General,⁶⁰ as it was likely to excite more dissatisfaction in the section sympathetic to him and his cause; and might lead to acts of exasperation. Thus the unpleasant episode in Travancore, created by the systematic British interference into it ended favourably for the British.

The successful military operations, against Travancore served the British ends in view in that quarter of India, but the State could not be freed from difficulties altogether for a long time. The military resources of the State were crippled. There remained no body of troops in the absolute control of its Raja or Dewan which could be used

as an instrument by either of them to execute their wishes unhampered by the British. The elimination of the Carnatic Brigade, which was an eye-sore to the British and a source of strained relations with the Dewan, was an undoubted achievement of the Madras Government. The entire peninsula, south of the Tungbhadra, no longer sheltered any organized bands of armed men under any political leader to challenge the British supremacy in that region. Now the British will, expressed by their Residents and plans executed by their subsidiary troops, could prevail to shape the destiny of the subjugated tract. The other notable British achievement was the removal from the helm of affairs of the strong-willed and inconvenient Dewan who had kept the ruler under his control and disinclined to subordinate state policies to the Resident's interests. In his place, a person amenable to British advice who could be used to infiltrate British influence deeper into the internal polity of the state, was appointed as the highest executive authority under the Raja. Under this regime, the uncertainty about the regular payment of subsidy and its arrears was removed. The resistance offered to the British revealed to them the sources of anti-British sentiments in the State that needed greater suppression and also the knowledge of the pro-British element which needed greater patronage. A part of the subsidiary force, permanently stationed at Trivandrum, accorded greater safety to the British Residency against any future attacks of which there was hardly any further danger. Greater vigilance was shown by keeping a closer watch over the activities of the Raja and the Dewan as a guarantee against future trouble. Thus, by all possible means, the future security of British interests in Travancore was ensured permanently. To avoid any danger to British interests from its neighbouring state of Cochin, whose Dewan had made common cause with Vailu Thampi, the State was brought rigorously into the web of a subsidiary alliance, and opposition to the British was rooted out by adequate punishment to the hostile elements.

1. Aitchison, C.U. ; vol.x, p. 115 ; during the Second Mysore War, the British found Raja Varma of Travancore a steadfast ally and he was accordingly included in the Treaty framed in 1784 between the East India Company and the Sultan of Mysore.
2. Aitchison, C.U. ; Vol.X,p. 115 ; in 1784, when threatened by Tipu Sultan, the Raja entered into an agreement with the British by which he allowed two Battalions of sepoys to be stationed on his frontier. In 1789, when Tipu attacked the Raja of Travancore, the British Government, sided with him and compelled Tipu to restore the territories, he had wrested from the Raja.
3. Aitchison, C.U. : vol.X, Arts. III and IV,p. 130.
4. Treaty of 1805 : Aitchison, C.U. ; Vol. X, Art. 3,p. 136.
5. Arts. IV and V of the Treaty.
6. Articles VII, VIII.
7. Barlow to Lord Minto, Aug. 5, 1808, Cons , 24.
8. Barlow to Lord Minto : August, 5, 1808. For. Deptt. Secret Cons. January 2, 1809, Cons. 2.
9. Raja to Lord Minto, received on February 13, 1808, For. Deptt. Secret. Cons. December 26, 1808. Cons. 30.
10. Chief Secretary, Madras to Colonel Macaulay, Resident in Travancore ; June 25, 1808. For. Deptt. Secret Cons. January 2, 1809. Cons. 27.
11. Dewan to Chief Secretary, Madras, July 8, 1808. For. Deptt. Secret Cons. January 2, 1809. Cons. 28.
12. Chief Secretary, Madras to Dewan , May 30, 1808. For—Deptt. Secret Cons. January 2, 1809, Cons. 31.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Chief Secretary, Madras to Dewan, May 30, 1808. For—Deptt. Secret Cons. January 2, 1809. Cons. 31.
15. Macaulay to Chief Secretary, Madras ;
16. Macaulay to Chief Secretary ; July 13, 1808. For. Deptt. Secret Cons. January 2, 1809. Cons. 30.
17. *Ibid.*
18. Dewan to Chief Secretary, Nov. 23, 1808. For. Deptt., Secret Cons. January 2, 1809. Cons. 45.
19. Dewan to Chief Secretary, July 10, 1808. For. Deptt. Secret. Cons. January 2, 1809. Cons. 29.
20. Barlow to Lord Minto ; November 23, 1808. For. Deptt. Secret. Cons. January 2, 1809. Cons. 45.
21. Macaulay to Chief Secretary , December 5, 1808. For. Deptt. Secret Cons. January 2, 1809. Cons. 59.
22. Macaulay to Chief Secretary , December 5, 1808. For. Deptt. Sect. Cons. January 2, 1809. Cons. 59.
23. Macaulay to Chief Secretary, December 2, 1808. For. Deptt. Secret Cons. January 2, 1809. Cons. 56.
24. Macaulay to Chief Secretary ; December 22, 1808. For. Deptt. Cons. January 2, 1809. Cons. 49.
25. *Ibid.*
26. Macaulay to Chief Secretary dated Nil. For. Deptt. Secret Cons. January 23, 1809. Cons. 33.
27. *Ibid.*
28. Chief Secretary to Macaulay ; December 7, 1808. For. Deptt. Secret. Cons. January 9, 1809. Cons. 14.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Chief Secretary to Macaulay ; December 7, 1808. For. Deptt. Secret. Cons. January 9, 1809. Cons. 14.
31. Chief Secretary to Officer commanding, Southern Division, December 18,1808. For. Deptt. Secret Cons. January 9, 1809. Cons. 11 ; and Chief Secretary to Officer commanding, Malabar, December 18, 1809. For. Deptt. Secret Cons. January 9, 1809. Cons. 12.

32. Chief Secretary to Officer commanding, Seringapatam, op. Cit. Cons. 13.
33. Barlow to Minto. December 27, 1808. For. Deptt. Secret Cons. January 23, 1809. Cons. 28.
34. next page.
35. Chief Secretary, Madras to Edmonstone : December 16, 1808 For. Deptt. Secret Cons. January 2, 1809. Cons. 53.
36. Lord Minto to Barlow, December 19, 1808. For. Deptt. Secret Cons. January 2, 1809. Cons. 40.
37. Macaulay to Chief Secretary, December 27, 1808. For Deptt. Secret Cons. January 23, 1809. Cons. 30.
- Ibid*, December 28—*Ibid*. Cons. 42.
38. Macaulay to Dewan, December 26, 1808. For Deptt. Secret. Cons. January 23, 1809. Cons. 41.
39. Macaulay to Chief Secretary, December 28, 1808. For. Deptt. Secret Cons. January 23, 1809. Cons. 42.
40. *Ibid*.
41. Macaulay to Chief Secretary, December 29, 1808. For. Deptt. Secret Cons. January 23, 1809. Cons. 30.
42. Proclamation of Chief Secretary, Madras, January 5, 1809, For. Deptt. Secret Cons. February 1809. Cons. 5.
43. Barlow to Raja, January 5, 1809. For. Deptt. Secret Cons. February 6, 1809. 10.
44. Chief Secretary to Colonel Cuppage, January 11, 1809. For. Deptt. Secret. Cons. February 13, 1809, Cons. 30.
45. Chief Secretary to Edmonstone: February 10, 1809, For. Deptt. Secret Cons. March 6, 1809. Cons. 9.
46. Chief Secretary to Edmonstone : February 20, 1809. For. Deptt. Secret Cons. March 6, 1809. Cons. 10.
47. *Ibid*. Three hundred men of the insurgents were killed and wounded.
48. Chief Secretary to Edmonstone, February 23, 1809. For. Deptt. Secret Cons. March 13, 1809. Cons. 27.
49. Chief Secretary to Edmonstone, February 28, 1809. For. Deptt. Secret. Cons. March 13, 1809. Cons. 27.
50. Macaulay to Chief Secretary, February 26, 1809. For. Deptt. Secret Cons. March 27, 1809. Cons. 22.
51. Aitchison, C.U., op. Cit.
52. Edmonstone to Chief Secretary, Madras, April 10, 1809. For. Deptt. Secret. Cons. April 10, 1809 Cons. 14.
53. Edmonstone to Chief Secretary, Madras, April 10, 1809. For. Deptt. Secret. Cons. April 10, 1809. Cons. 14.
54. *Ibid*.
55. Macaulay to Edmonstone, June 9, 1809. For. Deptt. Secret. Cons. July 15, 1809. Cons. 6.
56. Chief Secretary to Edmonstone, March 4, 1809. For. Deptt. Secret Cons. March 20, 1809. Cons. 5.
57. Chief Secretary to Edmonstone, March 4, 1809. For. Deptt. Secret Cons. March 20, 1809. Cons. 5.
58. Macaulay to Barlow, March 29, 1809. For. Deptt. Secret Cons. April 29, 1809. Cons. 16.
59. Macaulay to Chief Secretary, April 2, 1809. For. Deptt. Secret Cons. April 29, 1809. Cons. 18.
60. Edmonstone to Chief Secretary, April 29, 1809. For. Deptt. Secret Cons. April 29, 1809. Cons. 19.

MR. DESAI ON AGRICULTURAL TAXATION

Dr. P.K. BHARGAVA

The central aim of planning in developing economies, such as India, is the rapid economic development of the country. The process of economic development is costly in the sense that people have to bear sacrifices which are inevitable because the success of the Plan depends upon the availability of resources. The Draft Outline of the Fourth Plan rightly emphasizes that "it is necessary to adopt a suitable resource mobilization policy which must be consistent with the objectives to be achieved."* Internally, the resources can be mobilized through voluntary and involuntary savings. Forced savings can be created either by higher taxation or through a process of rising prices. Since the developing economies are characterised by the high propensity to consume of the people, adequate voluntary savings can not be made available. Hence greater reliance has to be placed on taxation as a tool for resource mobilization because inflationary financing is a bad method of resource mobilization since it taxes rich and the poor indiscriminately. Such a policy of resource mobilization will result in greater inequalities which is against the principle of taxation. Thus, the author believes that to raise adequate resources internally, due reliance should be placed on tax policy. Tax policy used with ingenuity can also help in achieving some other social and economic objectives, besides raising revenue.

In order to raise adequate resources the strategy of tax policy should be that it takes away as large a part as possible of the additional income generated during the process of economic development. Such a step will not affect the existing consumption level of the people adversely and will not be much opposed by them. However, in imposing additional Taxation care must be taken that it is imposed wherever additional

income is generated. In otherwards, it must be imposed on all sectors of the economy who benefit as a result of economic development. In order to achieve fiscal equity we must tax both the agricultural and the non-agricultural sectors. There are strong reasons to believe that agricultural sector should be taxed adequately as it has been relatively lightly taxed in the past. Besides, the arguments given below will amply justify the need to tax this sector. However, the leaders of the country are still afraid to tax the agricultural sector because of the large majority this sector commands and the vital role this sector can play in the political game of the country. It does not appear to be a sound logic that while on the one hand our Finance Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai, talks of evolving "a simple and just system of taxation" whereas on the other hand he thinks that agricultural incomes should not be taxed. Inaugurating an all-India seminar on taxation and national development under the auspices of the Indian Institute of Chartered Accountants of India, Mr. Desai opposed tax on agricultural incomes and said that only 15 per cent of the national income came from the agriculture sector. But 41 per cent of the national income belonged to 70 per cent of the population while 30 per cent of the people were responsible for 55 per cent of the national income. "It is true", Mr. Desai said, "the agriculture sector is coming up. But until recently they had a very bad deal". The author thinks that the question is not what percentage of national income belongs to the rural sector but the relevant consideration is what percentage of that income is taken by the Government by way of taxes. Further, if the agricultural sector had suffered in the past the Government had taken adequate steps to provide reliefs to agriculturists and at a time when the Fourth

Plan is in the dark due to the uncertainty of availability of resources why should not the ruling party give up its vested interest and raise resources from every nook and corner of the country.

Various studies have proved empirically that the urban sector in India has been taxed relatively more as compared to the rural sector. Even the Draft outline of the Fourth Plan admits this fact and emphasizes that, the taxation imposed on the urban, especially the corporate sector, has reached the saturation point beyond which any additional burden will put the wheels of industry in jeopardy. According to Professor K.N. Raj "A preliminary analysis of the available data, based inevitably on a great deal of guess work, suggest that the increase in the revenues since 1952-53 has been realized more from the urban rather than the rural sector and while that Government taxation has probably absorbed nearly 40 per cent of the increase in incomes in the urban sector, the share of the Government in the increased income of the rural sector has been perhaps not more than about 14-15 per cent" (K.N. Raj, Resources for the Third Plan, *The Economic Weekly*, Annual Number, January 1959). According to the National Council of Applied Economic Research, "If we compare the tax paid by rural and urban sectors, we find that the urban sector's output is subjected to about 22 per cent in taxes whereas the rural sector foregoes only 5 per cent. These percentages have more or less remained constant over the last decade." (Techno Economic Survey of Uttar Pradesh, p. 188). These findings have been substantiated further and Professor A.M. Khusro concludes that, "the internal value of rupee has fallen very considerably between 1939 (wholesale price index 1939-100) and 1959 (index-415) so that the real value of the tax received by the Government has declined steeply. Secondly, the yield per acre in the Indian farming has been rising during the 1950's and since upward revision of land revenue have been

infrequent and meagre, land revenue collection has declined in this decade as a proportion of output..... And finally since intersectoral terms of trade have been gradually moving in favour of farmers and against non-farmers between 1940 and 1957 and again between 1954 and 1961, there is a presumption that tax paying capacity of the agricultural sector has increased proportionately more than that of non-agricultural sector". (A.M. Khusro, Taxation of Agricultural Land—A Proposal, *The Economic Weekly*, Annual Number, February 1963). Besides these findings, there are other reasons too why the agricultural sector should be taxed.

Our plan expenditure has been highly agriculture-oriented. During the first decade of planning, i.e., 1951-52 to 1960-61, the total outlay on agriculture, community development and irrigation amounted to Rs. 1,551 crores which formed 15 per cent of the total outlay during that period. This percentage increased to 20 in the Third Plan but is estimated to decline to 14 during the Fourth Plan, although in absolute terms it is estimated to increase to Rs. 3,374 crores as against Rs. 2,560 crores during the Third Plan. Due to increasing expenditure on agricultural development and other related fields, there has been an increase in productivity of land and income of the rural sector. "The income of the agricultural sector during the quinquennium 1961-62 to 1965-66 has gone up by approximately 26 to 30 per cent and productivity by approximately 20 to 25 per cent. During the Fourth Plan there will be a compound rate of growth of 5.59 per cent in agricultural production. The yield per acre is expected to go up by 26 per cent in the case of foodgrains, 20 per cent in the case of oil seeds and 13 per cent in the case of jute" (P.K. Bhargava, Incidence of Agricultural Taxation, *Commerce*, October 1, 1966, p. 583). The agricultural sector has also benefited due to relatively greater rise in prices of agricultural products. During the Third Plan alone, the wholesale price index of food articles increased by 48 per cent as against an increase of 36 per cent in the

wholesale price index of all commodities.

The Draft outline of the Fourth Plan advocates readjustment of agricultural taxation so as to promote larger re-investment in land. The Draft expects the implementation of Nijalingappa Committee's recommendations in regard to irrigation rates. The Nijalingappa Committee had recommended that where it is possible to work out the net additional benefit accruing from an irrigated crop, water rates should be fixed at 40 per cent of such benefit. In other cases it suggested that water rates may be fixed between 5 per cent and 12 per cent of the farmers gross income from the irrigated crop. The Committee had also suggested that compulsory water charges, sufficient to cover at least the maintenance and operation costs of irrigation works should be made applicable to the entire area served by irrigation projects irrespective of whether the water is drawn by the cultivator or not. The author suggests that the State Governments should devise a two-tier system of irrigation rates : (i) a general irrigation rate on a uniform basis payable by all cultivators, who fall within the command area, irrespective of the use of water and (ii) a specific irrigation rate on a progressive basis linked with the quantum of water used. Such an arrangement would be conducive to the use of water and would also help in financing irrigation projects.

"As regards land revenue", concludes the Draft, "it will be necessary to revise the rates both for securing additional resources and for introducing elements of progression in their incidence on holdings of different types". Land revenue was one of the main source of revenue in the States' tax structure in the past. Since it is not related to increase in productivity of land and rising prices of the agricultural products and expanding income of this sector its share in the revenue from State Taxes has declined rapidly. Land revenue contributed 25.9 per cent to the revenue from State taxes in the First Plan. This percentage declined to 17 in the Third Plan and further to 9.6 in 1967-68 (Budget). In fact,

the importance of land revenue in the States' tax structure may decline further as many State Governments have taken steps to abolish land revenue wholly or partially. We may, however, emphasize here that the amount which the cultivator now pays to the Government is actually much less than what he was paying to the Zamindar by way of legal and illegal exactions. The farmer has, therefore, improved his economic position and whatever the increase in the yield from land revenue has taken place is mainly due to the abolition of intermediaries.

It is better late than never that the Planning Commission has realized the need to tax the agricultural sector. Accordingly, the Commission has recently suggested the levy of an agricultural income tax and its integration with the general income tax. This proposal has been opposed by many State Governments on political considerations. Moreover, the State Governments may not agree for the implementation of this proposal because it may mean an encroachment on their financial autonomy as agricultural income tax is a State subject while income tax is shared with the States on the recommendations of the Finance Commission. The author is inclined to think that the proposal of the Planning Commission cannot be implemented successfully even on considerations other than political. Firstly, it is difficult for the illiterate farmers to maintain accounts. Secondly, the States do not possess the administrative competence to levy income tax on all land-holders. Thirdly, what the farmer earns is not a salary, it is a combination of profit and remuneration for managerial effort. Dr. Lakdawala has rightly emphasized that, "In an underdeveloped country like India, with smaller size of holdings, lower average incomes, greater self sufficiency, and greater illiteracy, agricultural income tax can only be collected with some degree of efficiency from a very small minority of the rural population". (D.L. Lakdawala, Taxation and the Plan, p. 114).

While the irrigation rates should be raised and betterment levies should be imposed there is

an urgent need to modify the structure of land revenue. It may be emphasized here that basic land revenue rates cannot be changed due to the past settlements that the Government had made with the agriculturists. Hence the author suggests a surcharge on land revenue on a sliding scale. I suggest that land revenue on holdings of 2.5 acres or less should be abolished while holdings upto 5 acres should be exempt from the proposed surcharge. It is necessary to do so because the majority of farmers has small holdings in India. For instance, in Uttar Pradesh 60 per cent of the farmers have holdings of 2.5 acres or less and 20 per cent of the farmers have holdings of 5 acres or so. Thus, the proposed scheme will get support of nearly 60 per cent of the farmers and will not be opposed by another 20 per cent of the farmers. In short, the Government will not lose political support of the masses. Farmers with 5 to 10 acres of holdings should pay 50 per cent surcharge on land revenue while farmers with 10 to 15 acres should pay surcharge of 100 per cent. Farmers with 15 to 20 acres should pay a

surcharge of 150 per cent and those who possess 20 to 30 acres should pay a surcharge of 250 per cent. Farmers possessing more than 30 acres of land should pay a surcharge of 300 per cent. The implementation of the proposed scheme would yield approximately Rs. 100 crores to 125 crores per annum to the States' exchequer. However, besides bringing additional revenue to the States' exchequer it will also help in checking concentration of economic power in the hand of a few farmers.

The scheme suggested above may strike to some as inimical to the growth and development of the agricultural sector and may, therefore, be opposed by the State Governments. However, it may be emphasized that the adverse effects of the proposed scheme, if any, can be rectified by the expenditure policy of the Government and much can be done in this direction by earmarking the proceeds of additional agricultural taxation for agricultural development. If this is done, it will neither be opposed by the peasant community nor by the State Governments.



WILL DEMOCRACY SURVIVE IN INDIA ?

R. C. PAL

Democracy has long been regarded as an ideal system whereby the people through representatives decide their own affairs. Its main props are (1) the franchise and (2) the rule by majority. But due to certain defects inherent in both some amount of impatience with democracy has of late been manifesting itself in many a democratic country. Some have already broken away from mooring and opted for dictatorship, qualified or absolute. It is to be borne in mind that democracy is but a means to an end and not an end in itself. So if the end is not attained people have a right to seek other means.

Frustration and despondency accumulated during the twenty years' unbroken rule of the Congress party were but largely aggravated by the nightmarish hubbub conducted during the intermittent rules of the United Opposition parties and the Congress supported P. D.F. parties for a few months apiece in West Bengal. The image was no less damaging in some other States as well where the President's Rule has since been promulgated to be followed up by mid-term polls. It is now amply demonstrated that none of the parties either singly or collectively can deliver the goods. Moreover our very competency for this form of selfgovernment is being gravely doubted at home and abroad.

It was perhaps with the best of intentions that our leaders decided upon the adult franchise as the true basis of the representative government. But it was hardly realised that the adult franchise came to its own through the process of trial of truth and error and through a series of tests e.g. of (1) residence, (2) property, (3) education, (4) profession, (5) income and (6) sex. Who does not know that the innocent looking women's

suffrage was tardily recognised in England as late as in 1918 only ?

In a country which is steeped into illiteracy to the extent of nearly 90 p.c. of its population, adult franchise was indeed a fool-hardy experiment to start with. Election is always a costly affair and the lure of money works wonders specially amongst the illiterate and the unwary. Besides, it lets loose the flood gates of corruption and malpractices all around. This naturally frightens the more sober and thoughtful section of the people away from it, making easy room for a few designing and resourceful individuals to manage the whole show and ultimately grab the entire machinery to run the government. In essence an oligarchy is set up in a modern garb with a democratic veil on.

In political parlance there is a trite saying that "you get the government you deserve". This is said more in reproof than in sorrow implying that the voters' part is perfunctorily performed by not selecting the right man in the right place.

This is the place to dwell on the vexed question of the multiplicity of parties in a democratic country. Social welfare has been the battle cry of all the contending parties. But curiously enough, the term has nowhere been accurately defined in political science. So each party is at liberty to weave its own pattern of *EL DORADO* for the allurements of the people who fall an easy prey to the thrilling *Circes* of one or other of these parties. And it is always so very difficult to differentiate the chaff from the wheat.

Granted that a cluster of ideologies is the *sine qua non* of the party system flourishing under the banner of democracy, care must be taken to see that they are shared atleast by the minimum majority of the people so as to be binding on all,

otherwise each one of us will form a party by himself. Just as license is not liberty the indiscriminate setting up of parties is no democracy but a gross abuse of it. This may be averted by rule of thumb, like adopting a formula prohibiting a party securing less than the barest majority of votes from taking up the reins of administration. During the period of interregnum the President shall act as he does in emergency.

This will eliminate mushroom parties and help crystalizing two or three solid parties to regulate the eddy of democracy to its destined end. The two principal parties apart viz the ruling party and the opposition party, a third party consisting of truly conscientious idealists may be tolerated to act as a lever or safety-valve in times of crises.

This leads us on to the greatest headache the party system has generated in the matter of deciding the 'majority' of votes. A majority simpliciter of votes is made to yield place to what has come to be known as Group-majority by clever twists and turns. Thus a party, say, with 45 p.c. of votes polled is allowed to rule over the rest who between themselves command 55 p.c. of votes. This is travesty of democracy, and our poor knowledge of Arithmetic simply forsakes us to explain this magic feat! After all you are to deal with live human beings and not bubbles of deceptive ideologies.

A new menace is rising in our political firmament. It is the merry business of floor-crossing. So far no effective protest has asserted itself against this evil practice which is reprehensible in all conscience and indefensible on both moral and political grounds. It must be countered by drastic methods so that the individuals concerned may be denied, in the first instance, the fruits of their misbehaviour by depriving them of their right of voting. Further, they may be socially ostracized and politically debarred from taking part in elections for a term or two.

These are, in brief, the infirmities with which infant democracy is limping forward.

And, as if to match with them, the exploits of our leaders are equally exasperating. While some countries, at the present moment, are, in the plenitude of their material prosperity, boldly experimenting upon their prodigious scheme of interplanetary communication projects, we, in India are still grovelling in the quagmire for bare elementary necessities of life, like food, residence and employment, although we too have a government of our own choice, maintained at a great cost. Their fund of energy is wholly spent up for their parties' interest leaving nothing for the country's. Well might we exclaim that we have so demeaned our self-government as to mean the government for (the welfare of) one's own self, relations, friends and henchmen to the exclusion of all others!

In an overall picture depicted as above can any body blame the people if they, from their sense of perennial penury come to denounce the party system, with all its niceties of ideologies, now proved to be a more "Brutal fulmen"—sound and fury signifying nothing—and long for a change in the set up ushering in a more stable and efficient form of government that will (1) guarantee the four-fold minimum necessities of life as aforementioned and (2) pull up the people from the political morass they have been bogged down to?

From this point of view a little ray of hope is flickering through the Governors' roles, though temporary. They have begun well and let us hope that given time, they will do something positive for the betterment of the lot of the people of the States under their dispensation. Yet in spite of their being all that is good, not being the peoples' representatives their position in the peoples' eyes is no better than that of the Provincial *Satraps* of the Moghul times. Another sore point is that all their labours might prove to be barren because of the transitory nature of their roles pending fresh polls.

Public mind is therefore greatly agitated as to how best to secure the services of truly able administrators within the framework of our Con-

stitution. This is reminiscent of and accords well with the age-old concept of one-man-rule assisted by his councillors—*Amatyas* (Sanskrit) and *Witans* (Anglo-saxon). It is for the philologists to divine any nexus between the two terms, for both begin with a more or less vowel sound as in *Awe* in *Amatyas* and *We* in *Witans* and roll down with accents on a similar consonant sound in *tyas* and *tans* in the end.

Indeed we may open up a new chapter in our Constitution if we can make the Governors and their councillors as the chosen representatives of the people. The number of councillors may be kept within due bounds with reference to the size and population of the respective States. The governors and their councillors may be elected for a term, but eligible for re-election. They may be impeached and removed for gross inefficiency, abuse of power and dereliction of duties. There will thus be a glorious fusion of the monarchical ideas of the old and the republican ideas of the modern age to the infinite relief of the restive world.

At a time when a large section of the people are up in arms against English it is highly amusing to notice their dotish attachment to the institutions, practices and other costly paraphernalia of parliamentary system and even to manners, customs, habiliments and deportment borrowed directly from the countries speaking that accursed English language! It is to be devoutly wished that the proposed fusion will blunt the edge of these borrowed things and that as such it will catch on the imagination of these odd people.

On this fugitive survey any definitive judgement on the future of democracy evidently hinges on the slender issue as to whether Democracy subserves the peoples' interest or is used as a clever device for furthering the parties' interest. In the former case its march in history will go unimpeded. In the latter case it is bound to beat a retreat and the cry of "Save Democracy" will indeed be a cry in the wilderness. And then Dictatorship will not tarry long to overtake us.



THE PLEASURE OF THE GOVERNOR OF A STATE IN INDIA

Dr. HAREKRISHNA SAHARAY

After the last general election in India the monolithic rule has ceased to exist in the States of India. In a majority of the States the non-Congress Ministries were formed. Their aim was to expose the maladministration of the former Congress Ministries and to elevate their respective party position by securing public confidence. In some matters the non-Congress Ministries in the States have charged the Congress Government at the Centre of its step-motherly attitude towards them. Discrimination between the Congress controlled State Governments and non-Congress State Governments was alleged to be exercised by the Central Government. On the other hand, the Central Government has questioned the authenticity of any such allegation. The dismissal of the non-Congress Ministries recently in West Bengal, Haryana and Punjab by the respective Governors of the States has added enough fuel to this controversial issue. The Governors are supposed to exercise their authority to dislodge the non-Congress Ministries in those States within the Constitutional Provisions. Now the question is : Have they acted in accordance with the Constitutional Provisions or have they played into the hands of the Central Government ? This question can not be answered without reference to the Constitutional position of a Governor of a State. It has a direct bearing on the power of the Governor to exercise his 'pleasure' in dismissing the Ministers.

In spirit the Constitution of India is based on federal democratic principle. But in practice this principle has discarded to an appreciable extent. This will be evident from the qualifications required for the appointment of a State Governor. Any citizen of India who is over thirty-five years of age is eligible for appointment as Governor¹. Neither minimum academic qualification nor

administrative experience is necessary for such appointment. Unless a convention is created or specific provisions or rules are prescribed in this regard a blockheaded person may hold this position by mere favoritism or political affinity with the Central Home Minister who guides the President in this important matter. These qualifications are even less than those required for an ordinary civil servant. Nor does a Governor need an electoral qualification like a legislative member of a State. Holding of an office of profit² prior to his appointment is not a disqualification for this purpose. It is surprising that a person who is supposed to be at the helm of State affairs has inferior qualification to a civil servant or a State legislator. If the President of India wants to appoint a Governor as political patronage he can do so within the Constitutional provisions. But this would seriously affect the Union State relationship.

Under the Government of India Act, 1935 there was no statutory provision for the particular qualifications of a Governor and as a result there was a mutual distrust between India and England. So, for closer co-operation between these two countries, Sir C. Setalvad³ observed thus :

"If His Majesty's Government can gather courage and take the bold step of filling the Governorships of all provinces by highly qualified and outstanding men taken from public life in England and India, they will do a great deal to restore confidence."

So far as the appointment of Governors in the States under the present Constitution is concerned, this principle ought to be followed. No Governor would be thrust upon a State against the will of the people in order to establish mutual confidence

between the Union and the State. As is reported in the press the present Governor of Bihar State was appointed by the President on the advice of the Home Ministry but against the wishes of the State Chief Minister. There was a proposal in the Drafting Committee of the Indian Constitution with regard to appointment of the Governor. It suggested that a panel of four persons should be decided upon by the State Legislature and the President of India would elect one as Governor from that panel. But ultimately that proposal was dropped "in the interest of All-India Unity", and Shri Brajeshwar Prasad put forward an amendment in the Constituent Assembly on May 30, 1949 that the Governor of a State should be appointed "by the President by warrant under his hand and seal"⁴; and that was accepted and inserted as Art. 155 of the Constitution. The question of "All-India Unity" is a matter of reciprocity between the Union and the State. It is not one way traffic that the Union Government will use the office of the Governor in its own interest and not for the Wellfare of the State. So, for 'All-India Union' the Governor of a State should be appointed on a mutual understanding between the Union and the State since there is no specific statutory qualifications for this important position.

In Australia the Governor of an Australian State is appointed by the Crown on the advice of the British Cabinet. But as a matter of practice the British Cabinet consults the Prime Minister of the State concerned in such appointment.⁵ Though the Governor is the executive head of a State, yet he always acts on the advice of his Ministers. In Canada, the Lieutenant Governor of a Province is appointed by the Governor-General on the advice of the Dominion Ministry. But once such appointment is made he acts for all purposes as the representative of the Crown⁶ and not as the active instrument of the Governor-General of the Dominion. But in the Indian States the converse is true. Though the Constitution of India is based on centripetal principle of federation, but there should be either convention or statutory

provision for recall of the Governor on a resolution passed by the Council of Ministers of a State. It is in the interest of the State and "All-India Union" that a nominated Governor must always act on the advice of this Council of Ministers which is collectively responsible to an elected Assembly. Otherwise, the sovereign democratic principle will be a misnomer in India.

(III)

In the background of dismissal of the non-Congress Ministries in West Bengal, Haryana and Punjab we shall see how far Governors of the respective State have acted independently of the interest of the States and within the provisions of the Constitution. It is to be noted at the outset that the word "discretion" or "pleasure" in the statute is one that is exercised prudently on some judicious principles and not in whimsical manner. It may be graphically interpreted as a straightline with minor modifications. For similar sets of facts it will never run in a zigzag way. We shall soon find that the Governors of some States used that Constitutional power of 'discretion' or 'pleasure' not on judicious principles but on political principles. None of them were free from political prejudice and influence of the Central Government.

Art. 163 (2) of the Constitution of India provides for "the decision of the Governor in his discretion shall be final". It is a replica of the provisions in section 54 (A) of the Government of India Act, 1935. Under the later Act the Governor had the supreme control over the affairs of a Province. A deviation from this practice was evident when India ceased to be ruled by a foreign Governor in the interest of an empire. That is why during the debate in the Constituent Assembly on the Governor's discretionary powers it was clarified that the Provision in Art. 163 would be completely different from that in section 54 (A) of the G.I. Act, 1935 in actual practice. This deviation is necessary for two reasons. First of all, the Legislature under

the G.I. Act, 1935 represented only a section of provincial population whereas the State Legislature under the present Constitution represents the bulk of the total population. Secondly, the Governor formerly was given this extraordinary power in the interest of the British empire, but now with the change of situation the Governor will exercise this power on the advice of the Council of Ministers which is responsible to an elected body.

Different interpretations may be put forward as to the exercise of Governor's discretionary powers. It may be exercised in any one of the following manners.

- (A) The Governor may use this power himself directly without being biased to any political thinking.
- (B) He may use it on behalf of the President of India in which case the Home Minister at the Centre will act as a pressure group.
- (C) He may discharge this important function on the advice of the Council of Ministers. We hold the view that the third process is more suitable to federal democratic ideology. Since the Governor is deemed to be a mere figure-head because of the lack of his essential qualifications to represent the people of the State either directly or indirectly, he should not do an act against the elected representatives of the people who constitute the Council of Ministers. Besides, with the situation in West Bengal in view before the dismissal of the United Front Ministry, the Governor could not fix the date and place for convening the Assembly against the wishes of the Chief Minister under Art. 174(I). It is because he can not act against the will of an accepted Chief Minister of a State till he is removed by the Assembly or he resigns from the office.

Not a single standard or a rule was established in dismissing the non-Congress Ministries in

three State, namely, Haryana, West Bengal and Punjab. In Haryana it was not *prima facie* proved that the Council of Ministers did not enjoy the support of the majority in the Assembly. The ground of dismissal was the breakdown of the Constitutional machinery due to frequent crossing of Assembly floor by the defectors. It is surprising to understand the reasoning. Since defection is not a statutory offence, how is it possible to resit the members from crossing the Assembly floor? Above all, this process was first encouraged by the Congress in Madras and is now followed by each political party. Unless this is strictly prohibited by law providing a fresh mandate from the Constituency for defection, it is a bad ground for dismissal of Ministry in a State.

Assuming for argument's sake that defection, whether frequent or occasional, is a ground for dismissal of State Ministry and introduction of the President's rule under Art. 356 of the Constitution, then similar principle will be followed in similar circumstances in another State. That will be a good rule or convention in a country like India where democracy is still in a nascent state. But contrary to expectation, this rule was followed neither in West Bengal nor in Punjab. On the contrary, Governor's discretion or "the pleasure of the Governor" was applied to topple down the Ministries in these two States - though the crisis arose in both the States due to defection. From this it is evident that the Governors used double standards to interpret the Constitutional provisions. Either one of these standards is wrong or both are wrong. There is no single set of judicious principles. Political motive rather, than the regard for the Constitution dictated the Governors of those States.

Another crucial question is whether the Governor can dismiss the Chief Minister at his pleasure without the sanction of the Legislature. To quote Art. 164 (1) of the Constitution is relevant in this regard. It runs thus :

"The Chief Minister shall be appointed by the Governor and the other Ministers shall be appointed by the Governor on the

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advice of the Chief Minister, and the Ministers shall hold office during the pleasure of the Governor :”

This Article may be interpreted literally or liberally according to democratic principles. To our mind it should be interpreted liberally since the sovereign democratic principle is the tenet of our federation. The Governor appoints the Chief Minister who commands the majority in the Assembly. But once he is appointed it goes out of the Governor's hand. After that the Assembly is the sovereign democratic body to dismiss him by a vote of no-confidence duly passed; and it is the will of the Assembly that the Governor executes. Here “pleasure” does not appear to mean individual judgment of the Governor. The scope of the Governor's authority in this case is strictly limited. To do otherwise is a burial of democracy. Further, this provision has been made in the Article with an eye to dismissing recalcitrant Ministers in the Council. In case of serious disagreement between the Chief Minister and other Ministers in the Council if the latter do not resign on their own initiative, the Chief Minister may advise the Governor to dismiss them. In the light of democratic practices in Britain it seems that the provision “the Ministers shall hold office during the pleasure of the Governor” has been made in this Article. Above all, had the Constituent Assembly intended to include the Chief Minister they could easily do it by insertion of the words “the Chief Minister” with “the Ministers” or only “the Council of Ministers” in place of “the Ministers”. Since the two terms have been inserted separately in Art. 164 (1), each will bear a different meaning. This interpretation is plausible by application of the maxim expression “*unius est exclusio alterius*” which means that express mention of a thing excludes those which are not mentioned. In other words, express enactment shuts the door to further implication.⁷ Therefore, the dismissal of the Chief Ministers in West Bengal and Haryana is not consistent with the liberal interpretation of the Constitutional provision.

To resist the Chief Minister from remaining in power without commanding majority in the

Assembly Art. 174 (1) provides that “six months shall not intervene between its last sitting in one session and the date appointed for the first sitting in the next session”. The gap between sittings of each House of the Legislature of the State is fixed. So, this is a positive Constitutional check against the Chief Minister to go alone without the sanction of the Assembly. There is no Constitutional backing for dismissing the Chief Minister during the intervening period of two sessions when the opinion of the members of the Assembly is difficult to ascertain. The place and only place for such ascertainment is on the floor of the Assembly. Parade of the members before the Governor or written undertakings by legislative members to the Governor for determination of the confidence in the Chief Minister is the worst precedent never found in any matured democratic country in the world.

In West Bengal the Chief Minister of the former United Front Government announced to convene the Assembly on December 18 which was not approved of by the State Governor. In his view the date was too far and dismissed the Ministry. On the other hand, in Punjab the acting Chief Minister of the former United Front Ministry requested the State Governor to wait for a day so that he could intimate his decision. But a single day allowance was deemed too long there and he was dismissed. From the above two cases it appears that the Governors of those States used double standards again for something not incorporated in the Constitution.

(IV)

After the Speaker's historic ruling in the West Bengal State Assembly on November 29 there has been a Constitutional deadlock in the State. Since the authority of the Speaker within the Assembly is unquestionable as to the acceptance of one as the Chief Minister until he is removed or resigns from the office of the Speaker, the proper course would be to dissolve the Assembly and introduce the President's rule under Art. 356 and call for a mid-term election. Any other remedy based on political considera-

tion would be to don the Constitution with a straight—jacket.

1. Art. 157 of the Constitution of India.
2. Durga Das Basu : Commentary on the Constitution of India (11th ed.) Vol. 3. p. 234.
3. The New Indian Constitution : The Governorship, The Asiatic Review, Oct. 1935, p. 760.

4. Constituent Assembly Debates, 30th May, 1949, p. 426.

5. H.S. Nicholas : Australian Constitution (2nd ed.) p. 34

6. Liquidators of Maritime Bank v. Receiver-General of New Brunswick (1892) A.C. 437

7. Whiteman v. Sadler. (1910) A.C. 510, 527.

THE PROCEDURES FOR CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS IN THE COMMONWEALTH

DEBA PRASAD MOHANTY

*When I hear any man talk of an unalterable
Law, the only effect it produces on me is
to convince me that he is an unalterable
fool.*

—Sydney Smith

The constitution as the basic law of a country occupies a position superior to other laws. It is the fundamental law defining the set up of the government and its principal organs. Source of all governmental authority, the constitution determines the interrelationship of the various organs of government and prescribes the manner and the limits within which they would function.

It is the duty of the framers of the constitution to ensure its supremacy and to protect it from the two main dangers to which it may be exposed : easy alteration, and the likelihood of its provisions being infringed by enactment of laws. These two dangers could be met by the prescription of rigid rules for the amendment of the constitution, and by the establishment of an independent judiciary with powers to declare void all laws ultravires the constitution.

Nevertheless, as the constitution embodies the socio-economic and political aspirations of a country, and as the latter are likely to change,

the constitution should have a measure of flexibility in it. In fact, a rigid constitution would rather hamper the progress of a country than otherwise. As Nehru expressed it :

While we want this constitution to be as solid as we can make it, there is no permanence in constitution, there should be a certain flexibility. If you make anything rigid and permanent you stop the nation's growth, the growth of living, vital, organic people.... In any event we could not make this constitution so rigid that it cannot be adapted to changing conditions ; when the world is in turmoil and we are passing through a very swift period of transition, what we may do to-day may not be wholly applicable tomorrow.¹

In fact, the main problem for the framers of the constitution consists in striking a balance between rigidity and flexibility. In the words of Dawson, the Canadian constitutional expert, :

4

While change and growth are inevitable phenomena in constitutional life, there follows an uncertain and largely unpredictable course. Certain fundamental principles, however, are apt to remain stationary or to yield to pressures very reluctantly, and a constitution can therefore afford as a rule to be rigid in essentials provided they are so framed that in other respects, they are free to conform to the changing needs of the contemporary world.²

It would appear that, countries having no written constitution are relatively free from this problem. In England, for instance, where there exist no constitutional documents as such, no distinction could be drawn between constitutional legislation and other legislation; therefore fundamental constitutional changes may be made as easily as minor changes in private laws, although there might be great practical difficulties in effecting such changes.

Countries with written constitution have to decide how best to amend them, bearing in mind that a too rigid constitution, which does not bend will break sooner or later,³ while too much flexibility will subject the constitution to the whims of the legislators. The constitutional draftsmen of a federal type of government have to be particularly careful in regard to the amending procedure of the constitution because of the risk of disturbing the balance not only between the organs of the government but between the various units which constitute the state. In fact for this risk it is far more difficult to bring about desirable social economic and political changes in a federation than in a unitary state.

The power to amend the constitution lies with different bodies which may be broadly classified into three groups:

1. Sometimes, as in Canada, this power rests with an authority outside the national legislature of a country.
2. More commonly, the national parliament shares this power with state legislatures.
3. In some countries, as in Australia, both parliament and the people wield this power.

The Canadian constitution is the oldest among the Dominion constitutions and stands in a peculiar position in the whole field of constitutional laws. The Canadian Parliament, although the supreme law making body of an independent country, has no power to alter the constitution, which fact creates rather an embarrassing situation for Canadian constitutionalists.⁴ The Canadian Constitution is partly written and partly unwritten, the unwritten elements being mostly conventions. The basic constitutional document of the land is the British North America Act of 1867 which has subsequently been amended several times by the British Parliament. After the first world war eminent jurists of Canada gave serious thoughts to what was—and still is—the vital defect of the Canadian Constitution: the inability of the national Parliament to amend the constitution. Between 1927 and 1964 several conferences were held to find out a suitable method of amendment and to give Canada an independent constitution free from outer control. It was proposed by some participants of the 1927 conference that 'Canada in view of the quality of status which she now enjoys and in view further of the cumbersome procedure now required should have the power to amend her own constitution and the legislation should be asked for from the U.K. Parliament for that purpose. It was further proposed that when ordinary amendments were contemplated, the provincial legislatures should be consulted and the consent of the majority of the provinces obtained; but unless vital and fundamental amendments were sought, involving such questions as provincial rights, the rights of the minorities, or rights affecting race, language and creed, the unanimous consent of the provinces should be obtained. However, all the participants did not agree to this proposal. Some feared that the power of amendment would be too frequently used which would jeopardise the sanctity of the constitution. Therefore they wanted the British North America Act, having come from London, should be amended in London alone.

It was proposed in the conference of 1935-36 that the amending procedure should be of four categories depending on issues:

- (a) affecting Canada only,

- (b) affecting Canada and one or more but not all the provinces,
- (c) affecting Canada and all the provinces, which should require majority consent, and
- (d) affecting Canada and all the provinces, which are of such nature as to require the unanimous consent of all the provinces.

In the conference of 1950 it was recommended that the provisions of the British North America Act should be grouped into different categories, such as those concerning Parliament only, those concerning provincial legislatures, those concerning both Parliament and provincial legislatures and those concerning fundamental rights etc.

The conference held in 1960-61 accepted the proposals put forward in the 1950 conference but could come to no final agreement.

In the conference held in 1961 the proposals of the previous conferences were accepted and some new issues were discussed as well, such as the way to modify the existing powers given to the Dominion and to the provinces by sections 91 (1) and 92 (1) of the British North America Act. It was agreed that the new amending procedures should be incorporated in these two sections.

The present task for the Canadian constitutionalists is to give effect to the 1961 proposals, for which an Act of the U.K. Parliament would be required. Should such an Act be passed it would be the last amendment of the Canadian constitution made by the U.K. Parliament, because once this is done the U.K. Parliament will have no authority over Canada regarding any constitutional matter. Then only would Canada have complete legislative autonomy.

II

Most of the Commonwealth countries come under the second classified group with their national parliaments having the sole responsibility for and sovereign authority in regard to altering the constitutions. However, the method of amendment of the constitution varies from country to country depending on its political structure. A method which is suitable for one country may not fit the political environment of another. Again, the protection of minorities' interests, regional interests and sometimes religious interests of the people necessitate difference in methods of amendment.

When the constitution includes a chapter of Rights they should be given special protection against infringement. Generally there are two types of entrenched provisions in constitutions, the one alterable by a two thirds majority in the legislature and the other alterable by a more difficult process: either by a large majority vote in the legislature or after a national referendum. But one thing which is common to almost all constitutions that the amending clause itself is specially entrenched: the Indian Constitution however, is an exception.

Amendment of the constitution by a referendum, that is the approval of the people, is enough for a unitary state but not for a federal state.

It is not sufficient to say of a federal government that it should be so adapted to its times that the general government has the power to regulate any matter which a majority of the people think it should regulate. If the opinion of the majority of the people is a sufficient guide in a community, then it is likely that that community does not need federal government: that it will be most satisfactorily served by a unitary government. But if federal government is really appropriate to a country, it is most likely that the government by majority of the people is not usually enough. Majority of regions as well as majorities of people may need to be consulted.

No doubt, the support of 'majorities of regions' is theoretically desirable in a federation. But one may doubt whether this is practicable, when one considers how federal government actually works. We shall shortly turn our attention to the way federation works in India. But the weakest form of constitutional entrenchment is that which merely protects the constitution against amendment by implication.⁶ In the Constitution of Ghana the proviso to Article 20 (2) requires that if there is to be any alteration to the constitution it should be expressly made by a provision for its amendment, which must not include any other provision. In the 1961 Constitution of Southern Rhodesia⁷ Section 105 states that 'Subject to compliance with other provisions of this constitution, a Law of the Legislature may amend, add to, or repeal any of the provisions of this constitution other than

those mentioned in Section 111.⁸ Provided that no Act of Legislature shall deemed to amend, add to, or repeal any provision of this constitution unless it does so in express terms.'

The common element in the second classified group of commonwealth countries consists in the fact that the constitutions require a two thirds majority in the House or Houses of Parliament to enact a law for the amendment of the constitution. It will, however, be observed that there are slight differences between the constitutions: some call for a two thirds majority of the whole House; others a two thirds majority of the members actually present and voting. This 'two thirds majority' rule is generally found in the constitutions of India, Ceylon, Malaysia, Malawi, Nigeria, Trinidad and Uganda.

Of these countries India stands in a unique position. Perhaps no other country's constitution in the world has been amended so many times within as short a period as India's. During the last eighteen years it has already been amended twenty one times whereas the constitution of the U.S.A. has been amended only twenty two times during the last 176 years. Naturally one wonders why there has been so many amendments in the Indian Constitution. Was the constitution too hastily drafted by inexperienced draftsmen, who failed to consider the full implications of social, economic, political and legal aspects of Indian life? Surely the answer must be in the negative. India's is an autochthonous constitution drafted by learned jurists, who took three years to complete this work, after analysing most of the existing constitutions of the world and adopting such of their provisions as were found suitable to Indian life. Of course, one can imagine that the resultant mosaic would create a certain amount of confusion, and that the constitution would be complex and lengthy. Possibly, the founding fathers were obsessed with the warning given by Prof. Salmond⁹ in becoming excessively cautious and took too literally the advice of Mr. Nehru against a rigid constitution; the result has been a diseased constitution, which keeps the political and constitutional surgeons perpetually engaged. After seventeen amendments the Indian government is still unsatisfied: it is still asking what other provisions should be changed to suit its needs. It is therefore surprising that a person of Sir Ivor Jennings eminence has criticised India's constitution as too rigid for amendments,¹⁰ when,

in fact, it has proved so flexible that critics have charged that the very 'sanctity' of the constitution has been destroyed by the seventeen amendments to it.¹¹ Prof. de Smith has rightly said that the practical effect of the provisions for constitutional amendment will vary according to the political composition of the legislatures. The recent disturbances in some African countries support this conclusion. In Ghana and Nigeria the army has taken over the charge of the countries' administration and constitutional government has been suspended. In Uganda, the Prime Minister, Dr. Milton Obote, himself suspended the 1962 constitution on the 24th of February, 1966 and assumed the entire power of administration to avoid a military coup. On the 15th of April, 1966, when he placed his new constitution before the National Assembly, it was passed by 55 votes to 4, the opposition walking out and not taking part in the vote. Dr. Obote, now the executive President of Uganda, said that the new constitution would do away with the federal system in Uganda.:

Under the new constitution the Parliament would hold the supreme power, and all the regions would now be answerable to Parliament in all matters of finance and law. So no Provincial autonomy exists. All financial affairs of the kingdom and district administration would be subject to the vigorous control of the Parliament. The final arbiter in all constitutional issues would in future be the Uganda High Court, therefore, no appeal can be taken to Britain's Privy Council. The East African Court of Appeal would be the final court of appeal for all criminal cases. The freedom of expression would remain.¹²

Under the new constitution of Uganda, April 1966, there are certain changes regarding the procedure for amendments of the constitution. The old constitution could be amended only by a two thirds majority of all the members of the National Assembly, whereas the new constitution can be amended by a simple majority. Nevertheless there are still certain restrictions on constitutional amendment, though these are narrower in scope than under the 1962 constitution. Amendment involving the alteration in the boundaries of any kingdom or district must be approved by a two thirds majority of the Legislative assembly or

district council of the kingdom or district concerned.¹³ Thus, Dr. Obote brought a fundamental change in the form of government in Uganda by concentrating all powers in himself. The take-over by a president, secretly designing to establish autocratic government which Prof. Gledhill¹⁴ apprehends as a possibility under the Indian constitution, actually took place in Uganda.

In India the situation is that, since the day of independence until the last election only one party, the Indian National Congress had ruled the country with an overwhelming majority, practically without opposition either at the centre or in the States. Even if a different party is returned to power, it cannot exist in office for long against the all pervasive power of the central Congress Party. The fate of the Communist Party in the State of Kerala and the perpetual disturbances now going on in different states where non Congress parties have formed the government proves this fact clearly. Furthermore, the states have only a limited part to play in constitutional amendment. It will be interesting to see how far it will be possible to make constitutional amendment with the existing provisions, if a strong opposition emerges at the centre.

The amending procedure in Article 368 of the Indian Constitution provides that an amendment may only be initiated by the introduction of a Bill for that purpose in either House of the Parliament and the Bill must be passed in each House by a majority of the total membership of that House and a majority of not less than two thirds of the members present and voting. This provision for 'two thirds of the members present and voting' has been criticised by Prof. de Smith as a diluted form of the 'two thirds majority' rule.¹⁵ The Bill is then presented to the President for his assent and upon such assent being given to the Bill, the Constitution shall stand amended in accordance with the terms of the Bill. The Constitution also provides a special procedure for the amendment of certain matters which reflect the federal character of the Constitution. These special matters include the amending clause itself,¹⁶ the nature of the election of the President,¹⁷ the matters relating to the extent of executive power between the Union and the States,¹⁸ matters relating to the Supreme Court and the High Courts, the representation of states

in the Parliament and matters relating to the distribution of powers between the Union and the states.¹⁹ For all these matters the amendment must be ratified by the legislatures of not less than one half of the State. Similar provisions are found in the American constitution, but there the ratification of three fourths of the states is required. Prof. Gledhill considers that the Indian Constitution is rigid only in this respect as the greater part of it cannot, as in England, be amended by ordinary legislation.²⁰

So it is clear that there is no provision in the Indian Constitution which cannot be amended. And even the fundamental rights, as D. Basu has commented, have no special sanctity and may be amended like any other provisions of the constitution by special majority of the Parliament as laid down in Article 368.²¹ So in India the Parliament has great power. It may in certain respects be compared with the constitution of Malawi,²² although in Malawi the amending procedure is much simpler. Section 46 of the Malawian constitution, which provides the amending procedures, requires only a two thirds majority of all the members of the National Assembly on the second and third readings of an amending Bill.

There is a great similarity between this provision in the Malawian constitution and such a provision in the Malaysian constitution regarding the amendment of the constitution. Article 41 of the Malaysian constitution provides for the alteration of the constitution. Clause 1 of the Article 41 clearly states that the Constitution may be amended by an enactment passed by the legislature only by the means prescribed by this clause and by no other means. Clause 2 provides that, subject to clause 3, a Bill 'for making an amendment to the constitution shall not be passed by the Legislative Assembly unless it has been supported on the second or third reading by the votes of not less than two thirds of the total number of members thereof. Clause 4 makes it clear that the word 'amendment' also includes addition and repeal. The constitutions of Zambia and Sierra Leone also provide for the two thirds majority rule. But in Zambia ratification by the people by a referendum is required and in Sierra Leone for the alteration of the entrenched provisions of the constitution, the

dissolution of the Parliament and a fresh general election is necessary.

III

A common procedure in Commonwealth countries is to take the people's opinion of proposed alterations to the constitution. Generally the constitution makes a distinction between different clauses of the constitution. Some are called 'entrenched provisions' and others 'specially entrenched provisions' according to the procedure followed in altering them. Australia, Jamaica, Nigeria, Rhodesia and Ghana require an amending Bill to be approved by a referendum.

The Jamaican amending procedure is the most elaborate and complex. Section 49 of the Jamaican Constitution,²³ which provides for the alteration of the constitution, is a mixture of different types of procedures required for a constitutional amendment. It requires a certain percentage of majority in the House and certain time to lapse before a legislative proposal for constitutional amendment may have effect; in some cases it also requires the people's consent by way of a referendum. Section 49 of the Jamaican Constitution has nine clauses and a number of sub-clauses. Generally speaking, it maintains a distinction between entrenched and specially entrenched provisions. The entrenched provisions include the supremacy of the constitution, the Monarchy, and the amending procedure itself. The specially entrenched provisions include the fundamental rights, Parliamentary immunities, the Prerogative of Mercy, the Judiciary, the Public Service Commission. Section 49 (1) simply states that, subject to the provisions of Section 49, Parliament may by an Act passed by both Houses, alter any of the provisions of the Constitution. This is followed by an elaborate procedure for the amendment of the entrenched and specially entrenched provisions.

For entrenched provisions two separate procedures are adopted, one for normal cases and the for exceptional circumstances.

In normal cases the different stages through which a Bill for amendment has to pass are :

- (1) Introduction of the Bill in the House of Representatives.

- (2) A three month waiting period between the introduction of the Bill in the House of Representatives and the commencement of the first debate on the whole text of the Bill.

- (3) First debate (any majority will suffice).

- (4) Another three month waiting period between the conclusion of the first debate and the passing of the Bill by the House of Representatives.

- (5) Final debate (Two thirds majority of all the members of the House of Representatives).

- (6) Sent to the Senate (same procedure as above and in the third reading two thirds majority is required).

- (7) Sent for the Governor-General's assent.

In exceptional cases where the Senate has blocked an amendment, an appeal to the public may be made, and if three fifths of the electors voting approve the Bill, the Bill may be presented to the Governor-General for his assent.

In case of heavily entrenched provisions not only all the seven different stages above described, but an additional stage has to be passed through. After the Bill has been passed in the Senate with a two thirds majority, it must be submitted to the electors, not less than two nor more more than six months thereafter; and if a simple majority of the electors vote in favour, it is sent for the Governor-General's assent. In the exceptional case where the Senate has refused to accept the Bill, a two thirds majority of the electors is required.

Jamaica, therefore, stands in a special position among the Commonwealth countries by providing such detailed provisions for constitutional amendments. One might say that Jamaica has gone to far along the path of complexity.

There is some similarity as regards referendum between the Australian approach and the Jamaican approach, the main difference being that in Australia a referendum is needed in each and every case of amendment. The Commonwealth constitution of Australia²⁴ has an amending procedure, which requires consultation with the electors of the Commonwealth.

Section 128 of the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution states that the proposed law for the alteration must be passed by an absolute majority in each House of the Parlia-

ment and not less than two nor more than six months after its passage through both Houses, the proposed law shall be submitted in each state to the electors qualified to vote for the election of members of the House of Representatives. If the proposed law is approved by the majority of all the voters voting in a majority of states and also by a total majority of all the voters voting, it will then be submitted to the Governor-General for the Queen's assent. This is the type of federalistic approach to alteration of the constitution approved by Prof. Wheare, it regards the approval of the majority of the states and the majority of the people as vital for constitutional amendment. It is different from other Commonwealth constitutions in that, it does not classify the provisions of the constitution for the purpose of amendment. Any proposed law which brings about a change in the constitution must be ratified by the states and the people. In Australia the referendum procedure has undoubtedly made Constitutional change more difficult to accomplish. Of the twenty one proposals for amendment submitted to the people during the last sixtyseven years, only four have been ratified.²⁵

The Constitution of Zambia²⁶ also provides a dual procedure for the amendment of different classified provisions. Section 72 (1) of the Constitution states that, subject to the provisions of Section 72, Parliament may alter this Constitution, and clause 2 describes the procedures to be followed.

A Bill for an amendment shall not pass unless :

- (1) not less than thirty days before the first reading of the Bill in the National Assembly, the text of the Bill is published in the Gazette, and
- (2) the Bill is supported in second and third reading by the votes of not less than two thirds of all the members of the Assembly.

But so far as the amending clause itself, the fundamental rights, the Judiciary, the section 71 (2) and section 73 of the Constitution are concerned, the Constitution also requires the Bill to be submitted to a referendum, in which all persons registered as voters for the purpose of election to the National Assembly shall be entitled to vote, and unless the Bill has been supported by the votes of a majority of all persons

entitled to vote in the referendum, it cannot come into operation.

The Constitution of Ghana²⁷ has the weakest form of constitutional entrenchment, as Prof. de Smith remarks,²⁸ but to amend certain important provisions, it requires the people's consent by referendum.²⁹

In the Nigerian Constitution a referendum is required where regional interests are involved, as when the creation of a new region out of the existing territories, or major alteration of regional boundaries is contemplated. In order to become effective such amendments must get the support of sixty percent of the voters.³⁰

In Sierra Leone, as already mentioned, amendment of the constitution requires a general election. If the party in power wants to change the Constitution, it has to face a fresh general election. If the people approve the change, they will reelect the same party.

Sections 106-109 of the Rhodesian Constitution of 1961, provides that the specially entrenched provisions of the Constitution can be amended by a Bill passed by a two thirds majority in the Legislative Assembly, supported by majorities in referendum to the four main racial groups, voting separately. Referendum is not required if the Bill is reserved for Her Majesty's pleasure. But in this case a motion must be passed by a two-thirds majority in the Assembly, requesting the use of this alternative procedure. Prof. de Smith rightly remarks that, since no such motion may be moved without Her Majesty's consent, the British Government can effectively insist on compliance with the procedure involving a referendum. But nothing definitive can be said regarding this constitution at this stage, as the entire constitution is under eclipse due to the unilateral and therefore, illegal declaration of independence by Mr. Ian Smith, the Prime Minister of Rhodesia, on November 11, 1965.

The procedure for amendment by referendum is no doubt an additional protection in the public interest. In a federal type of government the ruling party might have secured the support of the electorate when elected, but that does not guarantee that every thing done by that party subsequently will be approved by the people. A Bill passed by a majority in the House or Houses of Parliament is not always certain to be accepted by the majority of the people whose opinion can

only be ascertained by a referendum. In the Constitution of Gambia³¹, a Bill which proposes a change in the pattern of government e.g. Monarchy to Republic, needs to be passed by a majority in a referendum. Recently the government wishing to set up a republic introduced the necessary Bill which was passed by Parliament but did not get the majority support of the people.

But the referendum procedure tends to make the constitution too rigid and is therefore unsuitable for a country with programmes of rapid social, economic and political changes. That is probably why in Kenya's recent Constitution the referendum provision has been amended. In the Constitution of Kenya,³² Section 71 sub-sections 3, 4 and 5 provided for the government to submit its proposal for constitutional change to a referendum, in which all the voters could participate; if the proposal was supported by a two-thirds majority of the people only a simple majority was required for its passage through the National Assembly. These provisions have been repealed by the Constitution of Kenya (Amendment) Act 1965. This amendment also removes the distinction between the entrenched and other provisions of the Constitution. The Attorney General of Kenya has remarked that, 'these changes should make the constitution a more workable instrument.'³³

To sum up, a constitution should not block the path of development of a nation, it should move with the growth of the nation. The government should take advantage of the provisions for amendment to circumvent any judicial decision which is not to its liking or to encroach on the fundamental rights and the liberties of the people which are obstacles to the implementation of its policy. The amending clause must be very clear and definite in its meaning; it should explicitly express the intention of the framers. Although the judiciary acts as the guardian of the constitution it should check any abuse of the amending power by the government; it is obliged to interpret that clause as it is framed. The Supreme Court of India expressed its views on this point when in 1951 the validity of the First Amendment Act of 1951 of the Indian Constitution was challenged. The issue was whether the amending power in Article 368 of the Indian Constitution extended to the fundamental rights

guaranteed by the Constitution. The Supreme Court held that "the terms of Article 368 are perfectly general and empower the Parliament to amend the Constitution, without any exception whatever. Had it been intended to save the fundamental rights from the operation of that provision, it would have been perfectly easy to make the intention clear by adding a proviso to that effect."³⁴

This was the opinion of the Supreme Court of India in 1951. But sixteen years after the situation was completely changed. No more fundamental rights can be amended by the Parliament and this view was expressed by the Supreme Court in its historic judgment in the Golaknath Case in 1967.³⁵ The majority of the judges gave their opinion that the fundamental rights should be kept beyond the reach of Parliament. They further held that Article 368 provides only the procedure for an amendment to the constitution, and the real amending power of the Parliament is derived from Articles 245, 246 and 248. Their Lordships also observed that amending law is a law within the meaning of Article 13(2) which declares a law to be void which takes away or abridges the fundamental rights guaranteed under the Constitution. So any amendment which affects the fundamental rights provisions cannot be a valid law. The majority also commented on their previous judgments in Shankari Prasad Case and Sajjan Singh Case³⁶ as erroneous in view of Articles 13(2) and 368 and to that they are not good law. So the Chief Justice Mr. Subba Rao, strongly affirmed in his judgment that :

We declare that the Parliament will have no power from the date of this decision (i.e. 27th February, 1967) to amend any of the provisions of Part III of the Constitution so as to take away or abridge the fundamental rights enshrined therein.

Mr. Justice Hidayatullah while delivering his consenting judgment rightly remarked that : the constitution gives so many assurance in part III that it would be difficult to think that they were the play things of a special majority.

However, the consenting judges did not give any retrospective effect to their judgment and followed the principles of prospective overruling in order to avoid administrative chaos. This

judgment of the Supreme Court of India clearly proves that if there is a vigilant judiciary the whims of the legislature and the executive will have no effect to bring about any motivated alteration to the Constitution. Obviously, to maintain the sanctity of the Constitution the judges would be unwilling to go outside the periphery of the Constitution. So the framers of the Constitution should take pains to express their intention as clearly as possible, at the same time maintaining a proper balance between rigidity and flexibility.

1. see M.V.Pylee, Constitutional Government in India, P. 695.

2. Damson, The Government of Canada, 4th edition, P. 125.

3. Sahnond's Jurisprudence, 11th edition, P. 496.

4. Perhaps this may be a sort of penalty paid for pioneering in the path of achieving Dominion Status. Guy Favereau, Amendment of the Constitution of Canada, 1965.

5. K.C. Wheare, Federal Government, 4th edition, P. 236.

6. see S.A. de Smith, The New Commonwealth and its Constitution, P. 111.

7. It is still the valid and legal Constitution for Rhodesia as the constitution of the rebel government is not yet recognised by Britain as well as the members of the Commonwealth.

8. Clause relating to the powers of Her Majesty and the Governor. The Southern Rhodesia (Constitution) Order in Council, 1961.

9. see Supra note, 3.

10. Jennings, Some Characteristics of Indian Constitution, P.10.

11. see Austin, The Indian Constitution, Corner stone of a Nation, P. 255

12. Daily Nation, April 16, 1966, published from Nairobi.

13. see The Uganda Constitution, April 1966, by H.F. Morris, The Journal of African Law, Vol. 10, No.2, P.113.

14. Alan Gledhill, India, the development of its Laws and Constitution, 2nd edition, P. 121.

15. S.A. de Smith. *op cit* P. 112.

16. The Constitution of India, 1950, Article 368.

17. Articles 54 and 55.

18. Articles 73 and 162.

19. Article 241.

20. Alan Gledhill. *op cit*. P. 74.

21. D. Basu. Shorter Constitution of India, P. 514.

22. The Malawi Independence Order 1964. (S.I.No.916)

23. The Jamaica (Constitution) Order in Council, 1962, S.I. No 1550).

24. The Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act 1900, (63&61 vict. C. 12),

25. 'It would not be surprising if it were to prove a conservative factor in other Commonwealth countries also,' S.A.de Smith, *op cit*, P. 113.

26. The Zambia Independence Order. 1964. (S.I.No. 1952.).

27. Ghana (Constitution) Order in Council, 1957 (S.I.No. 277.).

28. see supra note 6.

29. This was the position before the coup.

30. Constitutional Referendum Act (No.4 of 1962). Again this was the situation before the army coup.

31. Gambia (Validation) Order in Council, 1963, (S.I.No. 1051).

32. Kenya Order in Council, 1963, (S.I. No. 791).

33. Recent constitutional changes in Kenya. by the Hon'ble C.N. Jonjo, East African Law Journal, 1965, vol.1. No.2.

34. Shankari Prasad vs. Union of India, A.I.R. 1951. S.C. 458.

35. Golakhnath Vs. State of Punjab, A.I.R. 1967, 1643.

36. A.I.R. 1965. S.C. 345.

ELECTIONS—HOW FAIR ARE THEY ?

R.T.Jangam
D.A.Chekki

India, the largest democracy in the world, held its 4th General Elections during February 1967. On the basis of previous experience, the entire election machinery was modified and geared in order to conduct free and fair elections all over the country. However, the layman and the expert alike have realised that the general elections have not been as fair as they should have been. The material that follows is based on the authors' fieldwork in 12 constituencies of the Mysore State, interviews with some of the candidates, party workers, campaigners and voters, student investigators' reports, press reports, and other reliable sources. The paper attempts to show that although by and large elections were smooth and fair, defects in the election system and unfair practices in the election process were not absent.

Voters' List

A number of cases centred round registration. Some of the prospective voters did not register themselves. Among them were some educated citizens who were politically conscious but, nonetheless, remained unregistered. It appeared that it was relatively easier to enthrone and move illiterate and rural folks, rather than the city-bred and educated, to get themselves registered in time. If some party candidates or workers reminded them of their registration, they would tell them not to worry as they were able to take care of themselves. But all the same they remained unregistered largely through indifference, procrastination or sheer inertia.² In a few cases, the unwillingness to register seemed to stem from the general distrust of politics and politicians, and also the feeling that anyway one's vote would not, after all, make any decisive difference in the election results, tone of politics or quality of administration.

The Election Commissioner, through a press note, notified that any change; addition, deletion;

transposition in the names in the voters' list should be brought to the notice of Registration Officers (that is, the Deputy Commissioners who functioned as Registration Officers) before the list was finalized before 20th January, 1967. But, a few voters did find their names misspelt, wrongly prefixed or suffixed. In one case a young returning officer in Bangalore could not exercise his right of vote because his name "Dayanidhi" had become "Damayanti", implying a change of sex! This further strengthens the oft-repeated argument that the registration procedure should be further perfected and voters should be vigilant enough to see that their names are properly entered in the voters' list.

It was not uncommon to come across voters who could not exercise their right of vote because their names were registered, not in their existing places of residence, but in their previous places or villages. This again meant that the voters' list had not been made up to date. In a few villages visited for fieldwork, a few young men who were registered as voters were found to be below 21. On being questioned (in one case both a father and his son were questioned to determine the son's age), they pleaded ignorance. One cause for this practice was the (understandable) enthusiasm and initiative of the parties or candidates.

A few dead persons also found their way into the voters' list. A field observer cited³ instances of this from one constituency of Mysore and about 6 from Tiptur. In a village near Davangere names of 4 persons continued to be in the voters' list though they had died some 3 to 4 years back.

Voting

On a few polling sites situations arose giving rise to irregularities or unfair practices. Since the voters who went into the polling booths had no identity cards there was no means for

the returning officers to verify their identity. All they could do was to check that a person bearing inkmark on his finger did not come back to vote a second time. But, this was not enough to prevent impersonation. The question of verifying identity, if need arose, was also difficult in case of veiled (*burkha*—clad) women. While *burkha* is an accepted and respected part of dress for ladies of respectable families, its use to conceal a bogus voter cannot be ruled out. The *Deccan Herald* of February 1967 carried a funny cartoon in which the eyes of an unsuspecting returning Officer pop out at the sinister sight of a menacing, hairy male hand (of a *goonda*) coming out of a *burkha* and holding a ballot paper to be dropped into the box!

Yet another unfair practice seemed to be hustling the voters in restive groups to the polling booths between 4.30 and 5 p.m. during which period the returning officers who must close at 5 would have a hectic and tense time. This half-an-hour interval in which the returning officers were likely to be less demanding and more inclined to close shop for the manipulation of the candidates' agents. On a number of polling sites, the agents, during this interval, grew particularly vigorous in gathering up and pushing in people. Tribal people in the Coorg, Belgaum districts and nomadic folks like the *Lamhanis* were particularly amenable to the hurrying tactics of the agents.

Money and Other Considerations

Did money play any role in the elections? Yes. But, it is difficult to be quantitative or specific about the role. While official or accurate figures are not available, this in itself cannot automatically lead to the conclusion that money was not employed in the battle for voters' minds. Field observers, voters, and even some party workers, if taken into confidence, would confide how money changed hands to move votes in favour of particular candidates or parties. Such was the magic of money that, it was feared, it would upset vote calculations securely based on factors like popularity of the candidates, their record of service, the party backing and so on. In Chitradurga, for example, the Congress campaigners feared that though their candidates had more than a fair chance of winning the last-minute flow of money could upset the applecart

of their expected victories. Discreet questioning of some voters in the Davanger-Harihar area brought forth cautious replies to the effect that poorer voters in particular found it hard to resist the lure of money. In Raichur and Gulbarga money was said to be spent on behalf of the Congress and Swatantra parties. The payment of money sometimes came to light because of the occasional arguments or altercations which took place on the the voting sites over who got how much from the candidate's agent who had their own reasons for giving different amounts to different persons. Some of the voters who were interviewed felt that not all the cases of payment of money could be regarded as an unfair practice. According to them, paying Rs 2 or 3 to a farm hand or a freelance coolie for going to the polling station and voting for the candidate or party that paid him could not be wholly regarded as unfair. Because such a poor voter who led a hand-to-mouth life would lose his daily wage or earning if he went and voted without any compensation. That the voter should not expect to be paid for exercising his own voting right in democracy, they felt, was a mere platitude which did nothing to improve the actual situation.

Payment in kind—clothes, food, drinks—also deserves to be noted as a force in influencing voters. In Mysore and Bellary districts, for example, *saris*, *dhotis*, and clothes for children were said to be distributed among rural voters. A few candidates and their agents had a trying task of feeding their followers, well wishers and voters—the number sometimes running into hundreds or exceeding a thousand. True, entertaining people with food or drinks (such as tea or coffee) should not be regarded as objectionable, and indeed was not prohibited by the election law. Yet it cannot be gainsaid that these activities did have a degree of intended influence on the voters. Usually when the dinner was over the host (the candidate or his agent) would come to say goodbye to the guests and request them to use their "valuable" votes in his favour. The voters were bound to be under some obligation or influence.

There did not seem to obtain, however, an automatic or invariable relationship between payment—of money or in kind—and the getting of votes. In fact, in a few cases the payment did

misfire. Some voters confided that they accepted money for voting from certain candidates but did not vote for them as agreed. Doing so, they felt, was the only way of getting out of the tricky and coercive situation. A few other voters went a step ahead. They accepted money from two parties but voted for the third. Attempts of some candidates to keep the voters generously plied with eatables and liquor did not always fulfil the purpose of support building. In course of one of their field visits, the authors found in a village (in Mysore district) a group of people tight drunk. The place of their assembly was decorated with the Swatantra stars and they appeared to be seriously engaged in a discussion. When we asked one of them "Whom do you support?", he gave a big grin (and also a puff of alcoholic odour) and replied "Congress!" Turning to the other when we asked the same question he did not risk a reply and left us to conclude that he was not sure of his mind!

Yet another minor consideration was the conveyance—*tongas*, *juthas*, autorikshas, taxis, private cars etc—provided to the voters to go to the polling stations. Of course, there is no means to determine how far this irregular practice influenced the voters' behaviour in the intended direction.

Disturbance and Violence

Although the parties in the Mysore State, as those in Maharashtra and Gujarat, had agreed to an election code, the hard facts of campaigning showed that it was not easy to practise the code always. Campaign was to be conducted strictly on ideological and party lines. But caste and subcaste appeals, personal differences, accusations and counteraccusations also figured pretty often. Attempts to disfigure and destroy posters and other publicity means of rival parties introduced an element of tenseness in the atmosphere. Sometimes tempers ran high because some of the election processions were disturbed by rival parties. Although under the election law canvassing had to stop at zero hour (24 hours before the polling time) private campaigning, door-to-door visits, last minute desperate meetings and persuasions, moves and countermoves continued in various constituencies till the polling time. As to the campaign meetings, heckling was not

so much of a problem. But the use of missiles like tomatoes, (rotten) eggs, stones, *chappals*, and crowding to disturb the speaker as well as the audience was pretty serious in a few cases. A Congress Party meeting to inaugurate the poll campaign which was to be addressed by Chief Minister S. Nijalingappa at the town hall maidan in Mysore was badly upset. A Jana Sangh worker stated that a few Sangh workers were beaten up by hired *goondas* in an old Mysore city. A campaign observer from Dharwar explained how *goondas* used to be "imported", for use in critical situations, from a certain *taluk* place in the district. In Gulbarga, some Swatantra Party workers were reported to be kidnapped with a view to stopping them from campaigning.

Certain constituencies were jealously guarded by the respective parties as impenetrable strongholds. The "Other parties" were not allowed to "meddle" with them. In a Janata Paksha stronghold, a squad of wrestlers and "toughs" warned off campaigners of other parties. In a Congress stronghold—a Harijan locality—no stranger could escape the watchful and stern eye of the local chief. In certain hotly contested constituencies campaigners and party workers displayed a tense frame of mind and sometimes, understandably, in course of one of their visits to a *taluk* town for an on-the-spot study of campaigning, happened to enquire with a Janata Paksha worker—not knowing what he was—about the availability of a Congress candidate. With a scowl on his face and in a hostile manner he told us that he was not in the town and we could not see him. Suspicious about our visit and on being told that we had been there to study the election campaign, he wondered what on earth the Congress candidate had to tell us on the subject!

The violence at the time of polling was more serious—notwithstanding the elaborate arrangements and care. The disturbance at Bidar was the most serious of all. The violent flare-up was due to a clash between opposing parties and led to rioting and looting. Curfew was imposed and public meetings and carrying of arms were prohibited. The situation came under control by the evening of 15 February 1967.³ The disturbances at Channaptna, Masti, and Kollegal attracted considerable attention. In Channapatna, polling was held up for 45 minutes as a result of an altercation between the agents of two candidates. This led to stone-throwing and

injuries to 4 persons. The Tahashildar Magistrate promulgated prohibitory orders banning public meetings and carrying of arms from 16 February to 25 February 1967. Schools, hotels, and cinema houses were also closed under the order.⁴ The situations in Bidar and Channapatna became complicated because of the Hindu-muslim feelings also. In Masti, police resorted to lathi-charge and firing a few rounds in the air to disperse the two clashing groups of Swatantra and Congress parties.⁵ In the Kamgeri village of Kollegal taluq, two canvassing groups clashed with each other, using stones and brickbats. As a result 42 persons sustained injuries; 3 of them who sustained serious injuries were removed to the Kollegal hospital.⁶ Stonethrowing incidents were reported from Helenarsipur (Hassan district) and Savalgi (Bijapur district) also.⁷

Conclusion

Although the foregoing observations emerge from the study of 4th General Elections in the Mysore State their applicability need not be restricted to Mysore alone. They may be said to apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to the other Indian States as well. A comprehensive national picture of the nature of elections can emerge if researchers present their findings based on close and perceptive studies of the various States. Such studies⁸ would not only focus attention of leaders and the public on the problems of democratic political processes in the country but also aid the election authorities and administrators, policy-makers and planners in remedying the defects and deficiencies in the election machinery, overcoming the unfair practices, and ensuring progressively freer and fairer elections.

[* A Study of 4th General Elections in Mysore State]

1 It is interesting to note that quite a number of college and university professors we

came across did not know if their names had been in the voters' list.

2 In Bangalore which has the State's most urbanized electorate, names of as many as 2% of the eligible voters were not found in the voters' list.

Deccan Herald, Bangalore, 20 February 1967.

3 *Ibid*, 16 February 1967.

4 *Ibid*, 17 February 1967.

5 *Ibid*.

6 *Ibid*, 3 February 1967.

7 *Ibid*, 20 February 1967.

8 A reference may be made here to some such studies. Some of them are party studies like the one brought out by the All India Congress Committee, New Delhi. These naturally emphasize the respective party positions. The Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, New Delhi, has conducted an all India survey with the help of American expertise. The results are not yet out. The Institute for Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies, New Delhi, under the direction of Dr V.K.N. Menon, former Vice Chancellor of Travancore University, launched an all India study for which one of the present authors was a collaborator for Mysore State. Publication of the study is awaited. The Political Science Departments of the Universities of Delhi and Rajasthan (Jaipur) also undertook all India election studies in their own ways. The papers of the former are published in its journal while publication of the latter's study is expected to be out shortly. The 1968 All India Political Science Conference to be held at Dhanbad, Bihar, is going to take up in one of its sectional conferences the discussion of the 4th General Elections at all India level.

[*Through inadvertence the writer's name, A.K. Ray, of the article Rural Industrialisation in Orissa, published in June '68 issue, was printed as A.R. Ray—Ed.]

Current Affairs

Crisis in Communist World

The Communist World is a very well organised world. Everything moves in it according formula and no change or new developments can take place anywhere in it unless specifically provided for in the blueprint of communism for the area, the particular moment in time and the institutions concerned. Just as a monarchy must have a monarch, a democracy some elected representatives of the people ; a Communist State must be ruled by a dictatorial proletariat. The proletariat, of course, are the workers organised in a well defined manner who exercise their dictatorial powers also in a well defined manner. One may think that if a very large number of persons exercise dictatorial powers, the dictatorship is watered down to resemble other popular forms of government : but, no ; one must not make any such mistake ; for the proletariat have a collective personality as distinguished from the individuality of ordinary mortals and that collective body of workmen can function as a dictator in the manner that any individual tyrant can. The proletariat has no individual opinions, wishes or desires and it does not split up into sub-groups or parties, but behaves collectively like a single giant individual. If at any time the individual units in the proletariat begin to develop different and separate views and opinions, the proletariat

loses its collective nature and becomes a large crowd of persons who can thereafter behave like any other multitude in any other type of political organisation.

What happened recently in Czechoslovakia was a sort of split up of the giant collective personality of the Czechoslovak proletariat into numerous smaller personalities ; leading to the formation of many groups of persons with contradictory thoughts and wishes. In common parlance the giant composite dictator in Czechoslovakia broke up into many political parties which had to think of managing the affairs of their socialist State according to the wishes of the majority of these parties. This was not in keeping with the pure and undiluted principles of communism, which demanded a single, mainly, predetermined complex of wishes and ideas to dominate the government. Many parties and majority rule would be quite different from a dictatorship of the proletariat. If the Czechoslovaks would degenerate into that sort of recognition of individual rights of opinion, they could never be very far from all the evils and vices of a bourgeois order. When the purer type of Communists found the Czechoslovaks moving away from the ideal path, they thought of bringing them back to it by the use of force. This had happened once in Hungary where Marxism was restored by Russian tanks. In

Czechoslovakia, Russian and Polish tanks began to manoeuvre for the protection of the creed too, but circumstances had changed since the Hungarian episode. The Czechoslovaks had friends in the Communist camp and also outside. Russian tanks would not have found it as easy in Prague as they had found in Budapest twelve years ago.

The Czechs have the sympathy of Yugoslavia, Rumania and Hungary in the Communist camp. The East Germans and the Poles believe in expressing the will of the proletariat through the party leaders, as do the Russians and these single Party dictatorships obviously dislike the "Proletariat" of any communist country to divide up into groups and run the government of the country on a many party basis. For the dictatorship of the proletariat has, in fact, nothing to do with the peoples of the countries concerned but is a dictatorship of the Communist Party of Russia, which rules the other communist parties of the satellite countries. The Russian Communist Party is not in favour of allowing opinion to develop within the U. S. S. R. The Russians are the makers of policy in all the Soviets. How they do it is not known to us.

During the period that the Czechoslovaks began to show signs of an awakening of individual opinion the Russians put pressure on them to come back to the fold. The pressure was mainly economic. When that did not work, the Russians and Poles held a conference to discover ways and means for the preservation of Communism in East Europe. A pact was made by which large common forces, that is Russian and Polish soldiers, were to guard the various countries of the Communist group. The forces

stationed in Czechoslovakia, later on proved to be unpopular with the Czechs who thought they could defend their own country without any assistance from Russians, Poles, and East Germans. Thinking is not encouraged by dictators; neither in Europe nor in Asia. Human beings, however, like to think and to decide for themselves how they were going to be ruled. For a time people may give fanatical support to any idea and even surrender all their individual rights; but that sort of thing does not last for even.

Conservative and Liberal Communism

There are uncompromising conservatives in the Communist camp who do not believe in discussing rights or wrongs when they concern the so-called basic assertions of the creed. There are also liberal communists who would permit such discussions without in anyway weakening their socialistic outlook. Those who do not agree to differ from the hard core of Communism and they look upon all who like the freedom to give voice to differences of view-point, as potential enemies of communism. Where Communism means heavier contributions to the collective funds by cutting down individual consumption or ownership in a drastic manner; expression of contrary opinion by individuals or groups is not approved of. Such countries usually are economically less developed, in point of production and distribution of consumer goods, compared to others where individuals have the right to possess, consume or save more. If the State exploits the individual to a maximum, it should help the State to force the people to keep their mouths shut. If, on the other hand, there is so much production that the indivi-

duals can have a high enough standard of living and savings even after the needs of the collective body have been met to the fullest extent; the requirement for restraining expression of opinion ceases to exist. Czechoslovakia or Rumania, for instance, are economically quite highly developed. When, therefore, after the abolition of the Novotny regime Dubcek came into power, it was clearly a change in favour of greater liberalism in Czechoslovak politics. The Czechs and Slovaks have now reached a stage in economic development where they could discuss many things of advantage to individuals freely without upsetting the cart of Communism and reestablishing Capitalism. With fuller economic development individual desires can be appeased in a fuller measure without, in any way, reducing the contributions to the Socialist purse. Russia, with her tremendous war machine, has to continue to maintain economic exploitation of the individual to the maximum. Russia, therefore, views the liberal moves of Czechoslovakia unfavourably. So do Bulgaria and, perhaps, Poland. The East Germans have a fear that they could never afford to relax in their fanatical attachment to hardcore communism for purely political reasons. The Yugoslavs and the Hungarians are in favour of liberalisation, for their budgets of socialism do not require a program of extreme self-denial for their individual nationals.

Will the Russians use force to make Czechoslovakia toe the line? The Americans think that the Russians will incite the Czechoslovak workers' militia to stage a civil commotion when the Russians will be invited in to reestablish peace and quiet. In the process some Czechoslovaks may disappear

from the active field of politics, but that must be accepted as an occupational hazard of being a free thinker in communist country. The British Press recognises this possibility but the feeling that the Russians have become wiser after Hungary and Cuba is also there. The various Communist Parties of European countries are not in favour of any Russian or Warsaw Pact intervention in the Czechoslovak affair. They think communism will be greatly weakened in European countries if Russian tanks helped to suppress the Czechoslovak liberals. The Czechoslovak move for liberalisation began with an announcement by 70 intellectuals who deprecated government by fear, repression and pressure. The intellectuals have numerous supporters among whom are quite a number of workers. The manifesto drawn up by the intellectuals, called "2000 words" is a pungent criticism of the communist regime of the country since 1948. The Czechoslovak workers' militia has not yet started to fight the reformers; so that, although the Russo-Polish forces have not fully withdrawn from Czechoslovakia, they are not engaged in any fight to reestablish the hard-core communists in power. It would appear, therefore, that Czechoslovakia might continue her work of consolidation in liberal socialism without any active obstruction from the hard-core States. Or again, the fight may start after a suitable *causus belli* has been provided.

Pakistan Nationalising Bengali

While one must admit that the East Pakistanians have a great and passionate attachment to their mother tongue Bengali and

have forced the Pakistan government to grant it the distinction of being co-state-language with Urdu, which is more than anything that the Indian Government have done to give the most developed languages of India their rightful place in the country's languages policy; one must express ones disapproval of the East Pakistani efforts at converting Bengali into an Islamic language. They are trying to achieve this by cutting out, as far as possible, the Hindu associations of this ancient language and by belittling the contributions of the greatest writers and composers of Bengali prose, verse and songs. Bengali has had a continuous history of development and progress for nearly a thousand years and many of the writers and composers of Bengali prose, verse and songs have been Muslims too. But the most powerful Bengali writers of modern times have been by and large, non-Muslims. Raja Rammohan Roy, Michael Mudhusudan Dutt, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Rabiudranath Tagore, Sarat chandra Chandra Chatterjee, Satyendranath Dutt, Rajani Kanta Sen, Girish Chandra Ghosh and Dwijendralal Roy to name only a few outstanding writers and composers of Prose, Poetry, Drama and Songs should suffice. There are hundreds of others who come very near the top class in the quality of their compositions. There have been Muslim writers too, but they had no special Islamic literary style. In other words, the Bengali language and literature have been the same for Hindus, Muslims and Christians; and any attempt at cutting out the contributions of Rabindranath Tagore or Bankim Chandra Chatterjee from Bengali literature would be disastrous for that language. The East Pakistanis of

of course are following a path which is not so dangerous for the quality of Bengali prose, verse, or songs. They are plagiarising the compositions of the greatest literateurs and composers of Bengal and passing these "creations" as the work of unknown Muslim masters, with a totally shameless disregard for the truth behind these acts of unauthorised borrowings. We quite often hear songs composed and set to tune by some unheard of Muslims genius over the Dacca Radio which resemble Rabindranath Tagore's compositions to every minute detail. Any differences that exist rather spoil the effect. If, therefore, the East Pakistan writers and composers did not mutilate the originals of their recent creations, they would be rendering a service to Bengal's culture and civilisation.

Pakistan and Farakka

When the Pakistani team of experts came to India to inspect and discuss the implications of the Farakka barrage Project as affecting the water supply of the Padma river which is another and bigger branch of Ganges, they very soon discovered what India's needs were and tried to prove that their needs were greater than India's. This, of course, was typical of all Pakistani approaches to problems affecting both countries. All persons who have knowledge of the geography of East Pakistan and West Bengal know very well that East Pakistan is heavily waterlogged during the greater part of the year. Floods are far more common in East Pakistan than in West Bengal. The Padma too has a volume of water which hardly requires any augmentation. Rather, if its powerful current is restrained, it may prove

to be of advantage to the people who live on its banks. For, the Padma's powerful currents cause the collapse of large tracts of land near the banks into the river and thus destroy the labours of thousands of persons over years in a few destructive moments. The British were the creators of Pakistan and in all British statements regarding matters concerning India and Pakistan the British always err in favour of their political offspring Pakistan. In describing the Ganges the Encyclopaedia Britannica says, "In the broadest sense the Ganges-Brahmaputra delta coincides roughly with the old province of Bengal. West Bengal, now a State of India, has been called the land of dead and dying rivers since little water passes down them to the sea. The chief river is the Hooghly on which stands Calcutta. In the remainder of the delta, lying in East Pakistan, there are innumerable connecting creeks; during the rains the greater part of the country is flooded except for the villages or isolated huts built on mounds above the flood waters. Seaward lies a vast stretch of tidal forest swamp, the Sunderbans." This British description proves that East Pakistan does not require any waters from the Ganges that might be in the river above the Ganges-Brahmaputra confluence. The Brahmaputra brings a tremendous flow of water into East Pakistan and that alone can keep that State fully flooded, as it does almost every year. All irrigations needed by East Pakistan can find its source at that confluence. The Ganges until it meets the Brahmaputra is a purely Indian river with no connection with either Pakistan or any other foreign country. The Bhagirathi and the Alokanda which combine to form

the Ganges are both Indian-Himalayan rivers. The Jumna, its greatest tributary joins it at Allahabad. Beyond Varanasi the Gogra falls into it. Then come the son, the Gandak and the Kosi. After this for a very long distance the Ganges collects no water from any important tributaries. Later one of its channels forms the Hooghly and the other active channel the Meghna goes on to join the Brahmaputra and form the Padma. Those who know the rivers of West Bengal and East Pakistan will never hesitate to say that the Brahmaputra, the Meghna and the Padma do not require any donations of water from the Ganges above its confluence with the Brahmaputra. East Pakistan can conserve its flood waters anywhere and then use it for irrigation during the dry period. The idea that India's Farakka dam will starve the East Pakistanis of water can only foster Pakistan's malice without helping its economy in any manner. There are many tributaries of the Brahmaputra which pours much more water from Indian catchment areas into that great river than the Farakka barrage can ever use up for India's irrigation. Moreover all the water that the Farakka dam can have will come from purely Indian catchment areas. Pakistan can have no claims on the Ganges until that river touches that country; which it does not do until it passes Farakka. We have no detailed knowledge of East Pakistan's irrigation projects below the Farakka area. All irrigation projects have a long history. The British theoretically thought of many projects and they gave good reasons and considered all physical conditions fully. One would therefore also like to know what the British thought of the irrigation projects that the East Pakistan people are now

hawking. Evidently no irrigation canals can function to any advantage if they run in a northern direction from the Meghna ; for above the Meghna-Brahmaputra confluence the terrain slopes generally speaking southward.

Law and Order

People in India generally believe that criminals can make arrangements with the police and other government people concerned to overlook their crimes. It is only a matter of finding proper go-betweens who contact and appease the official people, and then the criminals are either not sent up for trial or acquitted for lack of proper evidence, whatever the facts of the case may be, the number of crimes committed, the number of persons sent up for trial and the number convicted show statistical correlations which when compared to international figures rather induce one to believe in the popular theory of official collaboration with criminals. Let us say some people were suspected of committing a double murder near Dhanbad in the state of Bihar. News papers and the public made furore over the alleged murders. But slowly during a period of a few months nothing happened and eventually public interest in the matter died down. The double murder remained unsolved and those who were suspected of complicity with the crime, went unscathed. Such incidents do happen in real life and the police or the government do nothing to clear themselves of public suspicions about their connivance with criminals. There are also many cases in which the police of two States squabble over jurisdiction and refuse to assist one another. The criminals take advantage of such antagonisms and are con-

sidered by people to settle with both sides at a cheaper rate than when the crimes are entirely within the jurisdiction of a single State.

The above conjectural statements should awaken governmental interest in the possibility of their employees helping criminals by accepting bribes. The prevention of crime is uppermost in the mind of the authorities at the highest level. The authorities can appoint superior members of their Central Home Department organisation to make full investigations in certain unsolved murder cases which may give them workable clues as to what action the local police have not taken and for what reasons. If such investigations are not made by the Centre there will be no possibilities of preventing crimes in an intensive manner. Another matter should be taken up by the Centre. It is the provision of cards of identity to persons, who come to the cities, towns and industrial centres of India. Certificates from panchayets should be the basis of such cards of identity. The certificates should contain full description of appearance and the thumb impression of the persons requiring the cards of identity.

Poverty, A Destroyer of Good sense

When a person or institution is in want and requires to increase the funds that can be made available, one does not expect that the party groping frantically for money will maintain the highest standards of conduct. Among individuals many commit crimes and break away from the rules of good behaviour on account of the pressure of needs. That is why the advice "Resolve not to be poor : whatever you have, spend less. Poverty is

a great enemy to human happiness ; it certainly destroys liberty, and it makes some virtues impracticable and others extremely difficult", is considered so valuable. Yet we find very superior persons spending more than what they have, getting indebted, being brow beaten by creditors and forgetting all virtues in their eagerness to obtain funds through exactions and borrowings. Quite often, these superior persons are the keepers of a nation's conscience and when they begin to transgress the rules of ethics and sound economic sense, the people, naturally, feel lost. This sort of thing has been going on in our country for the last two decades. Our leaders have developed certain mad frenzies and are trying to get rich very quickly. This has induced them to spend much more than what they have and to beg, borrow and extort in order to obtain funds. They have gone round the world, time and again, to borrow money and this has not improved their international standing. They have swallowed rebuffs and have gone back to the same lenders in order to entreat them into a better frame of mind. Other nations have now begun to dictate to us and express opinions which are highly damaging to our sovereign status. We read in foreign journals that our policy in Kashmir is foolish or we see in foreign books of geography that several areas of our country are parts of China. This sort of aggressive criticism has been possible only because, we have chosen to go round the earth with a beggar's bowl in our hand.

Internally our Public Finance is leaning more and more towards extortion. We are, in this manner, breaking faith with our people. We have recently talked about

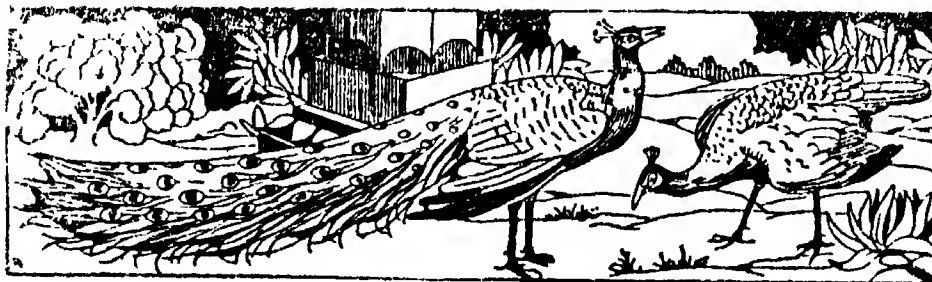
abolishing the subsidies that we agreed to pay to the Indian Princes when they handed over their states to the Government of India. This, again, has clearly the nature of breaking a solemn undertaking. All because we have acute shortage of funds. We cannot afford to pay interest and sinking fund charges on the enormous National Debt that we have accumulated. We have quadrupled our public debts since 1947. The British were imperialist exploiters and they had mortgaged our national assets to the tune of, say, 2000 crores of rupees. The socialistic pattern of exploitation has raised the quantum to rupees 8000 crores or more. Much of the new borrowings have been obtained from foreign countries. We have to pay them interest and principal in their currency. This takes a large slice of our foreign exchange earnings and what is left is probably eaten up by foreign purchase of military equipment and food grains. Our economy therefore has developed a great shortage of foreign resources and we do not develop our national productivity in the lines that would improve our foreign earnings or reduce our foreign purchases.

In almost all spheres of our economy we do things that we should not do and we also neglect to do what we must. In economic planning what is hypothetical is quite often accepted as a Law of Nature by our theoreticians. And what sticks out a mile as a well established economic fact is ignored on account of its simple nature. Our importation of food grains must be accepted as an act of great economic unwisdom when we find how by diverting only a small part of the enormous resources we used up in

our three five year plans to food growing we could have easily avoided import of food material. Our industries are being set up and run in a time honoured uneconomic manner and no efforts have been made to rationalise their organisation. This has happened while we had been spending thousands of crores after the promotion of new industries. No one has made the slightest effort to make our new industries abide by the logic of modern industrial organisation. Most of our industrial disputes arise out of this attempt to operate our new industries on the basis of long discarded methods of management. In this way we are going deeper into poverty and want even after spending Fifty Thousand crores of rupees in development work.

After twenty years of semi-dictatorial management of the Nation's affairs our politicians have little to show in achievements. The Treasury Benches and the opposition at the Centre and the States have combined in their contributions to this great failure. Our politicians belonged to the

same or similar groups and coteries. They all preached novel and new ideals and worked for the establishment of a modern socialistic democracy. The authorities who handled the affairs of the nation failed to achieve anything commensurate with the expenses incurred for exactly the same reasons which lay at the root of the failure of the opposition to offer constructive and bold criticism. The recent defections in certain State Legislatures have shown how easily the politicians of all groups changed over from one side to another. India therefore needs a complete overhaul in matters of management of the affairs of the State as well as in the management of all institutions—industrial, educational, medical, economic or any other. Our politicians are trying to hide their incapacity and ignorance by putting up useless facades which have no real significance in the sphere of national development and progress. All our "isms" have proved to be worthless and we are getting nowhere. The people must wake up and face facts.



PRIMITIVE WARFARE IN N.E.F.A.

P. THANKAPPAN NAIR

INTRODUCTION

The tribes of NEFA can be divided into two groups—warlike and peaceable. Among the warlike tribes we may include the Abors (Adi), Akas, Daflas, Gallongs, Mishmis, Khamptis, Singphos, Noctes and Wanchos. Apa Tanis, Miris, Sulus and other little known tribes do not seem to be warlike. The Sherdukpens and Monpas have never taken up arms in their history. The Abors are the only tribe that gave frequent trouble to the British Government. A detailed treatment of their arms, and methods of warfare is therefore attempted in this article. The Abors have been taken as the representative tribe of NEFA in warfare. The weapons and warfare of the rest of the tribesmen are only noted as far as they differ from that of the Abors.

No tribe of our North-East Frontier has any military organization at present. As clan prejudices are uppermost, no tribe ever seems to have made an attack on the enemy rising *EN MASSE*, and a combination of the tribes of a particular region, not to speak of the whole of NEFA, to fight a common enemy was beyond the wildest dream. The difficult topographical position makes it impossible to make a determined combination of all the clans even of a single tribe for the purpose of attack. "Not only would the various tribes never combine to oppose a common foe",

observes Hore in his REPORT ON THE ABOR COUNTRY (1913 : Ch. III), "but even in the case of any particular tribe, the number of fighting men collected at any particular place would never exceed, and rarely equal one-fifth of the total fighting population of the tribe. This is due to the fact that there is a total lack of organization, and that the village, rather than the tribe as a whole, is the unit to be considered. That this is the case was made clear in a striking manner during the events of 1911-12. Though the Minyongs were the perpetrators of the massacre of Mr. Williamson's party, the tribe as a whole was not implicated. Indeed the greater part of the tribe viewed the act with displeasure and refused to assist the guilty villages".

CHARACTERISTICS OF DEFENCE IN NEFA

The village sites in NEFA are always selected on the spurs of the hills so as to afford natural defence. There is usually only one approach to the village. Most of the villages cannot be seen from the direction of approach. There are jungles close by the village and immediately above them, thus affording a ready means of retreat. "These conditions are so invariable", remarks the HANDBOOK ON THE ABOR COUNTRY (1911 : 5), "as to point to premeditation. It would be very difficult to surprise a village ; the only hope would be by

severe climbing and jungle cutting on the part of the troops".

The North-East Frontier tract is indented by a large number of rivers and streams which feed the mighty Brahmaputra. There are many indigenous cantiliver bridges which can be severed by one or two strokes of the DAO of the hillmen on the approach of the enemy. The rivers are also crossed on rafts by the tribesmen, and rapids are too numerous to permit navigation.

The village bridle-paths are too narrow and the ledge of the path may break off at any moment. The villages were heavily stockaded. Most of the villages in NEFA have guard-houses at the entrances, where the bachelors of the village community are keeping a vigil at night. A certain amount of married people and slaves, if any, also occupy these guard-houses at night times. The dormitories of the tribesmen are the local military barracks and defence of the village falls upon the youngmen. Though the dormitories of NEFA are not working in full vigour as the MORUNGS of the Naga tribes, still they are admirably suited to the village defence. The dormitories are the repositories of the arms and ammunition of the tribes and spreading of the news of any danger : throughout the entire length and breadth of the village is done in the shortest possible time, so that everyone is ready with his traditional arms and weapons of defence.

The defence of the village and taking up of the arms require no unnecessary delay in the hills, as the village councils of the tribesmen do not take a division or cast their votes on any particular question. The decision of the village council is instantaneously carried out by the members of the community. Speedy action is the

characteristic of the tribal life. All members of the community with the exception of women and children are potential soldiers and take up arms in case of need.

"The tribesmen," says Dunbar (1915 : 50), "are of course expert woodmen and their system of scouting is excellent. Clearings are of course made along the path that is watched and scouts on the opposite hillside are able to observe anything that moves along it. These sentries relieve each other at intervals. When watching an enemy the hillmen almost invariably have their dogs with them : these range ahead as scouts and frequently proclaim to their opponents the proximity of an otherwise entirely unobtrusive foe".

"The tribesmen", writes Bhuyan (1949 : 32), "carried on their warfare with primitive weapons which were very effective in close-range fights, but could not be so very useful in engagements with the Ahom army who used matchlocks and guns ; it was however in open contexts that the success of these modern weapons could be assured, and such opportunities did rarely occur as the hillmen conducted their attacks from unsuspected woods and defiles, depending mainly upon such guerilla and ambush methods. At the same time the invading Ahom force could hardly maintain an open line of communication, the paths, if there were any, being mainly tracks over precipices and slopes infested by the lurking hillmen in the neighbouring woods". The Ahom Government could not bring tribesmen inhabiting our North-East Frontier under submission. As the Ahom rulers pursued a policy of conciliation by paying blackmail, the hillmen were

allowed to continue their predatory incursions.

ABORS

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN NORTH-EAST AND NORTH-WEST FRONTIER

There is a gulf of difference between the tribes inhabiting the North-West Frontier and North-East Frontier of India. "The tribesmen of North-East Frontier" writes Dunbar (1915 : 49), "do not mass after the manner of the JIRGAHS of the North-West. The cohesion given by a militant religion, and the GHAZI fanaticism kindled by the mullahs find no counterpart here. No one tribe can be expected to rise En Masse; still less probable is the bursting of the frontier into the blaze of war not unknown beyond the Indias. To meet a combined foe a certain number of villages may combine, but even then the defence of some carefully prepared position by the youngmen of the community involved never quickens into co-ordinated attack. In other words the hillmen will stand until the assault is pressed home (or their rations are exhausted if no serious operations are in progress), behind elaborate stockades built with immense labour, but may be relied on when encountering a civilized enemy to combine their counter-attacks to very occasional and disconnected rushes by swordsmen through his columns or to halfhearted sniping with arrows. The selection of defensive positions and the siting of the works with which they are crowned shows admirable judgment; whilst the construction of long lines of rock shoots, and the immense stockades and palisades for which the Abors in particular are famous is worthy of far more determined defenders".

The tribesmen of our North-East Frontier have only a few primitive bow and arrows, spear, the straight sword (dao) as weapons. Guns cannot be said to form part of their traditional armament, as the use of guns was utterly unknown to the hillmen before 1908. The introduction of a few muzzle-loading guns and tower-muskets must be attributed to the Tibetans. THE REPORT ON ABOR COUNTRY (1911 : 4) states that "it is reported that for the last 3 years the Tibetans have been supplying the Minyongs and the villages to the north of it with muzzle-loading guns. The estimated number of guns per village is 100 to 200 according to the size of the village". Hore (1913) has also stated that "guns cannot be said to form part of the armament of these tribes. Some villages possess a certain number of muzzle-loading smoothbores which they have obtained from Tibet, but there seems to be little or no ammunition in the country. It is doubtful if as many as 50 charges could be found in the whole of the Dihang Valley. Damro, Riu, Riga, Simong and Rikur all have a number of guns, but no powder or caps".

WEAPONS OF OFFENCE

Bow & ARROWS : A bow, made from a single piece of split bamboo and hardened by fire, is the most important weapon. The bow is strung only when it is necessary. The Abors hold the bow perpendicularly, gripping the stave at the middle with the left-hand. "The Abors said," writes Dunbar (1932:127), "they had never heard of cross-bows, their chief weapon being a bamboo long bow, shod with iron, and fitted with a cane string—

usually effective, with light bamboo arrows, up to about 180 yards'. The bow of the Padam sub-tribe are larger, with heavier pull.

The Abors use two kinds of arrows, made from poisonous or non-poisonous species of bamboo, for war purposes. The plain arrows have an effective range of 180 yards, though they can shoot an arrow upto 250 yards. The war arrow, which they use also for killing the larger game, has a barbed iron head leashed on to the shaft with a piece of sago palm fibre. Dunbar (1932:127) says that the iron-headed arrows have less range. The Padams can shoot with a fair degree of accuracy upto 150 yards. Angus Hamilton (1912:26-27) was of opinion that the 'Abor archers can pick off an object with unerring precision at a couple of hundred yards'. Dunbar (1915:47) estimated that 'the weapon (arrow) is effective upto 180 yards, but has been known to carry about 70 yards further.

Dried leaves of a plant are used for feathering the arrows; feathers of birds are seldom used. The arrow heads are not twisted to give spin. The arrows used in warfare have a barbed iron head leashed on to the shaft with a piece of sago palm fibre or thin cane strips. Hamilton (1912:26-27) has said that the arrow used is the long, heavy bolt common to most parts of Asia. In many cases the arrow heads are flanged and grooved, and detach themselves on impact. For purposes of extraction the bolt must be pushed through for, as a rule, it cannot be pulled out without the head remaining behind, the wound being badly torn." Dunbar (1915:47) has testified this statement by stating that "the iron-headed arrows are fastened to the shaft with fine cane splicing, and the shaft is

deeply notched near the head so that the arrows may break off short of the wound," or when the wounded man tries to pull it out.

POISON ; The Abors use barbed and poisoned arrows for purposes of war. The most common poison used by the Daflas, Gallongs and Minyong Abors of the lower villages is *CROTON SIGLIUM*. Croton, it must be noted here, is of no universal application in NEFA. The use of *ACONITUM FEROX* is not common among the Abors as it has to be imported from the north, or from the Mishmis to the east. The Pandam and all the upper villages prefer aconite to croton. The Padams obtain their aconite from the Mishmis. Simongs obtain it from the Snow Hills. Hamilton (1912) has mentioned that the Abors gather poison from the deadly night-shade or the flesh of the decomposing carcasses of animals or enemies. Dunbar tells us (1932:128) that a few poisoned arrows were sent down to Calcutta for chemical examination, but it was never found what poison the Abors were reported to have made by sticking the arrows into decomposing carcass. An unpleasant idea. The poison is smeared on the head, and downwards in two inches thickness of the arrow. The shaft of the poisoned arrow is often nicked just below the poison to ensure the latter remaining on the wound, but even without this any attempt to pull the arrow head invariably results in the barbed head remaining behind. The removal of the arrow can only be achieved either by cutting it out with a knife or by pushing it right through and then breaking it off.

"The poison (of the croton the seeds are taken, of the aconite, the root)," says Hore (1913), "is pounded up into a thick smooth paste with some sticky medium : this may be

the juice of the elephant apple (Assamese OTENGA, Abor SOMPA : DILLENIA INDICA) or the sap of the jack-tree : the paste hardens from exposure to the air into a black or brown, rubber-like substance. The croton poison causes acute inflammation of the wound which eventually causes death, if not attended to."

Shakespeare (1914:111) says that the poisoned paste is sometimes made of 'pigs' blood and aconite or the juice of the croton plant, which is put on just behind the arrow head. In most cases, however, from being made up for sometime the poison loses its deadly efficacy, though it still makes a festering wound. Shakespeare seems to be not correct, as Hamilton was of opinion that 'once an arrow has been treated with poison and slow-dried, they retain their deadly character for a considerable period, and can be used again and again.' The action of the poison is very rapid—sometimes less than one hour, and rarely more than six hours. Violent convulsions are set up and tetanus supervenes." A mixture of aconite and croton is used in war to get the best result. Abors affirm that croton is used in war to get the best result. Abors affirm that croton is almost instantaneous in its effect while pure aconite acts slowly, and if the wound is washed away immediately after the injury, there would be no danger.

The use of the barbed and poisoned arrow is confined to close quarters, such as an ambush, where there is a reasonable certainty of hitting the mark. Generally in defending a stockade poisoned or non-poisoned bamboo arrow is the one used.

The Abor antidote for a poisoned arrow is to wash the wound and then put on a mix-

ture of fowl's droppings and opium (Dunbar 1932 : 127).

SWORDS : Most of the people of NEFA use a straight sword, some 3 feet or more in length, having a single cutting edge with no point. The blade of the sword is very sharp and its wooden handle is ornamented with cane-work. The swords were mostly imported from Tibet in former times, as the locally made ones are of inferior quality. Minyongs and Komkars also manufacture swords. The sword is carried in a bamboo scabbard and slung over the shoulder by a piece of twisted cane or a strip of leather ornamented with tufts of fur, yak's tail and sometimes with the under-jaw of the tiger, bear or leopard. The hillmen cut with great dexterity, but do not thrust.

SPEARS : The hillmen do not throw their spears. The length of the spear varies from 6 to 10 feet. It has a small iron head almost 3 inches long and 1 inch wide. The spear-head is remarkably small and is ornamented with a tuft of hair, dyed red. The butt-end made of a single piece of iron helps the people to climb up the hills as well.

DAOS : Dao is the universal weapon of the people of NEFA. None will dare go out of home even for an errand without this useful weapon. It is a necessity for the people as it helps them to fell trees, clear paths, and kill animals. The Abor DAO is almost 14 inches long. It is narrow near the handle and widens out to about 4 inches near the point which is rounded off. The blade of the DAO is narrow towards the haft and broad towards the tip. The blade has a tang which is inserted into the wooden handle. It is carried in a bamboo or wooden scabbard across the shoulder, wherever they go. The

hillmen are adept in wielding heavy DAOS. There are many sizes of DAOS, depending on its use.

SPIKED WRISTLET : This weapon made from brass with sharp spikes on the outer side was used in hand to hand fight. It has now become obsolete.

CRUDE HARPOON : A crude harpoon, one end of which is barbed with sharp iron nails used to be hurled at the target from a distance. This has also become obsolete.

WEAPONS OF DEFENCE : Weapons of defence are very few in number and consequently the tribesmen of the NEFA do not face the enemy. The most important weapons of defence are the war helmets, shield and war coats.

HELMET : The Abor war-helmets are made of closely woven whole cane. The helmets are either round or oval and without projection. The tribesmen strengthen their helmets by fixing full or half cane strips at regular intervals from the brim and meeting on the top in the centre. The brim is made of thick cane. The war helmets are invariably decorated with boar's tusks, placed cross-wise in front. The top of the helmet is decorated with bear skin or yak tail dyed in scarlet. Beaks of birds are also fixed on the top of the helmet. The helmet is kept in position by its strap which comes below the chin. Abor war helmets are sword-proof and Hore has stated that they might easily cause a bullet to glance off.

"For war and on state occasions", wrote Dalton (1855 : 151 ff), "they (Abors) wear helmets of very formidable and picturesque appearance. The foundation is a strong skull-cap of cane. The best are obtained from the Chulikattas, who, in making such

things, are more ingenious than the Abors. It is adorned with pieces of bearskin, CHOWRY, tails dyed red, boars' tusks, and to crown all, the beak of the buceros". Butler (1847 : 110 ff) says that Abors "wear three kinds of helmets, one of plain cane, and others brimmed with an edging of bear's skin, or covered with a thick yellow skin of a species of deer. A more formidable looking covering for the head could scarcely be worn".

SHIELDS : The Abors make their shields by split bamboos interlaced with cane strips. The shields are rectangular in shape, concave inside and convex on the outer. The horizontal handle, made of cane fixed to the inner side, helps the warrior to use it in the required direction. The shields are also made from MITHUN (*Bos Frontalis*) hide. The Abor shields are arrow and sword proof.

WAR COATS : The Abors make their war coats from coarse wool. These sleeveless coats with open breasts are decorated on the back and front and give protection from sword cuts.

Dunbar (1932 : 128-29) says that "rectangular shields, deerskin coats and rucksacks covered with bearskin or fibre dyed black (making a retreating Abor look rather like a large black-beetle on its hind legs) complete their equipment".

MEYARI : The Abors also wear the MEYARI, the disc with the BEYOP top of cymbal-like design on the back of the neck as a protection against sword-cuts.

METHODS OF DEFENCE

The tribesmen of our North-East Frontier are experts in defensive methods in their warfare. Their favourite methods of defence

consist in paving the way with PANJIS, setting traps, and constructing stockades and stone chutes.

PANJIS : Panjis are pointed bamboo stakes with the points hardened by fire, usually buried slanting in the ground, in the paths or in front or/and in the face of stockades. The Abors harden their Panjis to the toughness of steel by placing them over hot ashes. "When thoroughly fired", says Hamilton (1912:22), "the stakes are sharpened at one end, and stuck into the ground at an angle that just catches the foot of any unobservant walker. "Panjis are spikes of bamboo or other wood", says THE OFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF THE ABOR EXPEDITION 1911-12 (Simla, 1913:31), "sharpened to a needle-like point and hardened by fire. They are inserted firmly in the ground, inclined inwards the front, and form an obstacle in the nature of CHEVAUX DE FRISE. They are quickly and easily made and are much used by the tribes on the frontier, their presence being often skilfully concealed". Hore says that there are two kinds of Panjis used by the Abors, one about six inches long, and the other about eighteen inches long. The projecting portion of the Panjis is carefully concealed with leaves. "Both kinds", he writes, "are sufficiently strong and sharp to pierce a boot or puttie, while for barefooted men they form a very serious obstacle." It appears that the Panjis are made from a special variety of bamboo which is very hard and even poisonous.

STOCKADES : The Abors used to construct their stockades some distance away from the villages. "Unlike Singphos and Nagas" writes Shakespeare (1914:111), "they (Abors) do not stockade their villages, but build these defences at a distance to command all appro-

aches, behind which they have frequently stood very stoutly." "The Abor stockade", says the OFFICIAL ACCOUNT (1913:49-50), "is not usually situated in close proximity to his village as is the case with many jungle tribes, but often at some distance from it". The Abors choose sites for stockades, where topographical difficulties, in their estimation, presented insuperable difficulties. The stockades are usually concealed and situated behind some physical obstacles.

The stockades are built at suitable points across the paths leading to the villages. The sites of these stockades", says Hore, "are chosen with great skill showing that the Abor is fully alive to the use of the ground.... Situated as a rule in thick jungle, they are invisible from a distance of 20 or 30 yards.... The stockades themselves are built of bamboo, according to the nature of the surrounding jungle, and are from 8 to 12 feet high, backed with stores. They usually lean outward over the hillside, and are in consequence very difficult to scale: in front, the jungle is cleared for about 10 yards and the felled trees and bamboos form a very effective abattis. The stockade built by Kembang at the Bebor rock, consisted of two 8 feet palisades made of twelve inch logs laid horizontally, the palisades were 4 feet apart and the space between entirely filled with large stones. The stockade itself could only be seen from a distance of fifteen yards, but the path from a distance of some 60 yards from the stockade was completely commanded by a series of rockshoots."

"Although many of the villages are surrounded by stockades", says Hore elsewhere,

"for the purposes of inter-tribal warfare, the Abor, unlike the Naga, never seems to attempt to hold the village stockade against troops".

"These village stockades, though no doubt good enough for the purpose for which they are erected, are of no military importance whatever as they are badly sited for the effectual employment of Abor tactics against troops armed with rifles. Their position precludes them from being flanked by rock-shoots, and they are nearly always visible from a distance of two or three hundred yards. They are hardly ever bullet-proof and the more or less open nature of the country in the immediate vicinity of a village enables them to be easily turned.

"The stockade on which the Abor relies, to oppose the advance of troops, is specially built on selected ground and may be anything from a half to four miles from the village. The latter is generally emptied of all movable property a few days before troops reach the stockade, and should this be taken, the village will be found to be entirely deserted, no matter how quickly the troops push on". "The Abor stockades" says, the OFFICIAL ACCOUNT, "with which they hold up the head of the column, are often very formidable, defended by Panjis and too strong to be breached by light artillery".

The stockade near Dambuk was found to be $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles long and shell-proof by the Abor Expedition of 1894. "The stockade on the north side of Kebang", says the OFFICIAL ACCOUNT, "was reported by Mr. Williamson to be 14 feet high with a ditch 12 feet broad" (p.103).

The idea behind constructing the stocka-

des from a distance of the village is the safe evacuation of women and children against any possible attack. The stockades are defended with large stones, backed by tree trunks, and lined with plantain stems to render shells ineffective. Necessary provisions and water are stored inside the stockades. The Abors conceal Panjis on all the paths along which the enemy is expected to traverse. The ground in the vicinity of the stockade is similarly stuck with Panjis. The paths are blocked by felling trees. THE HANDBOOK ON THE ABOR COUNTRY (1911:6) says that "they are building their stockades in pairs, the idea being to allow the first stockade to be taken and then, while the second is being stored to re-occupy the first and cut off the stormers".

"A shell-proof stockade well over 2,000 yards long and 10 feet high constructed of stout timber and stones, with a Panji-sown ditch in front of it and belts of Panjis as an additional obstacle", says Dunbar (1915:49), "could only be taken after almost prohibitive loss, were the position unturnable and the enemy a determined foe".

"Practically every Abor village has", says Dunbar in his FRONTIERS (1932:221), "some sort of defences in the way of obstacles and a defensible gate, sometimes even a stout log and stone stockade; but these works are never very long. Karko had the strongest village defences I ever saw—three lines of ditch and wall extending along the whole of the south side. The Minyongs were evidently highly respected, [and it was equally obvious that no Abor had any idea of turning a position".

(To be continued)

CINEMA AND THEATRE

CHAITANYA

It is a cliché to say that cinema is on the rise and theatre is on the wane; cinema has pushed theatre out of commercial market. We came to accept this proposition (or generalization) without enquiring if there is a basic difference between the two or they are parallel developments. The difficult question is whether there is an unbridgeable division, even opposition between the two arts (cinema and theatre). Is there something genuinely 'theatrical', different in kind from what is genuinely—'cinematic'?

Almost all opinion holds that there is a difference between the two. Cinema and theatre are distinct and even antithetical arts, each giving rise to its own standards of judgment and canons of form. Thus Erwin Panofsky¹, argues that one of the criteria for evaluating a movie is its freedom from its impurities of theatricality. For him, cinema is a pure and theatre an impure art form. It seems that Panofsky has based his observation on the historical development of cinema.

The history of cinema is often treated as the history of its emancipation from theatrical models. These models are three :

- (1) Theatrical frontality : the unmoving camera reproducing the situation of the spectator of a play fixed in his seat.
- (2) Theatrical acting : gestures needlessly stylized, exaggerated—needlessly because now the actor could be seen 'close up'.
- (3) Theatrical furnishing : unnecessary distancing of the audience's emotions, disregarding the opportunity to immerse the audience in reality. Cinema is the emancipation from these three theatrical models. Movies are regarded as advancing from theatrical artificiality to cinematic naturalness and immediacy. But this view is far too simple.

Such over-simplification testifies to the ambiguous scope of the camera eye. The camera can be used to project a relatively passive, unselective kind of vision—as well as the highly selective (edited) vision generally associated with movies—cinema is a medium as well as an art, in the sense that it can encapsulate any of the performing arts and render it in a film transcription.² One can film a play or ballet or opera or sporting event in such a way that one is seeing the event filmed. But theatre is never a medium. Thus, one can make movie of a play but not a play of a movie. Cinema had an early but fortuitous connection with the stage. Some of the earliest films were filmed plays. Even Peter Brook's staging of Weiss's *Marat/Sade* has been filmed.

The contrast between theatre and cinema is usually taken to lie in the material represented or depicted. But exactly where does the difference lie?

It is tempting to draw a crude boundary. Theatre deploys artifice while cinema is committed to reality, indeed to an ultimately physical reality which is redeemed by the camera. The aesthetic judgment that follows is that films shot in real settings are better (more cinematic) than those shot in studios.

Films have been rather too often acclaimed as the democratic, the art of mass society. Therefore, it must pander to uneducated or vulgar taste. Fellini, Marinetti and Satyajit Roy do not agree. For them, cinema is both popular and high art and is cast as the art of the authentic. Theatre, by contrast, means dressing up, pretense, lies. It smacks of aristocratic taste and the class society.

Some locate the division between theatre and cinema as the difference between play (written) and the film-script. The former is verbal and the latter is non-verbal. Panofsky derives this difference from what he takes to be

the most profound one: the difference between the formal conditions of seeing a play and those of seeing a movie. In the theatre, says Panofsky, "space is static, that is, the space represented on the stage as well as the spatial relation of the beholder to the spectacle, is fixed" while in cinema, "the spectator occupies a fixed seat but only physically, not as the subject of an aesthetic experience." In the cinema, the spectator is aesthetically in permanent motion as his eye identifies with the lens of the camera which permanently shifts in distance and direction. In fact, Panofsky is assuming a literal conception of theatre. To him, theatre is conceived basically as dramatic literature, text and words: cinema in contrast is primarily "a visual experience." It means that theatre is the plays of Shakespeare and Tennessee Williams and cinematic art is silent films. But many movie magnets do not regard movies as images with sound added. And what if I say that theatre is something different from play. What should we call the Happenings of Dine, Kaprow, Oldenburg and Whitman where no text exists?

There is infiltration of theatre into cinema as well as vice versa. In theatre, the spectator cannot change his angle of vision but unlike movies "the settings of the stage can not change during one act (except for such incidents as rising moon or gathering clouds or gliding backdrops). The ideal play would be Sartre's *No Exit* where there is a living room against a blank stage.

On the other hand, film or cinema is not only a "visual experience," all components must be subordinate to the image. What about the films of Bresson and Godard with their allusive, densely thoughtful text which lack visual beauty? How could one explain the extra ordinary rightness of Ozu's relatively immobilized camera?³

The distinction between cinema and theatre becomes blurred when we take into account the statements of Bresson, Cocteau and Astruc. These directors compare the film with literature. Astruc has likened camera to a pen and calls it "camera-stylo." The main difference between the two—fact that literature uses abstract symbols while film consists of concrete images.

Allardyce Nicoll⁴ argues that the difference (between film and theatre) may be understood as a difference in kinds of characters. Practically, all effectively drawn stage characters are types, in cinema we demand individualism...and impute greater power of independent life to the figures on the screen. Panofsky makes exactly the opposite point: that the nature of films, in contrast to plays, requires flat or stock characters.

Movies thrive on the narrative equivalent of a technique familiar from painting and photography, off-centring. It is this that creates the pleasing disunity or fragmentariness of the characters of many of the greatest films. In contrast, linear coherence of detail (the gun on the wall in the first act that must go off by the end of the third) is the rule in Occidental and Oriental narrative theatre and gives rise to the sense of the unity of the characters (a unity that may appear like the statement of a 'type').

Nicoll's thesis seems less than appealing when he stresses the fact that "when we go to the theatre, we expect theatre and nothing else." It is an old notion of artifice. According to Nicholl, when we are in theatre in every way the falsity of a theatrical production is borne in upon us so that we are prepared to demand nothing save "a theatrical truth." In the cinema, however, every member of the audience, no matter how sophisticated, is essentially at the same level; we all believe that camera can not lie. As the film actor and his role are identical, so the image can not be dissociated from what is imaged. Cinema, therefore, gives us what is experienced as the truth of life.

Could not theatre dissolve the distinction between the truth of artifice and the truth of life? Is not that just what the ritual seeks to do? Is not that what is being sought when theatre is conceived as an exchange with an audience?—something that films can never be.

If an irreducible distinction between theatre and cinema does exist, it may be this. Theatre is confined to a logical and continuous use of space. Cinema (through editing, that is, through the change of shot—which is the basic unit of film construction) has access to alogical or discontinuous use of space. Film movement is artificial; the dimensions of space and time are manipulated

to create new worlds of experience. Cinema leads to a "temporal organization of space," a term originated by E. Panofsky.⁵ In real life, in the plastic arts and on the stage, space is static, motionless, unchanging. In the cinema, space loses its static quality and acquires a time-charged dynamic quality. In theatre, people are either in the stage space or 'off'. When 'on' they are always visible or visualizable in contiguity with each other. In cinema, no such relation is necessary or necessarily visible or even visualizable. Some films considered objectionably theatrical are those which seem to emphasize spatial continuities, like Hitchcock's *Rope*. But closer analysis of the film would show how complex their treatment of space is. Another important difference is the "spatialization of time." As Arnold Hauser⁶ says, time in real life, in literature, and on the stage, has a definite directional trend of development. In the cinema, time loses this directional trend and in a film we are free to move about in time, as in real life we are to move about in space. A film can go backward and forwards, can show separate events together, can show simultaneous events separately. Time loses its un-interrupted continuity and irreversible direction. A play can not mingle brief moments and phrases of time as a film can.

Cinematic virtue does not reside in the fluidity of the positioning of the camera nor in the mere frequency of the change of shot. It consists in the arrangement of screen images and of sounds. Melies, for example, though he did not get beyond the static positioning of the camera, had a very striking conception of how to link screen images. He grasped that editing offered an equivalent to the magician's sleight of hand—thereby suggesting that one of the features of film (as distinct from theatre) is that anything can happen, that there is nothing that can not be represented convincingly. Through editing, Melies presents discontinuities of physical substance and behaviour. In his films, the discontinuities are, so to speak, practical, functional; they accomplish a transformation of ordinary reality. But the continuous re-invention of space peculiar to film narration does not pertain only to the cinema's ability to fabricate 'vision' to show us a radically altered world. The most 'realistic' use of the

motion-picture camera also involves a discontinuous account space.

Film narration has a 'syntax' composed of the rhythm of associations and disjunctions. As Cocteau⁷ has written, "My primary concern in a film is to prevent the images from flowing, to oppose them to each other, to anchor them and join them without destroying their relief." But this conception of film syntax entails the rejection of movies as mere entertainment. Instead, it becomes a vehicle for thoughts. In drawing a line of demarcation between theatre and films, the issue of continuity of space seems to me more fundamental than the difference that might be pointed out between theatre as an organisation of movement in three-dimensional space (like dance) versus cinema as an organisation of plane space (like painting). The theatre's capacities for manipulating space and time are, simply much cruder and more laboured than film's. Theatre can not equal the cinema's facilities for the strictly controlled repetition of images, for the duplication or matching of word and image and juxtaposition and over-lapping of images.

Theatre has been described as a "mediated art", presumably because it usually consists of a pre-existent play mediated by a particular performance which offers one of many possible interpretations of the play. Film, in contrast, is regarded as unmediated because of its larger-than-life scale and more tremendous impact on the eye and because "the medium of the movie is a physical reality," and characters in a movie have no aesthetic experience outside the actors. But there is an equally valid sense which shows movies to be the mediated art and theatre the unmediated one. We see what happens on the stage with our own eyes. We see on the screen what the camera sees. In the cinema, narration proceeds by ellipsis (the cut or change of shot): the camera eye is a unified point of view that continually displaces itself. But the change of shot provokes questions, the simplest of which is: from whose point of view is the shot seen? The ambiguity of point of view latent in all cinematic narration has no equivalent in the theatre.

Much may be made of the fact that in its concrete existence, cinema is an object (a product even) while theatre is a performance. I think it is not so important. Whether objects (like

films or paintings) or performances (like music or theatre), all art is first a mental act, a fact of consciousness. The object aspect of film, the performance aspect of the theatre are merely means—means to the experience, which is not only 'of' but 'through' the film and the theatre event. Each subject of an aesthetic experience shapes it to his own measure. With respect to any single experience, it hardly matters that a film is usually identical from one projection of it to another while theatre performances are highly mutable.

As film is an object, it is totally manipulable, totally calculable. A film is like a book, another portable art-object: making a film, like writing a book, means constructing an inanimate thing, every element of which is determinate. Indeed, in films, this 'determinancy' has or can have a quasi-mathematical form, like music, (A shot lasts a certain number of seconds, a change of angle of so many degrees is required to match two shots) the result is determinate and total. What is the role of the director? How does he make his intention felt? Berkeley used only one camera to shoot the whole of his dance numbers. Every 'set up' was designed to be shot from only one exactly calculated angle. Bresson, working on a far more self-conscious level of artistry, declared that for him, the director's task is to find the single correct way of doing each shot. An image can not be justified in itself, according to Bresson; it has a specific relation to adjacent images: this relationship constitutes its meaning.

Theatre is free from this kind of formal control. There are performances and performances always 'live'. Hence theatre-events are not subject to a comparable degree of control, do not admit a comparably exact integration of effects.

The key word in many discussions of cinema is 'possibility'. Certain critics think that mediation of the camera eye opens up a world of possibility of which stage can never dream. Artaud, a French theatre director, thought that motion pictures might make the theatre obsolete. Movies possess a sort of visual power which probes into the mind and uncovers undreamt of possibilities. Meyerhold, a Russian theatre director, suggested that theatre must emulate cinema. "Let us cinematify the theatre," he urged.

Is cinema the successor or rival of the theatre?

Theatre is on the decline. Some critics think that theatre and cinema have the same relationship as that of photography and painting. If the painter's job has been no more than fabricating likeness, the invention of camera might have made painting obsolete. But painting is hardly just 'pictures' any more than cinema is just theatre for the masses, available in portable standard units.

It was abstraction that saved painting. As the superior realism of photography was supposed to have liberated painting and let it go abstract, cinema's superior power to represent (not merely to stimulate) the imagination might appear to have emboldened the theatre in a similar fashion, inviting the gradual obliteration of the conventional plot.

Actually theatre and cinema show parallel development rather than rivalry. The possibilities for theatre that lie in going beyond psychological realism, seeking greater abstraction. Conversely, movies are witness of real life; they treat collective situations. But this position is also challenged. After the rise of cinema verite or documentary films, we have 'the theatre of fact.' Peter Weiss's *The Investigation* is an example.

Consider the two principal radical positions in the arts today. One recommends the breaking down of distinction between genres; the arts would eventuate in one art, consisting of many different kinds of behaviour going on at the same time. The other position recommends the maintaining and clarifying the barriers between the arts, by intensification of what each art distinctively is; painting must use only those means which pertain to painting, music only those which are musical.

The two positions are in a way, irreconcilable. Except that both are invoked to support a perennial modern quest—the quest for the definitive art-form. An art may be purposed to be definitive because it is considered the most rigorous or most fundamental. For these reasons, Walter Pater asserted that all art aspires to the condition of music. Moreover recently the thesis that all arts are leading towards one art has been advanced by the cinema

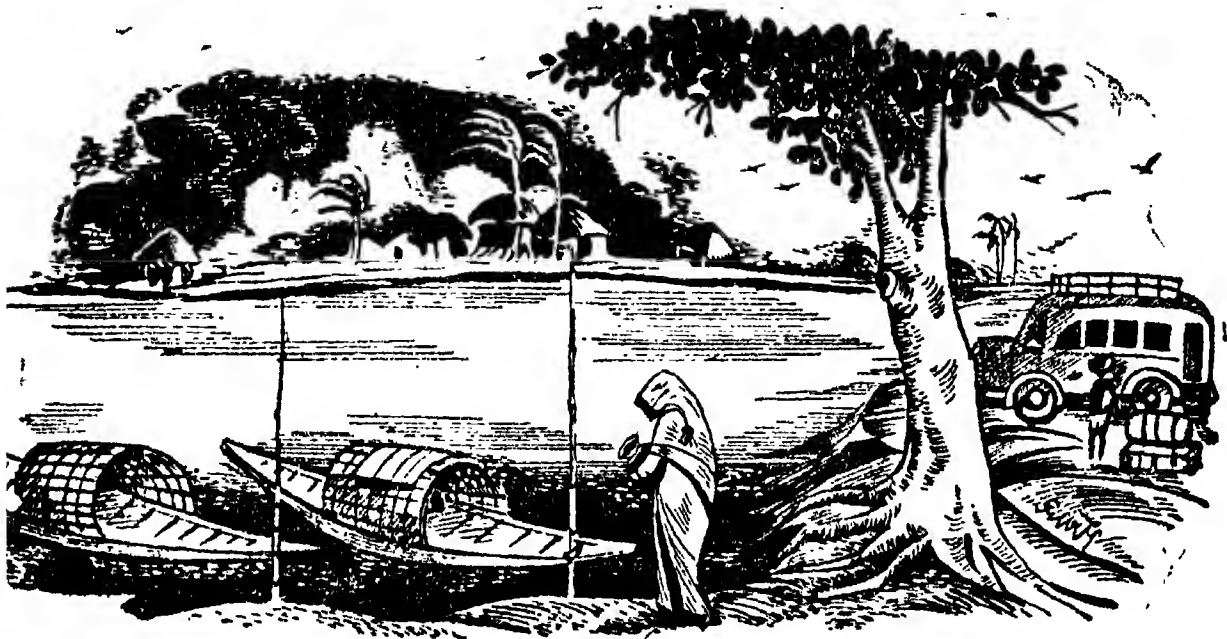
CINEMA AND THEATRE

enthusiasts because film is a rigorous combination of music, literature and the image.

Or an art may be proposed as definitive because it is the most inclusive. This is the basis of the destiny for theatre held out by Wagner, Marinetti, Artaud and John Cage—all of whom envisage theatre as nothing less than a total theatre, potentially conscripting all the arts into its service. And as the ideas of synthesis of all arts continue to proliferate among painters, sculptors, architects and composers, theatre remains the favoured candidate for the role of summative art. As Satyajit Roy has stated: "Cinema is an art; it is sum total of all arts." So conceived, theatre's claims to contradict those of cinema. Partisan of theatre would argue that while music, painting, dance and words can only converge on a 'stage', the film object can only become bigger, longer or more internally

articulated. Theatre can be anything, everything. Film can only be one thing.

1. Erwin Panofsky, *Contrast Fall*. 1966 p. 35
2. This medium or non-art aspect of the film attained its routine incarnation with the advent of television. There, movies themselves become another performing art to be transcribed miniaturized on film.
3. Russian film director Ozu in the great era of montage avoided camera movements because, it is said, they tended to remind the spectator of the presence of camera.
4. Allardyce Nicoll, *Film and Theatre*.
5. Erwin Panofsky, *Style and Medium in the motion Picture*, Critique, 1947.
6. Arnold Hauser, *The Social History of Art*.
7. Cocteau on the Film, Dobson.



TOWARDS A SILENT REVOLUTION IN THE HIMALAYAS

SURESH RAM

During the last half a dozen years, hundreds of crores of rupees have been spent in the Himalayas and many projects launched with an eye on welfare and security. True that they have rendered the country much more immune against attacks from without, but what about the indigenous people living at those altitudes, surrounded by hills and dales, mounts and valleys? If we were to ask three simple questions: Have they become more self-reliant? have they succeeded in standing on their own feet? have they developed new qualities of mind and heart?, the answer is a sad 'No' in each case. Nay, it is worse; they lost their usual means of livelihood, gone is the little self-confidence they once enjoyed and new 'blessings of development' in the form of drinking, gambling and cheating have ruined the sparse content of their soul. What a tragedy that Indian planning, be it for development or defence, has confined itself to replenishing the material resources or mechanical output and miserably failed to enriching the human element or taking it into its confidence. Perhaps it is no fault of planning or planners, but an inevitable consequence of all that is imposed by the authorities from above. Progress to be true and lasting must emanate from below and be characterised by an initiative of the masses themselves. The lead should come from the people and all help or support from without or above must be channelised by them as they choose of their own accord.

Poverty in Uttarkashi

Happily, the Sun of a new consciousness and awakening has at last now dawned in a part of the Himalayas. On May 30 last, the inhabitants of the Uttarkashi district (in Uttarakhand region of U.P.) made history when they solemnly declared the Zila-Dan of their district which is regarded as the sacredmost part of India for enshrining the sources of the Ganga and the Jamuna, the two holiest rivers of the land. This Zila-Dan was announced at a quiet function held at Tilari grounds under the presidentship of Sri Devendra Kumar Gupta, the indefatigable secretary of the Gandhi Memorial Trust. With a total area of 2,992 sq. miles and a population of 1,20,159, Uttarkashi is one of the poorest districts of the country. Its per capita income is Rs. 129 (at 1960-61 price level), which is in striking contrast with the figures of 275 and 350, averages respectively for U.P. and India. The total area under cultivation amounts to 57,552 acres, of which only 3,950 acres (or less than seven percent) is irrigated. The picture of land distribution is equally gloomy:

Distribution of Holdings

Size	Percentage
Less than one acre	30.0
Between one and 2.4	38.0
Between 2.5 and 4.9	19.07
Between 5.0 and 7.4	3.0
Between 7.5 and 9.0	9.0
Ten and above	1.0
	100.0

Due to the peculiar and uneven nature of the terrain and soil, holdings here stand in no comparison with those in the plains and are much less productive. Little wonder that the income per agricultural household is only Rs. 248 which is the lowest in U. P. (average Rs. 938). Again, when one thinks of the imbalances in the district due to differences of caste and land-ownership, the plight of the Harijan landless can well be imagined. Formerly a part of the Tehri-Garhwal state, feudalism flourished here unchecked and its worst victims were the non-owning labouring poor, the untouchable community, who may be ranked among the most destitute and impoverished on this planet of ours !

Meaning of Gramdan

The echo of Bhoodan-Gramdan which has been resounding over the Indian sky for the last seventeen years could not fail to reach the people of Uttarkashi. And one of them was touched by the depths of Vinoba's message to the inmost recesses of his heart. He, Ghanshyam Singh by name, attended in December, 1964 the Sarvodaya Conference held at Raipur where he listened to Vinoba's call with rapt attention. Returning home he persuaded the inmates of his own village, Sanj jakhol to offer the village in Gramdan. When they asked him what Gramdan was, he pointed out its four essentials :—

(i) The village sets up its Gram-Sabha (village assembly) of which every adult, male or female, is a member ;

(ii) All the landholders of the village transfer the ownership of their entire land to the village community or Gram-Sabha ;

(iii) All the landholders donate one-twentieth of their land to the Gram-Sabha for the sake of the landless of the village ; and (iv) They set up a Gram-Kosh (village fund) in which the landholders regularly offer one-fortieth of their produce and the salaried people or wage-earners contribute one day's earning (or one-thirtieth of their income) year after year.

Ghanshyam Singh's Dream

Ghanshyam Singh explained to them that they could not get rid of their time-old exploitation if they stuck to individual ownership of land. Declaring it a veritable curse, he urged upon them to transfer ownership to village community, convert the village into a family and muster their resources together to release it from various bonds which were responsible for the age-long slavery. Known for his unassuming nature, crystal-like honesty, and transparent sincerity, Ghanshyam Singh's words penetrated the heart of his people and opened a new vista of life before them. Thus he succeeded in offering the Gramdan of Sanj-jakhol on November 14, 1965. But he soon realised that the people could not come to their own unless all the 673 villages of the district joined gramdan. This seemed to be an idle dream at that time. But he was encouraged to turn it into reality by a friend of his, Sundarlal Bahuguna, also a native of the erstwhile Tehri State. The doyen of constructive workers of Uttarkhand division, Sundarlal is a living symbol of Sarvodaya in that area both by his life and precept. Active in the movement for the last several years, he has been unostentatiously working among his people and unfolding before them the immense potentialities of the Gandhian constructive programme.

Both Ghanshyam Singh and Sundarlal walked from village to village with the message of Gramdan on their lips. They enthused the workers with fervent enthusiasm and infused the general mass with new self-confidence to shake off their ties of enslavement. Slowly the word of Gramdan went round and one village after another entered its fold. The dedicated efforts of Ghanshyam Singh and Sundarlal were crowned with success with the Ziladan of Uttarkashi, the first to do so in the province and the fourth in the country (the other three being Darbhanga and Purnea in Bihar and Tirunelveli in Tamilnad.)

The Zila-Dan of Uttarkashi

When they assembled for the Ziladan function at Tilari grounds on May 30, 1968, they made a solemn resolve :-

"Today we declare on oath that we, the residents of all the villages of the Uttarkashi district, be they the landholders, the money-lenders or the landless labourers, we shall hereafter live as members of a single family and we shall firmly proceed together on the lines of Gramdan towards the goal of Gram Swarajya (village republic)."

On this memorable occasion, Vinobaji had sent them the following message :

"The Ziladan of Uttarkashi is a very inspiring event. This district commands faith and respect of the whole country. Also it lies on our northern border. From both these points of view, this Ziladan will have its dynamic influence not only on whole of

U. P., but all over the country. I send my greetings and goodwishes to all those who came forward for this *Dan*, those who were responsible for making them offer this *Dan* and also to those who have their sympathy for this *Dan*."

The Task Ahead

In his presidential address at Ziladan function, Shri Devendra Gupta recalled—what Vinobaji had said as early as 1957—that Gramdan was a defence measure". It needs little reflection to state that India is not safe unless its villages are safe and no village is safe unless its inmates are knit together as a family. "Without gramdan", added Guptaji, "no smuggling could be checked, no infiltration could be stopped and no invasion could be faced."

None was happier than Ghanshyam Singh. With his dream realised he had no words to give vent to his feelings. Choking with emotion, he said : "We are proceeding towards a silent revolution....." Then he uttered words of grave warning, "Belonging to the homeland of Gangotri and Jamnotri, ours is a serious responsibility. We have to build the country from the bottom upwards and make it prosperous and strong, watchful and self-reliant, inward-looking and harmonious. We have to make a beginning from our district. The pilgrims hailing from all parts of the country expect us to place a model before them. Ziladan, therefore, marks not the end but the beginning of a new adventure before us in the art and science of nation-building."

Indian Periodicals

The following passages are reproduced from the REVIEW OF IMPORTANT ACTIVITIES AND STUDIES, 1967-68, published by the Planning Commission, Government of India.

FOURTH PLAN

Conflict of 1965 had many adverse economic consequences for the country. This, coupled with the suspension of foreign credits resulted in curtailment and stringent control of imports essential for the continued growth of the economy. The two drought years—1965-67 necessitated larger imports of food-grains and raw materials and reduced our exports. The fall in agricultural production caused a retardation in the industrial sector based on agricultural raw materials and those depending on consumption demand of agriculturists. The capacity to save was also reduced by the sharp rise in the price of foodgrains and this in turn affected certain other branches of the industry such as the engineering industry. There was a substantial increase in non-plan expenditure to meet not merely the normal growth of administrative expenditure but also additional outlays on account of dearness allowances, famine relief, and defence requirements. All these resulted in considerable erosion of resources for development. Under these circumstances, the re-constituted Planning Commission decided that the Draft Outline of the Fourth Plan, prepared earlier, would have to be revised as the assumptions made therein were no longer valid. However, before the work of formulating the Fourth Plan could be taken up, it was necessary to prepare the Annual Plan for

1968-69 by January, 1968, in order that it may be incorporated in the Budget for 1968-69. The work on the Fourth Plan was to be taken in hand only thereafter. Further, in 1968-69, steps would need to be taken to create conditions in which steady planned growth can take place. To be operationally useful for providing guidance on programmes and policies for the future, it was felt that the Fourth Plan should cover the period 1969-70 to 1973-74. The National Development Council at its meeting on 1st and 2nd December, 1967, endorsed this view.

The work on the Fourth Plan has already been initiated. The Fourth Five Year Plan is scheduled to commence from 1969-70 covering the five year period ending 1974. In view of the change in the period to be covered as also in the light of the changed economic situation a fresh exercise in aggregation giving the macro framework of the Fourth Plan was considered necessary. This would also mean a drawing up of picture of physical balances obtaining in the base-period 1967-68 and those for the Fourth Plan 1969-74. These aspects were considered in an informal meeting of the Planning Commission held on 21st December, 1967 and a decision was taken to start the work on the preparation of the Fourth Plan immediately.

It has been decided that an overall Planning Group or Cell for each sector consisting of representatives from the appropriate Ministry and the Division of Planning Commission under the chairmanship of Member concerned should be set up to review :

- (i) reports of the various Fourth Plan Working Groups with a view to determine the extent to which the original assumptions, base-year data, the long-term perspective, cost estimates etc. had undergone changes.
- (ii) review the approach, strategy, programmes, targets set down in the Draft Outline in order to determine the directions in which modifications are called for ; and
- (iii) determination of the need for any depth studies for which Working Study Groups will have to be set up and if so their terms of reference.

Action on these lines has already been initiated in consultation with the Central Ministries.

The Resources Working Group has been reconstituted to make an assessment of resources for 5 years beginning with 1969-70. Several exercises are also being initiated for working out the size and the allocation of the Plan by sectors and "measuring their impact on rate of growth, structural change, import substitution etc.

Perspective Planning Division is undertaking a revision of perspective in terms of targets and time horizon under certain assumptions regarding resources mobilization, exports, savings and investment. To start with the data for the year 1967-68 (provisional), 1968-69 (estimates) are being collected and consolidated to provide the base for working out a set of consistent targets for the physical and financial variants of the Plan. The statistical data included in the "Economic Recovery : 1967-68—1968-69" is being checked, brought up-to-date and further analysed in the light of the latest information available. On the physical side, base-year capacities and production estimates are currently being worked out for different sectors and sub-sectors on a detailed base.

The Planning Commission had recently addressed the State Governments on the steps they should take in connection with the preparation of the Fourth Plan. Subsequent to this, a meeting of State Planning Secretaries was held in the Planning Commission on 29th February, 1968 to consider : (i) principles and pattern of Central assistance to States, Centrally aided schemes and Centrally sponsored schemes and (ii) stages and programme of preparatory work for the Fourth Five Year Plan between April and June, 1968.

A PROFITABLE PUBLIC SECTOR UNDERTAKING

The Ashoka Hotels Limited are an organisation which yields profit to the Central Government which is its Sole Shareholder. The Report (1967-68) published by the Government of India Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply gives us the following detailed information about this hotel :

The authorised share capital of the Company was increased during the year 1966-67 from Rs. 1.50 crores to Rs. 2.50 crores in order to finance the construction of an Annexe to the Hotel. This was done by increasing the ordinary share capital of the Company from Rs. 50,00,000 to Rs. 1,50,00,000 by issue of 1,00,000 ordinary shares of Rs. 100 each. All the newly issued shares have been taken up by Government. The paid-up capital of the hotel stood at Rs. 2.10 crores on 15-1-1968. Of this, the holding of the Government is a little over Rs. 1.94 crores, the balance being held by private parties.

The net profit of the Company during the financial year 1966-67 amounted to Rs. 15.49 lakhs after making a provision of Rs. 9.13 lakhs for depreciation and Rs. 12.00 lakhs for Income-Tax as compared to the corresponding figure of net profit of Rs. 11.55 lakhs during 1965-66. The Company declared a dividend

of Rs. 7.15 lakhs on Cumulative Preference shares at the rate of 7.15 % for the year 1965-66. Out of the total dividend paid, Government, as a shareholder, received Rs. 6.77 lakhs. The total dividend received from the Company so far is Rs. 56.10 lakhs. The loan liability of the Company which stood at Rs. 135.30 lakhs in February, 1958 was only Rs. 27 lakhs on 3 st March, 1967, the Company having made repayments of loan much in advance of the due dates. Occupancy in the Hotel during 1966-67 was 76% against 79% of the previous year. This was due to the opening of new hotels in the capital.

A major programme of re-decorating and renovating the existing building was also undertaken during 1966-67. Among other things, it included the painting of the building's exterior with snowcream, replacing the old carpets in the reception lobby and the corridors on the ground floor. The new decor of the main lounge in the Hotel has remained unchanged for the last 11 years. The curtains, upholstery and carpets had outlived their normal life. The lounge had the appearance of a huge hall without offering any feeling of cosiness and privacy to the visitors. With a view to remove these defects and bring the lounge up to the standard of a Five Star Hotel, it has been completely re-decorated by the Handicraft and Handloom Export Corporation, a Government of India undertaking, who have experience of decorating and furnishing work. The new decor of the main lounge is already receiving appreciation from foreign guests.

With effect from 1st January, 1968, the Hotel has switched over from the "American

Plan" (boarding and lodging combined) to the Continental plan tariff (room rent plus bed tea and breakfast only). One of the reasons why this switch-over could not take place earlier was because there were not enough restaurants in the Hotel offering different types of foods at different rates. There are at present one dining room and two restaurants. One more restaurant has been completed in February and the other one is expected to be completed in June, 1968.

The Hotel tariff was last revised in June 1966. The reasonableness of the hotel rates is generally judged, in consultation with the Tourist Department, by comparison with the rates obtaining in similar hotels in India as well as abroad. The only hotel comparable to Ashoka is Hotel Oberoi Intercontinental and the Continental plan tariff now in force compares favourably with the tariff in that Hotel. The tariff introduced is competitive and convenient to guests who have choice of types of foods and atmosphere of 4 restaurants and the dining room in the Hotel.

The work of constructing an Annexe to the Hotel has made very good progress. Three hundred additional beds, one speciality restaurant and a Convention Hall to seat 2,500 persons has been completed in time for the UNCTAD. Government have during 1967-68 upto (31-12-68) paid to the Company a sum of Rs. 1.20 crore in respect of this project, in the form of investment and loan in equal amounts. [The addition of 300 beds to the Hotel by February, 1968 will help to tide over the difficult accommodation position in the Capital during the period of UNCTAD.]

Foreign Periodicals

A PALACE GUEST OF SIKKIM

Some one called Sashti Brata, who describes himself as only five years older than his under-graduate nephew, has managed to make certain malicious suggestions against India in the columns of the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN WEEKLY in course of giving an innocent account of his visit to Sikkim. The MANCHESTER GUARDIAN by choosing to print Sashti Brata's account of what the King of Sikkim said to him and what the King's officers elaborated upon, has in a manner of speaking given Brata's libellous remarks the dignity of considered and well informed opinion. In fact the alleged dissatisfaction of the King with India's standing in the way of his freedom to "grab hold of" China's "Collar" is an utter concoction. For the King of Sikkim could never even dream of fighting his own battle against China. Sikkim is less than 3000 Sq. miles in area and has a population of less than 200000. Its annual revenue is about 1 crore rupees or about £ 560000. The "provocative high handedness" of the Indian Government in its "dealings with Sikkim" must have found an origin in the writer's brain as many important Sikkimese people come to Calcutta quite often and mix freely with Indians, but no one has ever heard of any Sikkimese dislike of the Indians who defend the Nathula or work in Sikkim's state departments. The Sikkimese gain all the way from their connection with India. The people of Sikkim are peace loving and they have no desire to take any special part in the armed conflicts that occasionally take place between the soldiers of China and India. We cannot congratulate the MANCHESTER Guardian in their choice of a commentator on Indo-Sikkimese relations.

HOW ISRAEL THINKS

A discussion which was arranged recently in Israel and in which Yitzhak Rabin Chief of Staff Israel Army, David Horowitz President Bank of Israel, Yigael Yadin Professor Hebrew University, Avraham Shlonsky poet, Ephraim Urbach Professor Hebrew University and others took part, produced some remarkable thoughts and analytical reasoning that should be studied carefully by Indian statesmen. The initial question put by the Moderator was

Has the Six-day War brought peace any nearer? Do you think that the prospects for peace depend on Israel's readiness to make territorial concessions? Or is rather the retention of all the occupied territories the best guarantee of peace that Israel can look forward to? And how in your opinion, can the wall of Arab hostility be broken down.

This was answered by David Horowitz:

The desire for peace among the Arabs can be encouraged by two factors: our strength and our generosity. I am against any one-sided approach which opts for only one of these postures; I am for a synthesis of both. Our strength must make it clear that we are here to stay. We have already shown it sufficiently for this to be apparent and I hope that we will not have to demonstrate it once again. This is enough to create a clear awareness of our existence and our presence in the area. But strength by itself will not enable us to reach our goal unless it is accompanied by a measure of confidence in our peaceful intentions and our desire to be peacefully integrated into the area. This can

only be accomplished by a combination of strength and generosity.

A further question came.

Would a peace treaty with the Arabs be anything we could trust? In other words, could we rely on such a treaty and begin to demobilize?

And was answered by Horowitz who said, We obviously will not be able to relax our military preparedness even when peace comes but the signing of a peace treaty is part of an on-going process and not just an isolated act.

In course of discussion of the dimensions of Arab hostility to Israel General Rabin made certain remarks which the Moderator summed up :

I think there's a certain contradiction between the assumption that the wall of Arab hostility will not easily be broken down and the opposite opinion that peace is nonetheless attainable. I see the persistence of that wall as a very real fact. Any agreement reached with an Arab leader would be worthless, because the leader would be sure to fall under that wall. I consider that a near certainty. If the Arabs go on hating Israel, their leaders will not be talking in their name, and in that case peace has no meaning.

Professor Yadin remarked :

On the whole I still agree today with what I said seven years ago, that the more we talk about peace and think that we can help bring it about with words, the more we actually postpone it. On the other hand, the problem is a very complicated one and shouldn't be approached simplistically. The first and most essential condition, as far as I'm concerned, is that there will be peace only if there is also security. Peace in itself however, will not bring us security. This, in my opinion, is the cardinal point in the whole discussion. Let's speak plainly : As long as the Arab countries, for whatever reason, think that the problem of Israel can be

solved by force, there won't be any peace. First of all, therefore—and the Six-Day War was an excellent reminder in this respect—we have to take to heart the famous Latin proverb, "He who wants peace, let him prepare for war"—and not just in the abstract, philosophical sense, but practically and concretely. The first question for us to ask is why there still isn't any peace. I'm willing to accept what has been said about lessening Arab hostility. But at the same time, it seems to me that the core of the problem does not lie in Arab hostility, but in certain international interests, including also Arab interests, which are not directly involved in the problem of Israel. And because these transcend mere hostility, they're also more serious and more difficult to overcome.

Elaborating on this he said "there is another factor that has worked to aggravate the problem and to make a settlement more remote---that is the confrontation between Russia and America, or the problem of East and West, in which we have become a pawn for both sides. This is a fact that we can't afford to ignore. Obviously, though the Russian Communist regime has a number of good theoretical reasons for being opposed to Israel (and we are particularly aware of this in connection with the Jewish problem in Russia), these factors do not dictate total hostility toward Israel, as can be seen from the Russian vote in the U.N. in 1947. But here we get involved in the power game between Russia and America, which is not something that depends on us.

And made certain suggestions which the Arabs may benefit from.

In light of all that I've said, it may seem that peace is unattainable. Not at all I don't know when, but it will come about. But before this happens, I believe, something else must take place : the

Arab countries must have governments that are truly democratic, so that the people—and not the mob—can decide what it wants in a responsible manner. As long as this is not the case, I doubt whether we will achieve the peace that we desire, a true peace and not just a paper one. If these countries were to have real democracy, I think it would be possible to convince the people around us that peace would benefit not only us, but them too. They have other “enemies” much worse than we: illiteracy, poverty, disease, and their low social and technological level. They need peace to be able to overcome these things. They will have to devote most of their resources to combating them. It will be a long process.

Professor Urbach's analysis of the Israeli outlook deserves special notice:

Even in wartime, no people has ever had to be in our position—and this was something that I recently heard expressed by a non-Jew, the Czech author Mnacko, who said: “You Israelis can't afford to suffer a single defeat in war.” And after all, it's not so uncommon to lose a war.

But if we should lose, God forbid, we know that we'll cease to exist, and this is a truth that no one denies. Which means that we have no other choice but to fight and win. But victories still don't bring peace. Peace isn't a function of victory. In other words, it's possible—if God forbid we should have to fight again that we'll win yet another victory and still not bring peace nearer. Even those who once thought otherwise now have to admit this. And there were many who thought that each new victory would bring us closer to peace.

Avraham Shlonsky the Poet had some very matter of fact ideas clothed in Biblical references and ethical considerations: “Do you think that the prospects for peace depend on Israel's readiness to make territorial concessions? Or

is it rather the retention of all the occupied territories that best guarantee the peace that Israel can look forward to?” Either/or. The hidden implication, it appears to me, is this: of course the prospects of peace do not depend on Israel's readiness, etc.—on the contrary, the only guarantee of a PAX ISRAELITICA is the permanent retention of all the territories! Because we are not being asked, mind you, about retaining part of the territories, which would mean negotiations, bargaining, an agreement—what to give up, what not, how much and where—but rather retaining them wholesale: ALL the territories! Everything! To the last foot of ground! And this at the expense of ignoring all other significant considerations, even those of security. The only guarantee is retention of all the territories! But a guarantee of what? No, what we have here is not an Arab-Israeli peace, but a “Pax Israelitica,” as if there could be such a thing as a “unilateral peace,” the peace of the victor...

Perhaps this was all only a slip of the pen. But if the pen is the heart's servant, as the ancient rabbis liked to say, and reveals our conscious thoughts, then a SLIP OF THE PEN reveals our hidden thoughts. And perhaps—I am only offering a conjecture—perhaps the hidden meaning of this particular slip is the belief that, really, who needs peace so badly anyway, particularly right now? What's the hurry? What do we stand to lose if peace comes later or not at all? Why should we worry if it's delayed a little, and then a little more, and still a little more? All of these “little mores,” after all, help give us a breathing space, and by now we have learned that a “breathing space” can be utilized to consolidate other kinds of “space” as well.

How is it our journalists and politicians like to put it? “Time is on our side.” Indeed, one of the speakers here today has expressed a similar thought. But I'll come to that in due time. We are experienced winners of miraculous

victories, victories that have paid off handsomely; but in peace there can be no such "victories," because in peace there must be compromise, there must be concessions---and these are always to the victor's disadvantage. And so, as long as a PAX ISRAELITICA---in other words, a peace in which there is only undiluted profit---is out of the question, the whole business hardly seems worth it to us. Conceivably certain territorial concessions could help make peace possible---but what good to us would such a peace be? Is this the peace we all prayed for? Here we have a miraculous opportunity, never to be repeated, to usher in the Messiah! At last we can demand full payment on all the verses of the Bible! We have seen the birth of a movement, a kind of "Biblical Verses Company, Unlimited," composed of poets and holy men, an orchestra of wind instruments all playing one tune: "The undivided Land of Israel---but REALLY undivided---is in our hands!" It's fallen as though from the sky---how dare we forfeit this Godgiven chance? Countless generation to come will weep in mourning! Indeed, it's not only our army chaplains who are running around blowing the SHOFAR these days, it's also our university professors and our mayors and our head poets and prose writers. They too have joined the chorus---this has been going on for several months now---with their leaflets, public advertisements, speeches and articles. "No concessions! No withdrawal! Not a foot!" Not that things are that simple, incidentally: it would appear that even they have their little differences of interpretation over the word "undivided." Does it refer to this verse or to that verse? Does it start here and end there, or does it continue even further?

Victories don't make peace. Victories only stop wars. And not for very long, either. Such peaces are like the notice "to be continued" that comes after each chapter of a serialized novel.

I'm aware, of course, that moral considerations are not the last word in international relations. Unfortunately, even within nations, every nation in its own way, ethical imperatives are not what determines things. Practicality determines. But this isn't to say that the world of action, which includes the political world as well, is necessarily and totally amoral.

Perhaps the amoral logic of power says: No concessions! No compromises! For after all the meaning of victory is that the vanquished has no choice. But the moral logic of our presence says: the victory consists of the victor's capacity to force himself not only to talk about peace, but also to make it.

Because who doesn't talk about peace? We all cry: Peace! Peace! We all say: No peace without negotiations! But do we all also understand the obvious, which is that not only peace, but peace negotiations too, depend on the willingness to make concessions, so that whoever refuses to make concessions, is in reality conceding...the impossibility of peace?

He who talks about the presence of his power says "How strong I am," while he who talks about the power of his presence says, "How just is my case." A nation is well-off when both of these claims can exist side-by-side. The Six-Day War was a demonstration of both. By means of it we prevented the unhappy fate that is generally the lot in this cynical world of those who are good but weak.

THE ZIONIST PURPOSE

Golda Meir's lecture reproduced in JEWISH FRONTIER explains the purpose for which Israel has been created and developed. We are giving certain excerpts from the published version of the lecture: When I was in the Foreign Office in Israel, I went on an official visit to Mexico. At a dinner, my host, the Foreign Minister of Mexico said to me: "I must

ask you something. What has happened to your people? You have never been known as farmers. How have you become excellent farmers? Even in Mexico a group of your men is now teaching some of our people various phases of agriculture."

It is easy to explain, but perhaps easy things are difficult to understand. The explanation lies in our history. For centuries the soil was taboo for Jews, especially in Eastern Europe. We could not own land, we could not work in the fields. We were pushed into the ghettos in a few cities. That was the historical background for our insistence on agricultural work. Men and women among the first to come to Palestine---the BILU, the First Aliya, the Second Aliya, and the Third Aliya---understood the basic need for our social re-structuring. Had they not, we would never have won independence.

And I believe that if we had not understood this necessarily, we would not have merited independence. It would have been too easy for a small number of Jews to come to Palestine, to buy orange groves and let Arabs work them. Arab labor was easier to get along with than Jewish labor. It was cheaper. Arabs had no fancy ideas about an eight-hour day. In many ways it would have been simpler to have Arab workers and Jewish landlords. But if this has been the turn of events, there would have been no room for Jews and no right for us to return to a land reclaimed through the toil of others. The pioneer settlers saved the Jewish people and the opportunity for the re-establishment of Jewish independence, because a simple but basic principle became their Bible: it was called AVODAH ATSMJT---self-labor.

Jews had to teach themselves to work with

their hands. The Third Aliya with its special group of Hashomer consisted of boys and girls who usually came from the homes of merchants, rabbis, scholars; many were from prosperous assimilated families. Yet they were the ones who built the first road between Tiberias and Nazareth. Labor was their creed. That was the faith each had to accept if he really wanted to build the country. We had to build it. The houses had to be built by us. The roads had to be built by us. The wheat had to be raised by us. The swamps had to be drained by us. This gave us a moral right to the land in addition to the historic right. If there are no more swamps in Palestine it was because we drained them. If there are forests it was because we planted the seedlings. If there are fewer deserts it is because our children went to the arid areas and reclaimed them.

A word or two about another question that my colleague in Mexico posed. It was after the Suez campaign, in 1956, and he asked: "You were never known as experts in the military field. What happened? I wonder what he would have asked now, after the Six-day War. After I tried to explain why we have become good farmers I could only tell him that we had been obliged to become good soldiers. But not with joy. We are good farmers with joy. It's a wonderful thing to go down to a kibbutz deep in the Negev and remember what it was twenty-five years ago: sand and sky; may be a well of brackish water. To go down there now and realize that there is practically no fruit that does not grow there, to see orchards and fields, green and lovely, fills the heart with joy. To be good soldiers is our extreme necessity; but there is no joy in it. . . .

Editor—ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

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NOTES

Czechoslovakia

Dubcek the present leader of the Communists of Czechoslovakia is trying to replace authoritarian government by a more popular regime in that country. The hard core communists of Russia, supported by the Poles and the East Germans are against any such change over from suppression, repression and intimidation to freedom. The Rumanians and the Yugoslavs are in favour of Dubcek's policy. The Hungarians are sitting on the fence. Dubcek however, is not showing any signs of a headlong retreat back into the dark alleys of totalitarian terror. Apparently he is bargaining with the hard-core strong arm for a settlement by which he will not be molested in carrying out his plans of synthesising freedom with communism, nor will he interfere with the party dictatorships in the communist camps. The real trouble will of course arise out of this idea of balancing human rights with management of human

affairs by the will of a handful of fanatics. When those fanatics follow a creed which is based on prefabricated reactions of mankind to human needs, and when the peoples refuse to react in the prescribed manner, there would be scope for revolutions, but not for any changes in the creed or its priesthood. If the people of a country could freely express their desire and go after the fulfilment of the desires with the same freedom, such a state of affairs could not be compatible with a communist set-up. If Dubcek is planning to give the Czechoslovak people fuller freedom to live in any manner they choose, he is undermining the dictatorship of the proletariat i. e. the dictatorship of the Communist Party leaders. If too many people disapprove of the ideas or actions of their leaders in a free country, the leaders have to surrender to the will of the people. In a communist polity the people have to surrender everytime to the party leaders for

they organise and run the armed forces of the country according to their own choice and to suit their own purpose. Communism has its fixed formulae for the economic and political organisation of human society and these formulae are above the wishes and desires of the people forming the society. Dubcek will therefore find it difficult to equilibrate liberty, freedom and communism. With freedom will come psychological changes which will easily interfere with the basic principles of communism. The workers of the world would find organised oppositions to their dictatorship. There may even come a move toward ownership of the means of production by individuals. Exploitation of man by man can easily follow from that. One cannot play with the basic assumptions of a creed without endangering its existence. If communism permits free expression of opinion and criticism of its doctrine by its followers, it will open the doors of its well guarded citadel to outside forces which will destroy it sooner or later. Tito can defy Russia because he is a dictator with his armed forces behind him; but he does not permit his people to challenge his will. Can Dubcek create his own pattern of Communism and act as the highpriest of that modified cult? If he can he will then be another Tito; but the Czechoslovak people will not become individually more free. If on the other hand he is trying to make his people free and not seeking power for himself and his clique, then he is striving after something which is not communism. His settlement with Moscow will clear up all doubts as to what is going on in Prague and what the Moscow—Warsaw group are doing about it. One thing is clear and it is that

communism is developing weaknesses that is breaking up its solidarity.

Brain Drain From India

We are constantly consulting one another as to the best way to make ourselves self-sufficient in know-how of all sorts. We are as we all know from experience, totally self-sufficient in political wisdom and economic perspicacity. But our knowledge of science and technology is somewhat deficient, so that we have to hire foreigners all the time to tell us how to do this or that and to actually manage our factories. These foreigners, being hired by wise politicians or unwise capitalists are usually quite, beyond classification. The government, who find it impossible to spend foreign exchange for the payment of the meagre fees that students pay in foreign Universities, find it convenient to allow foreign "experts" to remit large sums in foreign exchange to other countries. These "experts" are so full of their esoteric techniques that no Indians can ever pick up any knowledge from them and they go on and on to help India by helping themselves. It is a peculiarity of this strange set-up that Indian technicians and scientists obtain employment abroad quite easily, and prefer to serve in foreign countries on account of the high salaries they receive from foreigners. If some of them ever try to come back to India, our government and our big shots of the private sector find their complexion a bar to appointments at reasonably high salaries. They, therefore, go back to their foreign training centres and are received there with open arms and are offered attractive terms of employment. This Brain Drain goes on and our sagacious top men

plan and argue over the methods they should adopt to make India self-sufficient in scientific and technical know-how !

Gold Again

We had many occasions to refer to the high ideals that propel some of our leaders to engage in reforms which never develop in the manner the leaders like them to and cause great damage to our economy and untold misery to our poor countrymen. Mr. Morarji Desai is one such leader who is full of ideals and has a long record of miserable failures. His early efforts in Bombay to make India dry, made Bombay, perhaps, the greatest buyer of imported and smuggled liquor in Asia. His later attempts at gold control made gold smuggling the most profitable "Black" business in India and caused thousands of top ranking goldsmiths to take up cooly jobs in factories or to embrace death by starvation or suicide. Mr. Morarji is also an expert in taxation. His public finance has given the greatest boost to tax evasion and "black" transactions. Not that he does not know his own shortcomings. But he remains undaunted and sticks tenaciously to his ideals and unwisdom. He has now thought of newer ways of achieving the objectives that he had failed to achieve in the past. These new efforts will cause newer sufferings to the people. Mr. Morarji should, therefore, be stopped from exercising his talents on the people of India.

Students and Politics

Politics in India have become a source of many dangers to society. Leading members of political parties naturally gain publicity and

popularity even if they do not deserve the approbation of the public. Political leaders of our parties to-day cannot be held up before the people as symbols of all those human virtues which are the basis of civilisation and progress. In fact many political leaders totally lack that integrity and attachment to ethical principles which alone can justify their claims on public support and following.

With such conditions prevailing in the field of politics, one cannot view with equanimity the political activities of our students. Had politics been free from the vices of untruth, insincerity, disloyalty and from an anti-social out-look, we might have tolerated the participation of our students in politics. But as things are our students must be kept away from politics in order to enable them to study properly and to develop those qualities which will elevate them to a higher level of civilisation. We have been discussing this problem and its possible solutions with many persons who are well known for their knowledge and social out-look, and almost all of them have agreed that it is essential for our student population to be kept out of politics. How to proceed about it is an extremely difficult question.

Our suggestion is that the poverty of the student population should be curbed by devising schemes which will make it attractive for students to study and to follow the normal way of life of students rather than to run after political leaders. If the government subsidised clubs, libraries, canteens and places of instructive entertainment in a proper manner, and if students could be granted the facilities provided according to rules which made it binding on them to attend classes, extramural lectures, tours etc. ;

the student would then find it advantageous to spend their time in the manner that students should. The way the government now gives subsidies to such things will of course have to be discarded and a genuine effort made to achieve what is aimed at.

Another suggestion is to make ELECTORAL LAWS STRICT and to force all political parties and candidates for election to leave all minors out of their volunteer bands, meetings processions and other organisations for the securing of votes, party funds and propaganda work. No person below the age of twentyone must be allowed to take part in political work of any kind. All parties which try to mobilise the youth of the country for their propaganda and other work should be declared unlawful and their leaders subjected to heavy fines and other penalties. Attempts by the minors to disobey these rules should lead to the prosecution of their parents and guardians who should be subjected to fine and penalties for allowing their charges to indulge in political activities.

On the positive side every educational institution should be manned by well-paid teachers who should have social contact with their pupils through study circles, coaching classes, debating societies etc. All institutions must have clubs for games and sports and for recreational activities. The canteens of these clubs must be enabled to supply good food at a very low cost so that students could grow up without experiencing any acute differences between the rich and the poor. Text books and college fees should be within the reach of all. All other facilities should also be easily obtainable by the students irrespective of the economic status

of their parents and guardians. Scholarships should be greatly increased in numbers. It is essential that the positive aids should be created along with the introduction of the restrictive measures. Only restrictive measures cannot serve our purpose. The two must go hand in hand.

Hindi and English

Mr. Veerendra Patil Chief Minister of Mysore recently said that the opposition to Hindi will go and it will become our *National Language*. He also said that English could not be our national language and should go. We have no knowledge of Mr. Patil's qualifications as a crystal gazer but he appears to be confident of his ability to see clearly what cannot be seen. Hindi cannot be the national language of a nation which speaks many languages. It was made the *State Language* of India ; but that is not the same as a national language. Moreover, if Hindi fails to be used by all Indians as a common language it will be due to its effectiveness as a means of expression [of all shades of thoughts and feelings. We have a fair working knowledge of Hindi, but we find it underdeveloped for use in the spheres of higher education, administration, judicial work, engineering, medicine, commerce, productive techniques, philosophy, mathematics and so on and so forth. It is also not known to the other nations of the world and is not likely to be learnt by them for our convenience or consolation. In these circumstances the chances of Hindi coming into universal use in India are remote. Hindi cannot replace English and no efforts should be made to achieve the impossible.

Force and Freedom

The greatest argument in support of Communism is its contribution to human freedom. Mankind has, by organising its communities into political and economic units, created bonds which have not made them free and happy. We find therefore, in human history, political and social upheavals, from time to time, for breaking these bonds with a view to achieve greater freedom and liberty. Some of these efforts have been directed only against ruling powers without any attempts at altering the social or economic system. Others have been inspired by new ideologies and social urges which aimed at certain fundamental changes in the political and social systems in order to secure greater freedom for human beings. The French Revolution of the late eighteenth century or the Russian Revolution of 1917 are outstanding examples of ideological upheavals. The French Revolution began as a socio-political movement, but soon returned to the beaten path of social organisation. The Russian Revolution destroyed the old order completely and established a new political and economic system, which we call the Communist system. Various countries joined this new community of nations of which Russia became the centre. Some nations were forcibly made to join the group at later dates and some broke away to build their own special types of government. China, Yugoslavia and Rumania are outstanding examples of Communist States which do not adhere to the Russian system but have their own systems of communism. In 1956 Hungary tried to set up a free Communist State, but was prevented from doing this by the armed forces of Soviet Russia. This

did not improve Russia's reputation as the supreme champion of human freedom. Communist sympathisers of other nations began to be cautious about accepting Russia as their spiritual big brother.

Latterly, Czechoslovakia has been finding rigid Russian system of political organisation rather immobile and inelastic, and, the Czechoslovak intellectuals have been thinking of making things easier for the people of the country, while maintaining the basic principles of communism. The Russian Communist Party, which rules a vast community of nations in an authoritarian manner and does not permit freedom of opinion or conduct in any shape or form, thought this was a very bad symptom and wanted to put a stop to it anyhow. Other hard core Communist states also thought the same and wanted the Czechoslovakian intellectuals to control their feelings and not think of introducing any novel freedoms within the walls of the Russian type of totalitarian government. The Warsaw Pact was the result of this and when all the hard core States found the Czechoslovakians not amenable to communistic reason, they decided to use force.

Force was used in the same manner as it was in Hungary in 1956. But the results were not so satisfactory for the Warsaw group of nations. The Czechoslovakians did not kow-tow to the Russian tanks and the leaders of the nation remained the universally accepted guides of national policy. Communists and others, everywhere, condemned the occupation of Czechoslovakia as an act of wanton aggression and the Russians lost face.

The Russians have, in the opinion of the *New Statesman* "aroused the hatred and con-

tempt, within and without the Communist family, which the use of tank-diplomacy brings, but with surprisingly little concrete to show for it. Indeed they are once more involved in the baffling political discussions with the Czechs which the tanks were supposed to terminate. Meanwhile their authority among fellow Communists has collapsed. With few exceptions, the Parties beyond their physical control have repudiated them. Their only friends (if that is the word) are men directly dependent on the Red Army for political survival. Moscow has ceased to control an international ideological movement; it is merely the Capital of a conventional great power, and one whose influence is contracting. The Russians, have during the last several years created a position for themselves as a highly advanced and progressive community. They are great in the world of scientific thought and, therefore, in the community of civilized nations. Human logic demands that civilisation and progress should reject the simple expedients of ruthless barbarity. Russians cannot act like ruthless marauders and also maintain their high place in the community of nations. So they talk and discuss when as simple aggressors they should shoot and destroy. Their civilization is getting the better of their animal might and they are proving to be too good to be true to their militant authoritarianism. We feel the Czechoslovakian people are eventually going to win in spite of their apparent helplessness in the face of the Russian tanks.

When the Russian Revolution took place, it was a fight between the masses and the organised forces of the Tsarist government.

Later on too the revolutionary forces were attacked from many sides by those who did not desire the success of communism. For long years it remained a military tussle and the present form of government in Russia and the other Communist States has remained militaristic and authoritarian as the normal outcome of the defensive measures that had to be taken for the protection of the new type of government set up by the revolutionaries. But, with the growth of stabler conditions, the Communist States could no longer continue to function under "marshal law", as it were, and deny the people their freedom for reasons of national defence as had to be done when the States were initially organised. Communism was introduced for the fuller realisation of the ideals of human freedom and liberty and not for their abolition. Communist countries can either exist without the internal use of force against their own people; or stop their propaganda that Communism is a method of establishing freedom and liberty on a firmer footing. The world can never accept the enforcement of the will of any minorities over entire nations by force of arms as a civilised method of government.

Flood Control in India

The various large size dams that have been built in different parts of India have not succeeded in holding the flood waters of the catchment areas in a controlled manner. The reason for this is the silting up of all rivers and canals everywhere and the insufficiency of the reservoirs created by the dams to fully accommodate the rain waters of the rainy season. What is, therefore, required is a full and proper survey of the catchment

areas of India, the dredging of the various rivers and canals, the digging of more canals for drainage and irrigation and the construction of suitable number of smaller reservoirs at numerous places which should be linked up with the canals and minor rivers for a proper disposal and conservation of flood waters. Another very important matter is the building of villages on raised ground and linking up of the same by roads which should also be raised above the expected flood level of the areas concerned. There are at present great shortages of roads and the village dwellings are mud hovels, built anyhow and anywhere without consideration of the facts relating to safety and convenience or maintenance of proper communication. In spite of elaborate economic planning, which has heavily indebted the nation, no special attention has been given to road communications between villages or to improvement of dwelling houses. Three fourths of the people of India live in villages and the national product is also very largely agricultural. The matter of road communications between villages and better dwellings and amenities of life for villagers should have been given top priority in national planning. But a sort of industrial mania had pervaded the minds of our leaders with the result that more than half the villages of India have no roads and another twentyfive percent very bad roads. Good water supply, medical amenities and sanitary arrangements have been lacking almost everywhere. Now that floods have rendered millions homeless in various parts of India and have caused great losses in the economic field, one may expect a reorientation of outlook at high level and a more rational

approach to our economic problems. One must not forget that the short supply of food in India is closely related to the isolation of most rural areas. Better communications, housing, arrangements for storage of food material etc. would automatically yield an economic return. If the government donot take up all this work, the nation should demand it and see that the work is immediately undertaken.

*Pakistan *Getting Russian Arms*

The Russians have never been famous for friendliness towards their own people, far less towards the people of the other nations. They, that is Russians leaders, keep their own people down by force of arms and expect everybody to carry out the directives issued to them from above. As far as other nations are concerned the Russians look to their own advantage and render assistance to others when it fits in with their own ulterior motives. The Russians plunge into military adventures when they feel that their self interest demands it; but they act over-cautiously where their own advantages do not exist. The recent happenings in West Asia have brought up clearly this aspect of Russia's friendship with the other nations. In Tashkent India experienced the saw edge of Russian fellowship. So, when Pakistan goes to Moscow for arms and receives an open armed welcome, we feel that at last Pakistan has gone to the right place for arms. We have no desire to see Pakistan well armed and we do not approve of the Russian promises of military assistance to Pakistan. But at the same time, we cannot help a feeling of amusement at Pakistans inno-

cent faith in their own ability to get something out of Russia.

Morarji's Controls

When Morarji Desai fails to achieve his objectives the black market dealers and smugglers have a happy time. In Bombay, he initiated his anti drink campaign, and as a result, Bombay became the bootleggers paradise. Even to-day, we believe, the illicit dealers in liquor have a flourishing trade in that part of India. Mr. Morarji Desai next had visions of an India in which love of gold, either in the shape of ornaments or in bars or minted coins, slowly disappeared from the mind of Indian men and women. He began his gold control arrangements and the flourishing trade of goldsmiths began

to die out. Thousands were rendered unemployed or had to accept low paid unskilled jobs. Many had to sell all their belongings to feed themselves and their family members. Some committed suicide. But the price of black market gold reached the highest level ever and gold smugglers got the support of big business and higher politics. The Indian economy received a jolt from which it has not yet recovered. Mr. Morarji Desai failed to see the ineffectiveness of his rules and regulations and did not have the courage to face facts. He remained attached to his wrong notions and followed the unrealities to their stupid extreme. Indian politics, that is Congress politics, reached its lowest depth. We do not see yet the end of this long path to unreason.



OBJECTIVITY IN THE ESSAYS OF FRANCIS BACON

JITENDRA NARAYAN PATNAIK.

Certain periods in history have a special attraction on account of their moral and intellectual developments. Such a period is the age of Socrates and the Sophists in Greece, an age when a spirit of rational inquiry and criticism was supervening upon an age of childlike faith. Such an interesting period again is the seventeenth century when the belief in a scholastic order of things was shattered and man was circumscribed by the 'New Knowledge' of the Renaissance. With the developments in science and scientific ideas, the spirit of its religion and philosophy found a radical change, and naturally enough, *Reason* was asserting against *Authority*. Bacon is one of the most interesting figures of that interesting age. He represents this age in all its aspects of interests, aims and enthusiasm. His earliest and chief interest in life was the reform of scientific method. When only twelve years, he was sent to Cambridge and his experience there was positively disappointing to him. Bacon was struck by "the unfruitfulness of this way". Science had little or nothing to do with his studies, and nothing, it occurred to him, was to be hoped for, until a new method was invented and applied. To supply this want became henceforth the passion of his life.

The age in which Bacon wrote reacted violently against the scholastic framework of the Middle Ages. The emphasis on the study of *Being* was substituted by the study of *Becoming*. The need for a new method in literature based on the experimental science was acutely felt by all the leading thinkers of the age.

Bacon's role was directed towards showing the method by which knowledge can be effectively pursued while such men as Galileo, Harvey and Gilbert were actually achieving great discoveries

on the principles he enunciated. It has been rightly said that Bacon gave 'Science' an incomparable advertisement by associating with it his own prestige, his "Elizabethan glamour" and his great literary power.

Bacon's purpose was to resolve the dilemma which the seventeenth-century mind had to confront—the confusion between the metaphysical truth and the 'Scientific' truth. Bacon insisted that truth is two-fold: there is the truth of religion, and the truth of Science; and these different kinds of truth must be kept separate. "It is therefore most wise soberly to render into faith the things that are faith's". From the absurd mixture of matters divine and human proceed heresies and fantastical philosophy. Science had hitherto been corrupted by the admixture of theology, superstition, logic, fancy or poetry: now we must try to have it pure". His essay "Of Truth" significantly contains scientific distinction between secular truth and religious truth. According to Bacon, "the sovereign good of human nature" lies in the "inquiry of truth" "the knowledge of truth" and "the belief of truth". Defying all scholastic notions about truth, Bacon asserts in the first book of the 'Advancement of Learning' that "truth is attainable".

Unlike the essays of Lamb and Hazlitt objectivity and rational approach in Bacon are particularly characteristic. The essay "Of Death" convincingly discusses about how death is no terrible to all, since the patterns of human conduct vary. With examples from history, Bacon concludes that "general conclusion can be made of human nature so far as his attitude towards death is concerned. Bacon's practical way of looking at things is most evident when he pronounces "That (Death) openeth the gate of good fame, and

extinguisheth envy". Even his essay "Of Unity in Religion" is a rational discussion. In his characteristically objective manner, Bacon avowedly pronounces the evils of religion. He even quotes the "Holy Scriptures" to draw his rational conclusions. In "Of Adversity", Bacon ethically analyses the positive advantages of adversity and says "Prosperity doth best discover vice, but adversity doth best discover virtue."

Bacon was a pragmatist and all his philosophical theories are concerned with practical consequences. His essays are, as he himself declares, "Counsels civil and moral". He thus wrote his essays with an avowed didactic purpose. He meant them to be applied for the use of man. Bacon as a product of Renaissance was devoted to and fascinated by the living man, and the welfare of man was of immediate concern to him. In a letter to Lord Burleigh, Bacon says that his purpose is purged to do away all imposters. Most of his essays are, therefore, full of practical advice and aphoristic statements. It can be said without exaggeration that Bacon is one of those very few writers in English whose sentences have passed as day-to-day phrases and idioms. In the essay "Of Envy", Bacon shows himself as a shrewd observer of human relations. The essay by virtue of his practical advice becomes a gem of wisdom. In "Of Simulation and Dissimulation", Bacon shows himself as a hard and grim realist. To live successfully in the world, Bacon says, one has to develop a complexity of character. He makes us aware of the three advantages of simulation and dissimulation, namely to "lay asleep opposition, and to surprise", "to reserve to a man's self a fair retreat", and "to discover the mind of another".

The most significant trait of Bacon as a thinker is what is usually called the "dissociation of sensibility". Whereas in Donne, thought and emotion are blended together, in Bacon we find the faculty of reason dominating over the faculty of emotion and instinct. Bacon attenuated his mind only to the aspect of reason. Not allowing

emotion to function, Bacon becomes cerebral and intellectual, and hence thoroughly analytical and argumentative. The "relegation of instinctive and emotional life to a sphere separate from and inferior to the sphere of thought and practical activity," as L.C. Knights says, is a very specialised kind of creative process in which only intellect functions in a disciplined and disinterested manner. Bacon's genius was outstanding in this direction. In his essay, 'Of Truth' Bacon regards charity, which is considered to be one of the great virtues of Christianity, primarily as a function of the mind. Without any touch of sentimentality, Bacon builds up his essays in a closely logical and compact manner with analogies, examples and erudite references. This gives to his essays a striking quality of impersonality and objectivity. But reflection on anything becomes barren without emotion, and we notice a kind of inaccuracy in essays like "Of Parents and Children" Bacon, though possesses a strong and assertive will, lacks that sensitive awareness of life which is essential for an artist to write on such themes as truth, death, revenge and love. In "Of Marriage and Single Life", he discusses marriage from the public point of view and devoid of all personal emotion, this becomes only a piece of incomplete generalisation.

Another important aspect of Bacon's genius is his worldly prudence. Hugh Walker maintains that Bacon's maxims are prudential and that his essays appear to be the work of an opportunist. His cunning and worldly-wise attitude in an essay like "Of Simulation and Dissimulation" does testify to his tendency towards opportunism. Bacon in his personal life is said to have been an opportunist and Lytton Strachey compares his life to a snake--cunning and sinewy. Though some critics bring Bacon's outspokenness into defence, we do observe in certain essays, like "Of Suitor", a decline from his standards of noble conduct.

"His belief in religion like his belief in moral

principles is largely prudential". says Hugh Walker and cites "Of Unity in Religion" as the work of a political opportunist. But one should take into consideration the contemporary conflict between the High Church and the puritanical parties. Bacon, it appears, wanted to strike a compromise out of this meddle. He maintained that the unity in religion could be obtained even without the Church. In the same essay, Bacon strongly pleads against falsehood and expresses his desire for purity of truth: "For truth and falsehood..... are like iron and clay in the cleave, but will not incorporate". In "Of Great Place", Bacon says, "But the power to do good is true and noble end of aspiring". For correct conduct, one should not live in the realm of thought alone; it should be thought in *actu* and that is what Bacon fought for.

As a thinker, Bacon is complex. We find in him science, ethics and worldly prudence stranded together with conviction and deftness. His lucidity, logic and affirmative conclusions reveal a powerful, upright and strong intellect.

THE IMPACT OF JOURNALISM ON THE LITERARY WORK OF G. K. CHESTERTON

B. DHAR

For well over three decades, G.K. Chesterton was in the foreground of English journalistic and literary scene. As a writer, he reminded one of Dr. Johnson by his versatility and unfailing good humour and as a journalist of the great journalists of the early nineteenth century by his professional integrity and a high sense of responsibility. It will be interesting to a man of liberal culture to know how journalism, his life-long vocation, affected his literary work.

Explaining the relationship of journalism and literature, J.S.R. Phillips observes: "The collection and presentation of news may be regarded as one of the applied arts—the application of literature to the recording of the current, and often very transient facts, providing, however, abundant material from which historians may reconstruct the life of a century." This definition provides the basis from which a further inquiry into the relationship of these two allied branches of author-craft may be made. The

man of letters is something of a highbrow, a stickler for artistic and intellectual standards, a scorner of the mob whom he accuses of lacking in taste and liberal culture. The journalist, on the other hand, is generally free from such prepossessions and pretensions and is willing to suit his work to the public taste. In extreme cases, the man of letters tends to make his work esoteric and the journalist is liable to make his work vulgar. As a man of letters and as a journalist, Chesterton steered clear of these extremes. Neither did he write for any literary coterie and say like Horace, '*odi profanum vulgus, et arceo*,' nor did he pander to the vulgar taste in his journalistic writings. He made literature responsive to the *Zeitgeist* and turned journalism into an art. Since as a journalist Chesterton's main medium of expression was the essay, this art-form figures prominently in this discussion.

At first sight, the distance between journalism and literature seems to be great. It is specially

true in the case of the epic and the drama—the two earliest forms of literature. But in the essay, one of the later literary forms, literature and journalism have been, as it were, telescoped. The affinity of the journalist and the essayist stems primarily from the similar nature of their work. Both the essayist and the journalist are the observers of life, the former interpreting it, and the latter recording it through the common medium of *language*. From the essay, which lies on the outskirts of the domain of literature, where literary writings but ineffectively, writers' forays into the territory of journalism and from there into the bounds of literature are the common facts of literary history. When, as an essayist, Chesterton asserted to be a mere journalist, he claimed to be, in a way, in the tradition of Addison and Steele. This brings us to a brief survey of the close connection of the essay and journalism since the days of Queen Anne essayists.

From early eighteenth century down to our own day, the evolution of the English essay has been closely linked with the history of English journalism. The profound social sense of the eighteenth century writers like Addison and Steele, Defoe and Swift, Johnson and Goldsmith, to name only the greatest, prompted them to unite the essay with journalism. The result was the birth of the periodical essay, aptly called by Louis Wann "magnified editorial essay". The nineteenth century reviews and magazines not only provided further impetus to the cultivation of the editorial essay but also added two species to the essay, namely, the article and the review. The three between themselves, with some help from the personal essay, constitute the mainstay of all journalism to date. The fruitful partnership started between journalism and the essay by the great eighteenth century essayists has come to stay.

The traditional alliance of journalism and letters found in Chesterton its able and brilliant continuator in the twentieth century. Chesterton's

genius, 'Y.Y.' remarks, is "at once of the journalist and that of the man of letters".³ He was an extremely humble man who regarded himself no better than the common man. It was but natural that a thorough-going democrat like he should see himself "as journalist, a man whose activities are not to be surrounded with any liturgy or ritual, because a journalist is a man talking to his fellows; and no more than that."⁴ Another reason why he chose to be a journalist is attributable to his "determination to be listened to and understood immediately"⁵ and he could realise it only by being a Fleet Street man. He was a journalist with unmistakable leanings of a publicist "engaged in direct democratic appeal to the reading public about disputed or disputable questions of any sort or kind."⁶

Journalism not only determined his purpose as a writer but also affected his manner as a writer. Physical lethargy, the pressure of hebdomadal copy writing for various newspapers, and a proclivity to overproduction precluded stylistic refinement and full verification of facts and quotations used. "He chose," to quote Maisie Ward, "to remain in style and manner a journalist, to be careless of his facts and references, avoid solemnity, to laugh at the experts and himself, to puzzle his fellow journalists alike by his earnestness and his frivolity, prove that 'there is a foam on deep water.'"⁷ Chesterton himself good-humouredly confesses to his carelessness about facts and references in his essay 'The Real Journalist' "... the pencil staggers along making the world a present of fifteen hundred unimportant words, and making Shakespeare a present of a portion of Gray's Elegy; putting "fantastic roots wreathed high" instead of "antique roots peep out".⁸ Chesterton might be inaccurate about minor facts but he was never careless about artistic and moral truths. This alone can account for the success of his "Robert Browning", which shocked John Morley by its inaccuracies, but was hailed as an original interpretation of that

great poet by all his lovers. Despite this redeeming feature, there is truth in Christopher Hollis's remark that "careful polished, classical work foreign to his nature—whether in prose or verse."⁹ ~~seminal ideas, which after repeated trials in his~~ newspaper articles, he developed into his major works like "Orthodoxy", "St. Thomas Aquinas" and "The Everlasting Man".

That G.K. Chesterton's work suffered from his journalistic manner is only one side of the picture. The journalistic manner, it should be borne in mind, is not peculiar to a journalist alone. A man of letters can adopt journalistic manner if it suits him. It can therefore be argued that Chesterton's manner would have remained just the same even if he had written nothing for any newspaper. His manner was, as has been observed above, an integral part of his nature. If we view his literary work in this light, we come to realize that the benefits which accrued to him from his association with journalism outweigh the disadvantages listed above. Chesterton entered journalism as a journalist aptly called by Ivor Brown 'the master of literary talent', and "a corridor of literary genius".¹⁰ His journalistic orientation made him a keen observer of life—a qualitative use of romance value as much to the journalist as to the writer of essays. A journalist like an essayist has to keep his eyes open and his mind alert to discover some fresh angle of the all too familiar scene.¹¹ It was as a journalist that he learnt brevity, and with brevity came wit, because of the former was the soul the latter was the body. (Chesterton regarded wit to be the soul of brevity in contrast to the well-worn adage of Polonius!). Ivor Brown lists Chesterton's writings with Balzac and Shaw's as "examples of literature strengthened by its journalistic origins and reinforced by exactly those merits natural to the best journalism."¹² As a specific illustration of how journalism strengthened Chesterton's style, he refers to "those dazzling brevities in which Mr. G.K. Chesterton juggles with the worlds of spirit and senses as surely as a vaudeville performer catches his billiard balls."¹³ The last but not the least debt he owed journalism was that it provided him with a testing ground for his

As a journalist, Chesterton put the essay to the most effective use though he used other forms, specially poetry, also. He invested journalism with a social and moral conscience by relating 'the news of the moment, or the immediate comment on the news, with the everlasting truth,'¹⁴ and an artistic content by turning the 'romance into an editorial and the leading article into a fairy tale!'¹⁵ Thus if Chesterton the writer owes a debt of gratitude to Chesterton the journalist; the writer too has lent an artistic touch to the journalist's work. His essays "form the finest and most reliable history of our times."¹⁶ It is because of this and other qualities derived from journalism (which have been referred to above in this paper) that they occupy a unique place in literature and prove of unfading interest to the reader.

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2. Warr, Louis, *Century Readings in the English Essay*, p. 16.

3. "Y.Y." (Robert Lynd), "G.K.C.", *New Statesman*, June 20, 1936

4. Chesterton as Essayist. The Mirror of a Silver Age, *The Times Literary Supplement*, June 16, 1950.

5. Ibid

6. Bentley, E.C., Introduction, *Selected Essays of G.K. Chesterton*, Chosen by Dorothy Collins, p. vii.

7. Article by Maisie Ward in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, 1931-1940.

8. Chesterton, G.K., "The Real Journalist", *A Miscellany of Men*, p. 105.

9. Hollis, Christopher, *G.K. Chesterton*, p 18.
10. Brown, Ivor, "Journalism and Literature," *The Fortnightly Review*, Jan., 1932, p. 72.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 74.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
14. Titterton, W.R., *G.K. Chesterton A Portrait*, p. 37.
15. Shuster, George N., *The Catholic Spirit in Modern English Literature*, p. 30.
16. Titterton, W.R., *G.K. Chesterton A Portrait*, p. 239.

RUSSIAN PERFDY IN WEST ASIA

K. VISWANATHAM

WHEN shortly after the end of the Arab enormous quantity of military hardware until Israel War the Russians announced their President Nasser felt he could conquer the refusal to go the whole hog with the Arabs, the world.

curtain swung down upon the feverish diplomatic activity which preceded this announcement. Other Arab countries viz., Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Jordan, Lebanon, Tunis etc., were And if diplomacy means double dealing, we more cautious and refused to accept Russian aid. Syria, on President Nasser's advice accepted witnessed during this period an exuberant exercise of this international art which has no Russian aid and has since paid the penalty for it. parallel within recent history. Jordan had not accepted the aid and should have

It was in 1956 that President Nasser, unable been quite safe. But her immature and impulsive to get the required financial aid for the Aswan King attached himself to Nasser's band wagon at Dam from the United States of America, flew the last moment' and has also paid dearly for it. straight into the arms of the Russians. Little did Twelve years is a short period in a nation's he realise at the time that he had walked into life and yet during this period, the world has the parlour of a relentless spider. seen what changes have been wrought in the Arab

The Arab countries with a few exceptions countries as a result of the Russian aid.

are totally against the communist doctrines and In 1956, Egypt, alone and without military aid of any consequence from anywhere was in Egypt itself the Communist Party is banned to strong enough to rebuff, to the intense surprise of the world, the combined might of Britain and this day. Yet if the Russians came to the aid of France. Twelve years later, in 1967, in associa- the Arab country, one must try to realise what tion with all the rest of the 12 Arab countries their deep motive could be. However, President having a total population of 60 millions and a Nasser acted as though he was more particular massive military and civil aid from Russia, of showing his spite against the United States of met with an unprecedented disaster from a single his country. and tiny nation, Israel, with a population hardly

In addition to the financial aid for the Aswan Dam, Russia poured into the country an 2 million, while the world looked on with

suppressed astonishment beyond description. There is hardly a parallel to such a conflict and such a complete debacle anywhere in recorded history.

What then does it show? It shows beyond a shadow of doubt that Russian aid which was offered with so much affected love has not strengthened his country, as President Nasser was led to hope, has made it miserably weak and completely dependent upon Russia. Has the President realised this fundamental fact? Otherwise the war has been fought in vain.

Where else in the world did Russian association and aid strengthen the associated countries? Russia has continuously sapped the economic strength of every one of her satellite countries, Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania etc., and these countries have, time and again, protested against this but found themselves helpless. She was to do the same thing in Yugoslavia, China and Burma. But Yugoslavia understood the game and soon recoiled from the association. China too quickly understood the tactics of Russia and threw her back lock, stock and barrel. Even little Burma saw through the game and stopped taking aid from Russia after tasting a bit of it.

Among large countries, India alone has been receiving large size aid from Russia. President Nasser's intimate and nonaligned friend Paudit Nehru sought Russia's economic and military aid. And now the world can see what has happened to India. Whereas before the Russians came, Nehru's Congress was the unchallenged master of the country and had overwhelmingly heavy majorities in every one of the individual States and in the Centre, now after 10 years of Russian association, Congress has been ousted from power from more than half the number of States in the country; the Communists have wrested power in two important States and hold considerable number of seats in all other States. The massive American aid has not been able to counteract the clever Russian penetration. The

country is now too weak to stop the antinational and disruptionist activities of the Russian propaganda machine.

Will President Nasser realise what Russian aid means?

In the present conflict the Russians have been from the beginning, acting as though they are on the side of the Arabs and championing their cause and have been doing everything to foster and sustain this impression. Their President and high military officers visited Egypt and gave President Nasser every assurance of their genuine sympathy for him and his allies. Their Navy moved into the Mediterranean. In the United Nations they supported the resolution of the Arabs. The Russian Premier Kosygin in his talks with President Johnson declared unequivocally that they were on the side of the Arabs. And so from all accounts it would appear that Russians are supporting the Arab countries completely.

Yet let us straight away declare that this is the greatest fraud history has ever recorded. From the start Russian sympathies and their moral support were never with Egypt nor the Arab countries at all but were completely with Israel and her people. It is to camouflage this attitude that the Russians have been playing the diplomatic game all through the period.

Other than Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and Algeria few of the Arab countries have accepted Russian aid. On the other hand most of them like Jordan have been taking military and civil aid from the West. And Egypt continues to ban its Communist Party. Thus there is nothing for the Russians to have any sympathy for the Arabs. So to think that Russians have got some inborn love for the Arabs and that they would really fight for them is nothing short of mere moonshine.

On the other hand six of the Cabinet ministers of Israel are from Russia. The country contains a larger number of Russian Jews. So naturally Russia has got a permanent sympathetic interest in Israel and the welfare of her people.

She has not got the slightest intention of destroying Israel which is what the Arabs desire to do. Moreover they have a vested interest in the existence of Israel, because if she is not there, there can never be an approach to the Arabs.

So the greatest diplomatic game that Russia has been putting forth is to put up a facade of hostility towards Israel and friendship to the Arabs. The latter have been complete victims to these manoeuvres and we have seen what the result is. Naturally the Russians refused to go the whole hog with the Arabs when pressed hard to do so.

Russian interest in Israel can be judged from the following facts.

1. When President Nasser suddenly announced the closure of the Gulf of Aqaba the world gasped and awaited a quick reaction from Israel. But she did not utter one word. Their quiet composure was simply incomprehensible. Their President went for a holiday to the United States and Canada and returned quite leisurely. Later, in an informal way and to an astonished world which at the time thought little of Israel, she declared she would recapture the Straits of Tiran and reopen the Gulf. But she did not take any steps and the world could not believe this confident statement. A country which the world considered was in supreme danger of annihilation could not exhibit such unbelievable confidence unless she knew full well, in advance that in spite of all that Russia was doing she would never do any thing antagonistic to Israel.

2. A day preceding the war, when it was freely thought that Egypt was preparing to strike, a Russian Diplomat woke up President Nasser at dead of night and conveyed to him his country's friendly but strong caution not to attack Israel. Nobody could have known this fact at the time except the Russians. But it was Israel that took advantage of this information and within the next few hours took Egypt completely by surprise, attacked her without notice and destroyed her armies in one strong single swoop. It is not

difficult to understand who gave away the important information to Israel.

These facts clearly show where the real sympathies of Russians were.

One may ask what the Russian interest is in playing this game. The only answer is that their interest was purely mercenary and that all these move were directed towards one objective, viz—to squeeze as much money as possible out of the Arabs by the ostensibly peaceful means of supplying them with military equipment and earn in return American Dollars of which Arabs have in plenty. And in pursuing this policy, they would not hesitate to go to any lengths.

This fact can easily be realised by the fact that during the conflict, while the Arab countries in their fury stopped shipping their oil to the Western countries, Russia, according to reports published, quietly offered the Western nations to supply all their requirements of oil from her own resources and thus cut short the Arab nations' main business on which their entire economy rested. Could perfidy go any further?

What then should the Arabs do in the face of the fact that they were the cruel victims of their big friend's politics and they have proved to be too innocent to understand the implications of such deep politics.

In the first place Arabs should disabuse themselves of their objective that either with the help of the Russians or the Western countries or by themselves, they would ever be able to destroy Israel and throw the Jews into the Sea. The Americans will not allow that, the Russians will not acquiesce in it and the conscience of the world would not permit it. Any attempt in this direction will only end in absolute disaster to Egypt and other Arab countries. They had a foretaste of this in the recent conflict and they should be able to learn a lesson out of it.

Wisdom on the part of the Arabs would require that they should forthwith recognise Israel and make peace with them. Small and

tiny though, Israel in peace will be far more helpful to the Arabs than the Russians. If President Nasser could take a decision in this direction, carry with him all the other Arab States and take steps to implement it, he would electrify the world with his statesmanship and take his place among the great leaders of mankind.

But recent events show that like the Bourbons, President Nasser has not learnt anything. He is still banking on the military assistance of the Russians and is now talking again of a military solution to the conflict. There can be no doubt that before long he will plunge the unfortunate nation in another adventure, subject it to another and a more serious disaster and may probably end up in making his country a mere satellite of Soviet Russia.

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DECADENCE : A WORLD VIEW

KAMAL ROY

I

As one wades through the considerable literature on "decadence," the impression that grows upon one is that the word is used as an umbrella term covering different shades of meaning. In the absence of a generally accepted connotation it has been made to carry so much diverse freights that a cluster of disparate meanings has accreted around it making its use a counter in the discussion of ideas almost useless, if not misleading. R.M. Goldfarb puts this confusion and imprecision down to the different and often contradictory meanings attributed to it in the popular parlance and the critical arena. It may be true that "after 1900 most of the people who wrote about decadence defined the term for use as a standard of literary criticism,"¹ but up till now critics have failed to pin it down to a single meaning.

Thus, as recently as 1965 a critic writes, "perhaps the term "Decadence" is useful only to mark off boundaries : to delineate a period in English literary history between approximately 1890 and 1900. For if it is used to describe the characteris-

tics of literature or of writers during that period the word obscures thought."² It is understandable that a complex period mind cannot be forced to a formula but what is puzzling is that unless a particular label indicates the predominant trends of a period why it should be used at all. Refusing to use "decadence" "as a standard of literary criticism," our critic prefers to employ it as an historical label, a usage which might have been permitted if she could make out a convincing case for 1890's exclusive claim to this appellation.

If, in the expectation of greater clarity and precision, we turn to the precursors of and the participants in the "decadent movement" we can see for ourselves how indiscriminately the word was bandied about. Ridge has enumerated as many of the motley meanings the word conveyed in the nineteenth century as is humanly possible. "For Nietzsche, decadence is Judaeo-Christianity ; for Gobineau, the ascent of inferior races ; for Montesquieu, a decline in political and commercial power ; for Rousseau, civilization with its artifices ; for Gautier, super-refined art and fine sensibility ; for Bourget, unadaptable

individuals in an unhealthy society; for Max Nordau and Edmond Seilliere, mental disease; for Anatole Baju, himself a decadent, a quest for new artistic strength."³ One is likely to get lost in this jungle of definitions and to assert, after Lovejoy, that there is no "decadence"; there are only "decadences."

Contrary to expectation, even the historians of ideas, like their less philosophical compatriots, the literary critics, have instead of salvaging the term contributed to its misunderstanding. One of their tribe, J. H. Buckley would have us distinguish "between a sense of the reality or possibility of cultural decline, which... has been common among artists and intellectuals for the past century; and an aesthetic mode or temper most apparent in England, in some of the fiction, minor poetry, and graphic art of the eighteen nineties."⁴ Deeply committed to the welfare of their society, the first group of writers whom Buckley calls the "writer (s) concerned with decadence" try to stem the tide of cultural degeneration. In pointed contrast to their concern for society, the second group of writers, the "Decadent writers" proper according to Buckley, are absolutely alienated from society and naturally quite indifferent to its fate. They may succumb to the general decay of principles and develop "the fascination of corruption." Evidently, Buckley equates "decadence" with cultural decline and reserves the "decadent movement" for "an aesthetic mode or temper" of the nineties, thus adding his own quota to the already existing semantic confusion. He has done this precisely because he has ignored the philosophical overtone and the special connotation the word has come to acquire specially in the context of literary criticism.

Another factor which has obscured the signification of "decadence" is the tendency, coeval with the birth of the "decadent movement," to use "aesthete," "decadent," and "symbolist," as synonymous terms. It is only natural that before the attitudes and intellectual premises that

inaugurate a new movement have crystallized and are articulated, confusion with regard to its specific meaning should prevail. Tracing the emergence of the French symbolist movement, Cornell records: "In the eyes of the public and of the critics of the press, those writers who looked upon the exterior world as a vain semblance of truth and who arrogated to themselves the right to express the inner reality according to their own whim constituted a group bearing the double name of decadents and symbolists."⁵ But it is the height of impropriety on the part of a critic who, though sufficiently distanced from his subject, tries to put within the ambit of "decadence" all the nineteenth century movements that he can think of. This is exactly what Ridge does in his grand attempt to get at the "common metaphysical concern" of the disparate nineteenth century movements: "For naturalist and pantheist, for symbolist and realist, decadence is common ground, however differently it may be perceived."⁶ But Ridge is not alone guilty in this respect; whoever undertakes to chart these movements seems predisposed to ignore the differences that justify their separate nomenclature. Though Beckson has titled his anthology of British poetry and prose as "Aesthetes and Decadents of the 1890's," he appears to have refrained from differentiating them on purpose. And their fundamental differences tend to get a trifle blurred when in the same breath he hurls the two terms at the same writer without making explicit whether he has different aspects of him in view. To give a typical example: "Pater... the foremost Aesthete of his day... Pater was indeed far less decadent than his disciples."⁷

"Decadence" is weighted with multiple meanings because very often its students confine themselves to disentangling its various traits without making any serious attempt to grasp the metaphysical core from which these traits emanate. In the pages that follow an humble attempt will be made not to map out the different directions in which the meaning of this nebulous

term has branched out but to explicate it in terms of its central tenets.

II

(a) "In all great vital literature, the theme, great or small, is considered in all its relation to the sum total of things, to the Infinite, as we phrase it, in decadent literature the relations, the due proportions, are ignored... Any point of view, seriously taken, which ignores the complete view, approaches decadence,"⁸ (Le Gallienne)

(b) "We have to recognize that decadence is an aesthetic and not a moral conception."⁹ (Havelock Ellis)

(c) "Art is art because it is not nature."¹⁰ (W.B. Yeats)

(d) "Nature and art being two different things; cannot be the same thing. Through art we express our conception of what nature is not."¹¹ (Pablo Picasso)

(e) "On whatever side we turn where women are concerned we have to suffer, for she is the most powerful instrument for sorrow that God has given to man."¹² (J.K. Huysmans)

The frontiers between aestheticism and decadence are fluid; it is difficult, though not impossible, to make a clear-cut historical or conceptual distinction between them. Decadence takes over from aestheticism some of its major premises: a decadent is at bottom an aesthete but with a difference. Like its predecessor, decadence is also a spirited revolt against the smug self-complacency of the middle class and its utilitarian values. It shares the former's ambiguous attitude to industrial and urban civilization in accepting its fruits but rejecting its values. The tendency to escape into a self-created world, preferably a world conjured up by the arts, from the sordid actual one is common to both. Neither is their conception of reality fundamentally different. Yet, despite these apparent similarities, where they differ most is in their antithetical attitudes to nature and the

human will. In the context of the decadent metaphysic nature is a comprehensive term in compassing both the phenomenal world and the natural instincts and impulses of man.

What is central to the decadent world view is the cult of artificiality or anti-naturism. In spite of its spiritual affinity with Romanticism, it inverts two very important romantic values: "it was in revolt against Romantic theory on two essential points—the cult of Nature and the cult of ideal love."¹³ In a word, its point of departure is the explosion of the Rousseauistic myth of the benignity of nature and the nobility of the "Noble Savage" on the one hand, and the celestial bliss of man-woman love, on the other. This negation has so much philosophical trappings that it made a profound dent on the nineteenth century sensibility and remains a live force event in the twentieth century.

To set the decadent world view in its proper perspective, we must study it against the backdrop of the nineteenth century deterministic interpretation of the theory of evolution. The decadents posit this theory only to revolt against it. Though a short story, Maupassant's "Useless Beauty" is a dependable testament, a veritable breviary, of the decadent point of view. Using "Nature" and "God" as interchangeable terms one of the characters in it argues that at the beginning when man was created along with other creatures, he was not endowed with intellect. Like other creatures he was meant to be used primarily as a reproductive agent. Nature's hostility to man is borne out by the fact that of all animals he is the least adapted to his environment. While others find the earth habitable as it is, are all provided for by their creator against any adversity and are self-sufficient, man is pitifully dependent on them for his food and comfort. Indirectly Nature is prompting man to be cruel to his fellow-creatures. Hence Nature is cruel and evil. It is the purely accidental birth of intellect in man that enables him to see through the "designs of Providence." The

emergence of intellect puts an end to the era of pristine glory and the halo of the divine spark, man's servitude to Nature; it brings to the fore the exclusiveness of the interests of man and Nature. Thus begins a ceaseless war against Nature: it is by running counter to the dictates of Nature that man has created beauty, ideas and ideals and the amenities that have made life bearable. Quite appropriately, another name for civilization, the product of man's intellect and will, is artificiality for it has been evolved in spite of and in opposition to, Nature. Nature acts as the whetstone on which man sharpens his intellect: it is the antagonist overcoming which shows his spiritual grandeur and the unconquerable will. "Only men who approximate to the brutes are content and satisfied."¹⁴

The characteristics of decadence that Jackson discerns i.e., "(1) Perversity, (2) Artificiality, (3) Egoism and (4) Curiosity,"¹⁵ are really speaking the essential traits of the decadent conception of man. In the eyes of the decadents the "natural man" stands very low on two counts. In the first place, through the instincts and urges Nature consolidates its hold on man and thus robs him of his free will. In the second place, pinning him down to the animal plane, the unsublimated instinctual urges thwart all his metaphysical and spiritual pursuits. So, the first duty of a decadent is to wage a two-pronged war against nature within and without. What is of prime importance in smothering the nature, or better, the animal in man is self-knowledge and a stubborn will. Unlike aestheticism, decadence attaches enormous importance to will because it is through self-assertion that man enjoys his autonomy and grows in spiritual stature. The decadent image of the ideal man is not the natural but the artificial man and this is the direct opposite of the romantic image. It must be said in defence of the decadent attitude to the unrecreated man that its view is fully endorsed by the findings of Darwin and Freud. And what is more, the Christian image of the postlapsarian man, bereft of his

existence of two distinct selves in man—the natural self given to him by birth and society and the created self evolved by him out of the given one by conscious efforts, by the exercise of his will and self-control. The same idea is expressed a with differently in Baudelaire's somewhat religious vocabulary: "In every man, and at all times, there are two simultaneous yearnings—the one towards God, the other towards Satan."¹⁶ This antinomy between the two selves operates behind the formulation of almost all the decadent values, and the two selves are called by two different names i.e., character and personality. As Ellmann observes: "There is the insignificant man who is given, whether by God, by society, or simply by birth; there is the significant man who is made by the first. One evidence of this split, which goes beyond literature, is the verbal distinction that becomes common towards the end of the nineteenth century between personality and character, the former as in some way the conscious product of the latter."¹⁷

The decadent image of man will remain incomplete without any reference to the dandy. Every decadent tries sedulously to become a dandy. A man with complete self-knowledge, self-conquest and a well-developed personality as distinguished from character is well on the road to becoming a dandy. The new self that he creates out of the given one endows him with a unique vision and originality. A sort of spiritual pride, intellectual aristocracy and elegance mark him off from the common run of people. As he lives to himself, self-controlled and self-sufficient, he is quite indifferent to and independent of his society. Love of money and of woman which will destroy his self-composure and self-completeness has no charm for him. But what drags him out of the ivory-tower of his impregnable self is his craving for the approval and admiration of his fellow-being. Otherwise spiritual heroism

and stoic fortitude make him impervious to any to the artificiality and sophistication of the dandy soul-stirring emotion. Of course, it must not be who summons into existence a new self, woman assumed that he atrophies all sensitivity and remains natural i.e., unmetamorphosed. feeling. On the contrary. As the prince of the "She never does violence to her own nature: dandies himself puts it inimitably: "The which means that sinning comes as naturally to characteristic beauty of the dandy consists, above her as eating or drinking."²² Instead of possessing all, in his air of reserve, which in turn arises from the untrammelled freedom and self-sufficiency of the dandy, she is completely possessed by her his unshakeable resolve not to feel any emotion. the dandy, she is completely possessed by her In might be likened to a hidden fire whose violent and degrading instincts. Self-autonomy presence can be guessed at; a fire that could eludes her as nature establishes its sway over her blaze up, but does not wish to do so."¹⁸ With through the sexual passion. A measure of her its insouciance and invincible will, self-perfection sensuality is that even her image of God is that and self-control, and, above all, an aristocratic of a huge man, "a peerless embracer." Slave of hater, "Dandyism is the last gleam of heroism her own uncontrollable passions, she wants to in times of democracy."¹⁹ In fact, it is a protest enslave her male counterpart and become the case against the standardizing tendency of democracy and of his spiritual jeopardy. She is the bugbear of mass culture. The rejection of the democratic the decadents because "woman is the opposite of the Dandy."²³ In the wholesale denunciation of values i.e., belief in the innate nobility of man and in the theory of automatic progress is the opposite sex Baudelaire is joined by the implicit in the decadent metaphysic. Baudelaire other fellow-decadents. Huysmans delineates her is more vocal than others in deprecating these in a more lurid light. In his view she is a destruc- two values because, he thinks, acceptance of tive agent of immense potentialities; she brings these facilely optimistic theories is tantamount in her train only shame and misery. She to surrendering the dignity and responsibility of insinuates in the soul of her lover "the ambassa- man. Belief in the myth of automatic progress dors of all the vices." She is essentially "the entails the shifting of responsibility for human naked and venomous Beast, the mercenary of perfection from his shoulders to that of nature the Powers of Darkness, the absolute slave of or the historical process. Moreover, it makes the Devil."²⁴

the Spartan self-discipline and stoicism of the Very logically then, evoking fear and the dandy quite redundant. Fully alive to these fascination simultaneously, she dominates the implications, Baudelaire has nothing but scorn whole range of decadent literature in the form of for these vulgar values: "This grotesque idea... the Fatal Woman. If the Fatal Man lords it over, has discharged each man from his duty, has in the first half of the nineteenth century, the delivered each soul from its responsibility and Fatal Woman queens it over in the second half. has released the will from all the bonds imposed This reversal in role corresponds to the changed upon it by the love of the Beautiful."²⁰ According intellectual climate of the two halves. Since the to him true civilization consists in "the diminu- decadent writers harp on the near-relationship tion of the traces of Original Sin."²¹ To put it in between woman, the animals and nature, they a secular phraseology, it consists in the annihila- perhaps attribute more animal energy and tion, at least, in the sublimation of the animal vitality to her than to her male victim. That instincts in man. explains why "the function of the flame which

That the decadents should be misogynists is attracts and burns is exercised, in the first half no surprise; rather their misogyny is the logical of the century, by the Fatal Man (the Byronic culmination of the cult of artificiality. In contrast hero), in the second half by the Fatal Woman;

the moth destined for sacrifice is in the first case the woman, in the second the man. . . . The male, who at first tends towards sadism, inclines, at the end of the century, towards masochism."²⁵

If the dandy is conceived as the antipode of woman, success in love becomes a remote possibility. As both of them are not consumed by the same intense passion, even if they are devoted to each other, "he or she must be the surgeon or torturer: the other the patient or victim."²⁶ If woman is evil, love becomes a crime and the unique and supreme pleasure of lovemaking springs from this knowledge of the criminal nature of love. It differs from other crimes in that an accomplice is indispensable for its commission. Love has its origin in the desire to escape from oneself. "Man is a worshipping animal. To worship is to sacrifice oneself and to prostitute oneself. Therefore all love is prostitution."²⁷

The whole decadent attitude to life is crystallized in its image of the androgyne. In utter disgust to the irredeemable contemporary civilization the decadents turn their backs on it and feel the compulsion to escape into the ivory tower of the imaginary world. This escapism coupled with the cult of artificiality gives birth to the androgyne figure in the decadent literature. To have sexual congress with an actual woman in the real world is to pay compliment to nature, to surrender one's liberty and to prepare oneself for another bout of disappointment. On the other hand, to retreat into one's own mind and to exhaust one's sexual urges on the androgyne is to save oneself from the contamination of the sordid real world and to forestall any possible disillusionment. The imaginary pleasure enjoys superiority over the actual one in that it knows no satiety and can be graduated in accordance with the sweet will and the power to imagine of the pleasure-seeker. "In the 1890s, the Sar Josephine Peladan expresses the same notion when he says that, for beauty, a woman's body, the product of nature, is completely eclipsed by

the androgyne, the creation of art."²⁸ Theoretically at least, the decadents are supposed to be continent in actual life and cerebral lechers in the world of fantasy.

The cerebral lecher is considered a hermaphrodite because of his continence, which is regarded as asexuality; but he is androgynous also on account of his solitary self-sufficiency. For cerebral lechery is looked upon as a kind of onanism: and onanism implies the notion of self-sufficiency.

The cerebral lecher is an ambiguous figure as he compounds in himself lasciviousness and continence at once. He is representative of an age of moral confusion, an age which has lost all sense of right and wrong. "During the Decadence, indeed, in both art and literature, sexual ambiguity and moral ambiguity were frequently associated."²⁹

Busst accounts for the predominance of sadism and masochism on decadent literature in terms of the hermaphrodite. The usual decadent of woman is that of a domineering and active female, and of man that of a cringing and passive male. Reversing the common view, the decadents endow woman with virility, a masculine trait, and man with lack of it, a feminine trait. Woman is the sadist, man the masochist. This surrender of his normal role betrays the male's loss of conviction in a world without values and his weariness of life itself. "It is therefore not surprising that male masochism and its necessary counterpart, female sadism, should be associated so frequently with the attitude of despair and disillusionment reflected in the pessimistic symbol of androgyne."³⁰

In a hermaphrodite the matter (sexuality) is happily married to the spirit and there is perfect harmony between the two. Conversely, in a sexual man or woman more often than not the spirit is trammelled by the flesh. But the intellectualization of the sex amounts to its spiritualization, the harmonisation of the matter and the spirit. The androgyne of the hermaphrodite is the symbol of the unity of the flesh and the spirit,

woman and man, attained through the cerebralization of the sex.

Anti-naturism is the corner-stone of the decadent edifice and it shapes the decadents' aesthetic and ethic as well. The individual reason for the sweeping condemnation of nature may vary but they do condemn it in a body. Thus, for Baudelaire "external nature" does not possess any intrinsic beauty of its own. "It is nothing but an incoherent heap of raw materials which the artist is invited to group together and put in order—a stimulant, a kind of alarm for the slumbering faculties."³¹ It is the creative imagination of the artist working upon the inchoate raw materials provided by nature and life creates meaningful and beautiful works of art. Huysmans is exasperated by the sickening monotony of nature. By using his imagination, ingenuity and will the artist has created objects of beauty more various than are to be found in the domain of nature. Thus man has improved upon nature and "has done, in his province, as well as the God in whom he believes."³² Rolling Baudelaire and Huysmans into one Wilde fulminates against nature because of "Nature's lack of design, her curious crudities, her extraordinary monotony, her absolutely unfinished condition."³³ Gide's argument in support of anti-naturism is highly reminiscent of Pater's. He posits the world of art as an absolute and autonomous one. A work of art is the fruit of the artist's free will and reason, and it exists in complete isolation from the surrounding world. But "in nature, nothing can isolate itself or come to a stop; everything continues. Man can try it out, can propose beauty: nature immediately takes possession of it and disposes of it as she wills...here man is submissive to nature. In the work of art, on the other hand, he submits nature to himself."³⁴ The antagonism that these writers conceive between nature and art, Mann conceives between life and art. His first assumption is that the healthy and natural lives of life are not creators of the arts: "It is all up with the artist as soon as he becomes a

man and begins to feel."³⁵ His image of the artist is that of the "unsexed papal singer." As life is the eternal antinomy of art, "the kingdom of art increases and that of health and innocence declines on this earth."³⁶

The line of demarcation between the decadent aesthetic and ethic is almost non-existent; at least, this holds true of Baudelaire. Paradoxically he traces the wrong conception of beauty to the wrong conception of morality: "Most of the errors concerning beauty arise from the false moral concepts of the eighteenth century."³⁷ As is to be expected, he portrays nature as the mentor in the art of crime and the repository of all conceivable vices and evils. "It is nature, too, that drives man to kill his neighbor, to eat him, to confiscate his goods and to torture him;... nature can be a counsellor only of crime."³⁸ The same propensity for crime is to be found in the "natural man."

Like beauty, virtue is a product of conscious human effort and will i.e., artificial. "Crime, for which the human animal acquires a taste in his mother's belly, is of natural origin. Virtue, on the contrary, is artificial and supernatural—since at all times and in all nations it has taken gods and prophets to teach it to the human animal, and man by himself would have been powerless to discover it. Evil arises, of itself, naturally and by predestination. Good is always the product of a creative skill."³⁹ Artificiality, essentially a manifestation of will power, is pushed to the extreme by Marquis de Sade and Wilde. They mistakenly think that whatever is unnatural and perverse is artificial and therefore to be indulged in. Assuming crime and culture to be synonymous, Wilde observes: "There are only two ways by which man can reach it (civilization). One is by being cultured, the other by being corrupt."⁴⁰ This conviction opens the door to all sorts of unnatural vices.

The decadent cannot muffle altogether his intermittent desire to escape from the prison-house of his individual self, from his habitation in the

mire and to get in touch with the Infinite. But this longing for the Infinite or the desire "to capture Paradise at a stroke" must be satisfied with the help of some artificial stimulant, for example, wine and liquor, hashish and opium. Even the escape-route of the dandy to a preternatural level of being must bear the stamp of artificiality. The dandy commands our respect for his superhuman will and self-control as much as for his superhuman consistency. Dandyism is a well reasoned-out metaphysic and a way of life. It invests its votaries with a tragic dignity and shields them from the stress and strain of life. Out of the meaninglessness of life it wrings a meaning through the exercise of the will-force; it makes despair the basis for a dignified attitude to life. Excepting Baudelaire, other decadents so long as they remain decadents try to make life meaningful in terms of life, or at best, in terms of art but never in terms of the supernatural and the transcendental. Like aestheticism decadence as a life-value wins acceptance in an intellectual climate, secular and scientific, and when the institutional religion is already on the way out.

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2. B. Charlesworth, "Dark Passages: The Decadent Consciousness in Victorian Literature", The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison & Milwaukee, 1965. P.XIII

3. G.R. Ridge, "The Hero in French Decadent Literature", University of Georgia Press, Athens, 1961 P.13.

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5. K. Cornell, "The Symbolist Movement", Yale University Press, New Haven, 1952, F.67.

6. G.R. Ridge, op. cit., P.1.

7. K. Beckson, "Aesthetes and Decadents of the 1890's", vintage Books, New York, 1966, PP. XXVIII—XXIX

8. R.Le Gallienne, quoted by Beckson, op. cit., P. 134.

9. H. Ellis, "Introduction" to Huysmans' "Against The Grain", Hartsdale House, New York, 1931, P.31.

10. W.B. Yeats, 'Autobiographies', Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London, 1956, P. 279.

11. Pablo Picasso, quoted by R. Ellmann & C. Feidelson, JR., "The Modern Tradition", Oxford University Press, New York, 1965, P. 25.

12. Huysmans quoted by H.R.T. Brandreth, Huysmans', Bowes & Bowes, London, 1963, P.37.

13. A.E. Carter, "The Idea of Decadence in French Literature 1830-1900", University of Toronto Press, Canada, 1958, P. 150.

14. Guy de Maupassant, "Useless Beauty" in "38 Short Stories", Cassell & Company Ltd., 1961, P. 628.

15. H. Jackson, "The Eighteen Nineties", Jonathan Cape, London, 1931, P. 64.

16. C. Baudelaire, "The Essence of Laughter and Other Essays, Journals and Letters" ed., F. Quemell, Meridian Books, New York, 1956; P.180. Cf. "Man, in truth, he reflected, has two separate beings inside himself". Stendhal, "Scarlet And Black", Penguin Classics, 1965, P.488.

17. R. Ellmann, "Yeats: The Man and the Masks", Faber paper covered edition, London, 1960, P.75.

18. Baudelaire, "The Essence of Laughter", P.50.

19. Ibid., P.49.

Though the full development of "Dandyism" as a spiritual armour was left to Baudelaire, he was anticipated by several of his predecessors: Cf. "In London he came at last in touch with the extremist limits of dandyism and self-conceit...? You are predestined to it, my dear Sorel; they told him. 'Nature has given you that air of cold aloofness, as if a thousand leagues removed from

everyday interests, which we ourselves try so hard acquire." Stendhal, "Scarlet And Black", Penguin Classics, 1965, PP. 289-290. "Julien was now a dandy, and understood the art of life in Paris". Ibid., 293 "...the old mythology of love is extinct, doomed to perish by modern dandyism". H.D. Balzac, "Old Goriot", Everyman Paperback : 1963 : P.29. "We're not specialists—dandies—elegants." Flaubert, "Madame Bovary", Penguin Classics, 1965, P. 194. "... who sported a moustache and a little beard like a dandy of the age of Louis 13". Flaubert, "Sentimental Education", Penguin Classics, 1964, P.38.

20. C. Baudelaire, "The Mirror of Art", tr., J. Mayne, Phaidon Press, London, 1955. PP.196—97.

21. Baudelaire, "The Essence of Laughter", P.189. Cf. "Perhaps progress can only be achieved through an aristocracy or a single man. The initiative always comes from above." Flaubert, "Sentimental Education," P.365.

22. Baudelaire, "The Essence of Laughter", P.203.

23. Ibid., P.176.

24. Huysmans quoted by R. Baldick, "The Life of J.K. Huysmans", Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1955, P.148. Cf. "The Countess did not come of peasant stock, among whom the lower instincts are dominant. How could she have sunk so low as to give herself up to the lusts of the flesh?" Maupassant, "A Woman's Life", Penguin Classics, 1965, PP. 121-122.

25. M. Praz, "The Romantic Agony", The Fontana Library, Collins, London, 1962, PP. 231—232.

26. Baudelaire, "The Essence Of Laughter", P. 161.

27. Ibid., P.187.

28. A.F.L. Busst, "The Image of the Androgyne in the Nineteenth Century", "Romantic Mythologies" ed., I. Fletcher, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1967, P.42. Cf. "...the human female was an inferior creature in the aesthetic hierarchy.

What you find attractive about her is precisely what degrades her as an idea ; I mean her breasts, her hair..." Flaubert, "Sentimental Education," P.67.

29. A.F.L. Busst, Op. cit., P.51.

30. Ibid., P. 56. Cf. "Love that originates in the brain has doubtless a more subtle wit than heartfelt love, but it has only rare moments of enthusiasm ; it knows itself too well, it criticizes itself incessantly ; so far from leading the mind astray : it is built up entirely upon reasoned thought." Stendhal, "Scarlet And Black", P.364.

31. Baudelaire, "The Mirror of Art", P.315.

32. J.K. Huysmans, "Against The Grain", P.105.

33. O. Wilde. "The Works of Oscar Wilde" ed., G.F. Maine, Collins, London, 1961, P.909.

34. A. Gide, "Pretexts" tr., J.O' Brien, Secker & Warburg, London, 1959, P.46.

35. T. Mann, "Death In Venice", Penguin Books, 1962, P.152.

36. Ibid., P.159.

37. Baudelaire, "The Essence Of Laughter", P.52.

38. Ibid., P.52.

39. Ibid., P.53.

40. O. Wilde, Op. cit., PP 157—158.

TRENDS IN MODERN UKRAINIAN POETRY

ASHIT CHAKRABORTY

In recent years a number of young and powerful poets have entered the arena of Ukrainian Poetry. In this respect the Ukrainian poets have something in common with the contemporary Russian young poets like Evtushenko, Voznesensky, Rozhdestvensky and others.

Each of these young Ukrainian poets has distinct individuality and at the same time they belong to a collective, a generation which searches for common theme and style, wants to discover creative self as completely as possible. But here they differ somewhat from their predecessors of recent past. The modern poets still write about the inner life and emotions of the Soviet man, an active builder of the communistic future. But they treat him first as a man and then as a Soviet citizen, this deviation from the poetical tradition prevailing even a few years back is very important. A critic of today therefore says "the main thing in art is to describe the soul of the man and not of any profession, the ideals of a man and not his post and title, his heart, conscience and consciousness and not his service and obligations". Young poets today are surely interested in the achievements of the Soviet man, in the increasing productivity indices of their country, but would think it a matter of bad taste to speak of it directly in poetry.

Thus they would criticise poets like M. Som of the old guards for writing such a poetry.

Here is a city ! Brick upon brick
and book, stands a wall solid and thick.

Thus Men for Men seek

And in the world are born things New
and Sleek.

Now the poet is not criticised because he dealt in his poetry something related to construction in Soviet Union but because he failed to bring

something poetically new, beautiful and grand because he failed to give any news of the intricate and complex soul of today's Soviet man.

This opposition, this antinomy comes out of the young poets' tendency to look at life and its problems on the basis of their own individual experience, to rebel against official didacticness and to assert the right for choosing the aim and objectives in life quite independently. In this respect the young poets are the spokesmen of modern Soviet Youth, angry and rebellious but critical and sober at the same time.

For expressing their present mood into poetry the traditional forms and themes are often unsatisfactory for them and that is why they search for new contemporary themes, styles and artistic forms. That is why their experimentation. Their youth and comparative inexperience is a boon in this search since they had no time to form some built-in reflexes as yet. Some important names in modern Ukrainian Poetry are Ivan Drach, M. Vinogradovsky, Vitali Korotich, Lina Kostenko and Volodimir Luchuk, all of whom want to conquer unknown lands in poetry. But they have also their own favourite themes and in intonation and personality are quite distinct from each other. The breaking up of the reality in poetic lines and contours and recombining them again in resonant concord to describe this reality anew that is where these poets have achieved most. With their new experimentation, poetical polemics they created a stir amongst Ukrainian readers, facilitated their participation in poetic creation with vociferous and lively controversy. These poets did not want to be passive observers in life but entered it directly to take part in its turmoil.

They speak about the past and present of

their people. Even though they are rebels they do not like to cut them off from the tradition of Ukrainian history and poetry. They understand their past well and try to put it in proper perspective with the present. This link with the past and present is expressed in original terms in a poem of Lina Kostenko.

Yours and others anxiety/Failures in peoples relations/Like old Dnieper rapids/Obstructs my path./ But the heart would never be tired/and not in vain it knew any fear/My grandfather, a Zaporozhian Cossak/Went in expeditions to the Black Sea wide/" Lina feels her kinship with the old Cossack but that is expressed only to stress the contemporary, the present unrest. The same way the poetess urges us not to forget some recently past ugliness and her conversational tone does not hide her alarm and deep pathos.

"Comic Waltz and parquet gloss/All very well, folks, extremely fine/Only dont forget another dance/the deadly pa-de-gras in the mine/".

The individual intimate monology is also characteristic of Lina Kostenko. She believes in the drama of emotion and in philosophical discussion. In this respect she reminds us of the Bulgarian poetess Blaga Dimitrova. She, therefore, says "The bells ring the alarm/The orchestra plays a dance /Pandore take us back to past/And Clarions to the future us Call./Let in all hearts live/The shrill ringing of bell/Let in all hearts live/Pandore and proud bugle/". And this polychromatic variety, multiphonic resonance echo in loud notes in the love poems of the poetess. Her "Fisherwoman" laments "I look at the distance, and mend the nets/At night I worry and yearn/And not to invoke the anger of fate/I do not tell it to anyone/I wait patiently and long without you everywhere/And with you everywhere/But I shall not weep over the wide ocean/It is itself so bitter even without tears/".

All these seem apparently very traditional in form. But if we go deep we shall see the freshness, depth and panoramic sweep in the poetess. Live

pictures and images easily come out from her poems as in the following.

"The willow bent by wind over the mossy stone/its crooked knee scratched by a thorn/".

She wants to see free life, all standards and norms she dislikes, she wants to see the world with wide eyes, with eyes squinted under palms through her fingers, through the window and from behind the door. She knows the world is always the same, it differs only by the way one looks at it.

"From this the world would change neither a bit/And everything depend on the pupil of a man/In the widers the whole epochs reflect, In the narrowers the trifle-full of a room

The same hate for trifles and banalities lights the bosom of another poet, causes it to heave in violent undulations, constantly pushing him towards the beauty in man, to the ocean of contradictory emotions, towards dream and unknown. This is the poet Volodimir Luchuk.

Who knows why in the deep of night
The roaring waves of the ocean keep me awake

And eagerly I want
in a stout raft
to throw myself on the ninth swell
And a piece of land
into unknown
in me

to heap over the map of my soul./

The intimate motive is stronger in Lina Kostenko and B. Luchuk while with Vitali Korytich both intimate lyric and Social engagement are equally dominant. He is simultaneously soft spoken and ironically sharp in sabre like satire. He detests the old words' used, used, used so many times. Literature has a mission. It must renovate the taste of the mass.

That's why he thinks,

"The reader will not accept/coins with worn out stamps/"

At the same time he is against anything

—to meddle in the internal affairs of India.

Although Mountbatten had foreseen the possibility of a dialogue between India and Pakistan on the two problem states of Hyderabad and Kashmir with their predominantly Hindu and Muslim populations respectively but the fact of history, which are shaped by a large number of individuals cannot be dictated by a single individual howsoever able and competent he may be. In Hyderabad although the Nizam did not like to join India, the people did while in Kashmir, the Maharaja as also the people (who are essentially a peace loving people with no Hindu-Muslim problem in living memory) joined India of their own accord. It is, therefore, neither in the hand of Pakistan nor the Sheikh now to make vain efforts to champion the cause of Kashmiris whose destiny is bound with India. If the former does so, it is only to keep the minds of the people away from the urgent problems while the latter does show only to keep up his deteriorating political image alive in the minds and hearts of the people of his state.

Recently it has been stated by the Foreign Minister of Pakistan that the ceasefire line is not acceptable to his country. It is indeed an amusing statement just to keep the Kashmir problem alive when there is no such problem at all. In fact, in the light of known facts, India should have waged war with Pakistan to free the people of the so-called Azad Kashmir from the Pakistani yoke. The fact of three general elections in Kashmir with none on the other side of the ceasefire line, leaves not a shadow of doubt that the peace loving people of Kashmir are with the

rest of India otherwise they would not have participated in these elections of their own free will. Then supposing for a moment that the elections were pressurised by the ruling authority, who can stay the hand of a whole people if they are determined to have their way? The State of Andhra was created on the ashes of a single individual. Bombay and Gujrat States were formed because the people so willed it and lately the State of Haryana was created because of the same reason. What can not a whole people achieve despite the thumping sway of an all powerful party? From all this, it is abundantly clear that not only the legal document of the State's accession to India but even its people are solidly behind the government and now it is not within the power of a human agency to undo the forces of history which have brought about the present situation.

It is true that the present militant posture of Pakistan is dictated more by its reliance on its allies than by its own internal strength. The begging for armaments has never brought credit to any nation, for, in the final analysis, it is the character of a people and its collective will to defeat the enemy which counts. The world has seen that when two nations fight, the others merely watch the fun or at best dish out a shipment of their obsolete weapons as a mark of sympathy. During the conflict in Korea, Suez, Vietnam, conflict between India and Pakistan or between the Arabs and the Israelis, not a single soldier belonging to any alien power participated in the actual fighting. In any fighting, the ultimate sufferers are the belligerent parties themselves and if that be so, as it is so, why not recognise the claims of prudence before it is too late?

SIDELIGHTS OF THE EXPEDITION TO THE THAR DESERT & RANN OF KUTCH

D.N. GUHA BAKSHI

We undertook a very daring trekking-cum-scientific expedition to the Thar Desert and the Rann of Kutch in the early part of this year on behalf of the Explorers Club of India, Calcutta, to unearth the buried, missing and forgotten link of the Indus Valley Civilisation with the once flourishing civilisation, straddling the old Saraswati river of the Vedic age, currently known as the Ghaggas river in India, and its extension Hakra in West Pakistan.

The Explorers Club was very recently organised with the object of bringing to the dynamic youth of India the urgent call of rugged adventure and brave pioneering.

We had in the team one Geographer-cum-anthropologist, Subhas Dutta, one archeologist Asit Banerjee, myself as Deputy Leader and Botanist, which was finally led by J.B. Singh Deo, Treasurer of the Club.

We had the patronage from the Governor of West Bengal Mr. Dharamvira, the former Chief Minister of West Bengal, Mr. P.C. Sen, the Defence Ministry, the Himalayan Mountaineering Institute, many prominent educational institutions, Educationists and last but not least many Commercial concerns of India.

We left Calcutta on 25th January and reached Jaipur on 27th and held consultations with high ranking Government officials of Rajasthan Govt. By the by, we were declared State Guest there throughout our entire period of expedition.

From Jaipur we moved to Jodhpur where we consulted the Scientists of the Central Arid Zone Research Institute and Deputy Inspector General, B.S.F. as most of the routes envisaged for trekking would lie close to the Pakistan borders. All of them were very cordial to us and

assured us all possible help and co-operation. Finally we went to Shri Ganganagar, the headquarter of Ganganagar District, which is adjacent to Haryana and West Pakistan (Bhawalpur State).

The district magistrate (better known as collector there) of Ganganagar, Mr. Ganesan is very young and a nice gentleman. He was very enthusiastic about the expedition and promised to provide us a jeep for carrying our luggages. After visiting the historic archaeological sites of Hanumangarh, Rangmahol, Kalibagan, we finally started our trekking proper on 4th of February in presence of Mr. Mohanlal Sukhadia, the Chief Minister of Rajasthan who happened to be present there and the officials and local people of Ganganagar.

It was a terrible biting cold day and the night temperature was then as low as freezing point. We had with us a rucksack with sleeping bag, made of ostrich feather, P.T. shoes, white cap ordinary pant and shirt with woolen sweaters and goggles. The road was on the bank of Gangacanal and we had no difficulty in trekking the 10 mile belt for the first day. By the by, Mr. Ganesan made a very nice route-chart for the district of Ganganagar, so that after day's walk we got night accommodation and food.

I shall concentrate here only the highlights of the expedition.

On the Second day's journey, Singh Deo, Subhas and Asit suffered heavily with blisters and like valiant soldiers they defied it and continued their journey.

On 8th February we reached Ridinagar after trekking nearly 85 miles. In the meantime we became rather heroes, as the press and radio

of Rajasthan gave a very wide publicity of this very high sand dune intervened. After a hectic expedition and we were then better known as survey and desperate search, I was re-united. 'Padajatri Dal'. The students of Raisinagar H.E. School came in large numbers on the route and applauded us and took us to the School Campus and provided us with tea and snacks. From there we went to see the Indo-Pakistan borders by a B.S.F. van accompanied by a very amiable officer, and two jawans and saw hundreds and hundreds of miles of the borders and on that day itself we had a real glimpse of actual desert, thousands and thousands of parallel sand-dunes like ripples of a big ocean, only dried and charred vegetation and practically no habitation. Like Sahara, Gobi and other deserts of the world, in the Thar desert also, there are prevalence of *Prosopis* (a type of Acacia Plant), *Calotropis*, *zizyphus* and other spiny trees and some grass.

We were given one guide (on camel back) and we reached the bank of the historic Saraswati river, where flourished the Harappan culture. We explored some historical relics from three mounds there and reached Anupgarh.

Many bucks in herds are found in these areas. Ultimately we crossed Ganganagar district at Rojri and entered Chattergarh in Bikanir district and the officials of this district took over our charges just like relay system and charted out our final programme for the district.

Here most of the routes are non-jeevable and naturally our medium of carrying the luggages were camels. Here the sand dunes are very close and of rugged types and are very difficult to walk over. Our progress was very slow and on a conservative estimate we progressed 1--1½ mile per hour. Usually we walked 2½ miles in an hour in the Ganganagar dist.

One day while proceeding from Kakrala to Pugal, we became the victims of climatic hazards. Early in the morning after taking tea, we started, the fog was very intense and as a matter of fact, nothing was visible in front. I parted from my colleagues a few yards ahead, for collection of plants and then they were not seen, because a

From Ranjitpura to Raichandwala we were completely drenched off with torrential rain as we had no village, nor tree even to take shelter. As a result of soaking sand, it became very easy for us to walk and we trekked 29 miles on that day, a new record for us in the desert.

We stayed at the B.S.F. post at night and on the next day, we went to see the Pakistan border which is within 4 miles, accompanied by 3 jawans with loaded rifles. The morning fog was so severe that the jawans even became confused and by the time we were well inside the Pak-territory. When we realised the mistakes we hurriedly came back to our territory before any damage could occur.

From Raichandwala onwards the terrain became very treacherous and difficult to walk and we used hunting-shoes and the day temperature became very high and one day it was shot upto 122.F. Supply of drinking water became a burning problem for us, as two of the four flasks were completely damaged and the only 'badla' (aluminium made) was perforated, as a result we had to spend days without sufficient water. Gradually we proceeded towards Jaisalmer area, where there are admixture of loose sands, gravels and rocky stones. These areas were below the sea which had already been established and we also observed this and collected many interesting plant and animal fossils in the vicinity. After trekking continuously for 22 days, we reached Jaisalmer on 25th February, after covering 367 miles. Here we took rest for 5 days and began our second bit of journey on 1st March. Maximum concentration of desert is from Jaisahner to Barmen Sector, where Sand-dunes are very frequent and very difficult to traverse, and are infested with many dangerous poisonous snakes. Twice we encountered such reptiles, once the accompanied guide and in other occasion Subash killed two 'gorabas'. Food became a very acute problem and most of the days we had to spend

with night meal only, that too with 'bajra-ka-roti' and 'lassi-ka-curdi'.

During the conflict in 1965, Pakistan intruded into these areas and laid many dangerous mines here, for which we spent many anxious moments. In these regions we had to travel mostly along the Pakistan border and we saw many villages and wells which run side by side in India and Pakistan.

Quick sands are not very rare in these areas and fortunately we were fully equipped with nice guides and we traversed the areas merrily. From Sundra to Romi, there are waves of Sand-dunes and on that day we crossed 50 sand-dunes ranging from 78—350 feet. Near Kilnor, we faced a tremendous climatic hazard when we were completely swept away by sand—storms accompanied by thunder storms. Pakistan border was very close then, some places within $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile. Fortunately no further damage was done. From Kilnor we went to Cadra Road via Munabao, last Rly. station of India. This 25 miles track is completely devoid of any water. In this region we were challenged by our Security force men with loaded rifles pointing towards us and we were detained for some time. With great difficulty we managed to convince them. Finally we reached Bakasar, trijunction of Gujarat, Rajasthan and Pakistan on 17th March, 1968 and trekking exactly 600 miles which took net 36 days.

At Bakasar we were received by the officials of Gujarat Government who to our delight told here,

us that during our whole period of expedition we would be treated as State Guests in Gujarat also. We also availed the opportunity of meeting with Thakur Balawant Singh, one time the greatest dacoit of Desert and Rann of Kutch, now a very useful citizen and Sarpanch of Bakasar. He has a very sound knowledge and idea of the topography of the Rann which ultimately paid a very rich dividend. We entered Rann on 19th March from Ranika bua and after traversing through many dangerous 'daldali' or sticky mud we reached Khavda on 29th March. Near Khadir island we were on the verge of collapse, due to the mistake of one of our colleagues. On the last day we trekked continuously 43 miles, a record for us during the whole expedition.

Rann of Kutch as a matter of fact, is a blend of salt and alluvial soil in which mirrages are seen at regular intervals. It is a vast treeless tract of land. Many nilgai, bucks, wild asses and many beautiful birds are seen here.

Finally on 31st March in the morning we reached Bhuj, our final destination, amidst tremendous ovation, after covering the Rann in 10 days, traversing 238 miles.

Our collections from all angles are very encouraging and they are under process of critical identifications. The report will be published in due course.

With a note of gratitude to the numerous organisations and individuals who helped us during the expedition, I finally end my story here.

CHINESE CLAIM OF SUZERAINTY OVER NEPAL

ASHOK KUMAR NIGAM,

The Chinese Rulers in the past claimed the right of suzerainty over Nepal. Their Communist successors could not resist the temptation to reiterate and reinforce it. One of the many swan-songs of the Hans deals with their claim of suzerainty over Nepal. Some forty years ago Sun Yat Sen spoke of it. Later, Chiang Kai Shek and his successor Mao Tse Tung, reiterated it. This idea of suzerainty first originated in the minds of the Chinese rulers in 1792 and served to flatter them for generations down to the year 1910, when they, for the first time, formally asserted it before the outside world and it was then that this romantic claim was proved baseless by the challenge from both the Nepalese and the British Indian Government.

In the year 1904, the British led a successful expedition to Lhasa and concluded a peace treaty almost on their terms. The conclusion of the treaty was soon followed by hectic diplomatic activities and negotiations amongst the major powers concerned—China, Russia and British India for defining and regularising Tibet's relation with other countries. During the course of such negotiations between it and China, in the year 1910, the British Indian Government, on the request of the Nepalese Government, put forth the question of protecting Nepalese interests in Tibet, which were materially threatened by Chinese interference with the internal administration of Tibet. The Chinese, at this juncture, claimed that Nepal "has been tributary to China and has long submitted vassalage to China", and as such, she declined to settle the matter with the British Indian Government. The Nepalese Government however totally refuted it and vehemently contradicted all Chinese allegations in this regard. She also solicited Indian government's help in

asserting her position as an independent nation. The British Government considered the case on its merits and found the Nepalese stand to be correct. She therefore conveyed to China her rejection of the Chinese claims, and also her determination to check any attempt on the part of China to enforce 'her suzerainty' over Nepal. The diplomatic war lasted for four years and it died out for all practical purposes in 1913, when the Nepalese turned down the offer of the newly-elected President of the New Republic of China to join 'the Union of Five-affiliated Races' and also stopped the practice of sending quinquennial missions to China in view of the particular meaning 'they attached to it'. At that time Chinese were hardly able to hold their own country under one rule, but that did not affect or change in any way their stand over the issue, as is amply clear from the statements of Sun Yat Sen, Chiang Kai Shek and Mao Tse Tung, in 1916, in 1924 and in 1937 respectively. Mao wrote even as late as in 1939, that

"In defeating China in war, the imperialist states have taken away many Chinese dependent states and a part of her territories... England seized Burma, Bhutan, Nepal and Hongkong..."¹

This assertion however can not be accepted, as China's claim of suzerainty over Nepal is in itself ill-founded. It is to be submitted here that the Chinese claim has no validity, whether factual, political, legal or otherwise. Let us now examine this proposition.

The problem may be studied under the following four main headings :

- (1) The presentation of Chinese claims as such ;

(2) an examination of the merits of the case *The British Interest*

and of arguments put forth by both sides (viz ; (a) the treaty status of Nepal, (b) the practice of the sending of quinquennial missions to China, (c) implications of Nepalese official letters to Chinese court, (d) contemporary evidence relevant in the true construction of Chinese diplomatic instruments ; (e) validity of the claims under International Law ; (f) the defacto status of Nepal at that time) ;

(3) Nepal's rejection of the claim and Indian Government's support for Nepalese stand over the issue and finally,

(4) a brief discussion on how the architects of modern China, Sun Yat Sen, Chiang Kai Shek and Mao Tse Tung viewed their relations with Nepal.

The Tibetan Context

A synopsis of the whole Tibetan problem is necessary for reviewing the position in correct perspective. In fact a knowledge of the policies, which British India, China, Russia and Nepal were pursuing with regard to Tibet to promote their respective interests in the area is key to understand their diplomacy not only towards Tibet but also towards each other and amongst themselves. The Sino-Nepalese relations in particular were determined largely by their respective positions and stakes in Tibet, which had been the joining link between these two countries.

Let us begin the account of the relations with 1907 when the Nepalese Quinquennial Mission, sent after a long interval, reached Tibet on its way to China. Tibet, it may be noted, however, had become the hone of contention amongst Britain, Russia, China and Nepal-partly because of her strategical situation, and partly because of a sort of power vacuum she provided due to her low military potential.

Though the British Indian Government, allured by the high prospects of trade and commerce with Tibet, had long been cherishing the desire to open contacts with Tibet, a new, and perhaps most powerful, impetus was added to it by the stories of growing Russian interest in the Kingdom.² It was stated that a Russian Lama named Dorgeff, who had been the tutor to Dalai Lama and who was wielding considerable influence over the monastic government, had secured assurances of full help including military assistance from Russian Government in case of 'Foreign Invasion'³. The British Government was also under the impression that Dorgeff had been intriguing to bring Tibet under Russian Protection.⁴ This possibility, if materialized, would have meant a direct threat to the northern frontiers of India. Tibet, on the other hand, was not prepared to pay heed to the British in this respect. Disputes over boundary line and grazing rights started afresh between Tibet and Sikkim in as much as the convention of 1890, which was concluded between the British Government and the Chinese (on behalf of Tibet) and which settled these issues, was regarded by the Tibetans as possessing no validity on the ground that it was not signed by any Tibetan official. All the boundary pillars, put under the settlement, were pulled down by the Tibetans and all the marks were destroyed. Letters from the Indian Viceroy to Dalai Lama regarding it were returned back unopened. In reaction to these developments, Lord Curzon decided to use force against Tibet.⁵ In the month of February of the year 1909, a mission escorted by military force was directed to Lhasa under the command of Colonel Younghusband for the purpose of entering into direct negotiations with the Tibetan Government. The Mission was successful and Younghusband concluded a Peace-Convention in 1904 with Tibet on his terms. Besides other provisions, the Convention incorporated Foreigner's clause (Article 9), to the

effect that no foreign power shall be permitted to intervene, or interfere any way, in the affairs of Tibet without the previous consent of the British Government.⁶

Though the British Government thus achieved her primary objective of keeping the Russian away from the area, they wished to further consolidate their gains by obtaining Chinese and Russian adherence to the Covenant. Chinese adherence was important, because the British Government desired to,

"avoid giving any colour to a possible charge on the part of "Foreign Powers" that they (The British Government) were ignoring Chinese Sovereignty in Tibet, and they wished to prevent the possibility of China being able afterwards to lend herself as a cat's paw to the introduction of foreign influence in Tibet...

"There only remains the task of ensuring the exclusion of Foreign influence in Tibet. To effect this, it is desirable that we should obtain Chinese adherence to the satisfactory guarantees already obtained from the Tibetan Government..."⁷

After much negotiation the Treaty between Great Britain and China over Tibet was signed in 1906 which served the purpose of both the parties. It was stated in Article 3 of this treaty that China was not 'foreign power' within the meaning of the Article IX of the Treaty of 1904, quoted above. Article II of the Treaty provided, 'The British Government engages not to annex Tibetan territory or to interfere in the administration of Tibet. The Government of China also undertakes not to permit any other foreign state to interfere with the territory or internal administration of Tibet'. The text of the whole Anglo-Tibetan Convention of 1904 itself, in addition, was made an enclosure to this new instrument.⁸

Russian Position

After completing these arrangements the British Government turned towards her great contender in the region, the Russian Government, and

approached her also for an agreement on similar lines. She was in turn assured that British Government had no intention either to remain in Lhasa or to occupy any part of the Tibetan territory. The Russian Government, in the existing circumstances, signed the Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1908, whereby the contracting powers recognised the suzerain rights of China over Tibet. Great Britain stated her "special interests in the maintenance of status quo in the external relations of Tibet." To this end, both the contracting parties engaged "to respect the territorial integrity of Tibet and to abstain from all interference in the internal administration of Tibet."

The Nepalese View

Nepal disfavoured Chinese claims and was afraid that China may not use its authority in Tibet, where Nepal had considerable stakes, as most of the Tibetan trade was practically monopolised by her. Nepalese traders were enjoying extra-territorial rights there, and the Tibetan Government was paying Rs.10,000 per annum to Nepal as tribute under Gorkha-Bhot Treaty of 1856. If China had succeeded, however, in effectively asserting her influence over Tibet, it was certain that she would have imposed all kinds of restrictions so as to harass and injure Nepal-Tibet trade, and would also have demanded the right to establish Chinese officers, ostensibly as Trade Agents, in Nepal.⁹ Besides the Nepalese Prime Minister was afraid that... "when Tibet becomes Chinese province he (the Prime Minister) thought that Chinese Government might repudiate the payment (of annual tribute by Tibet to Nepal) on the ground that it was obviously impossible for China to pay tribute to Nepal". He was of the opinion, therefore, that the arrangement made between Great Britain and Russia (referred to earlier),

"was not a fair one to Tibet and it ought to have gone still further and to have guaranteed to Tibet not only the territorial

integrity of the boundary but their internal lordships there. After his arrival at Lhasa, Mr. autonomy as against absorption by China Chang delivered to Ti Rumpoche Lama¹² a in addition.... That in ten or fifteen years letter from the Chinese Emperor containing to come, he doubted, if the Tibetans would 'twenty-one points of instructions' according to have any say at all in the government of which Tibetans were directed to run the govern- ment and administration of the country. These Nepal's course of action would be to ask instructions stipulated radical changes in the for the intervention of Great Britain with existing arrangements of Tibetan trade-marts etc. China to obtain a continuance of her These changes, if they materialised, would have rights...."¹⁰ resulted in a serious threat to Tibeto-Nepalese political and commercial relations in future.

His feelings were conveyed to the British Indian Government and, as a result, though Nepal was not a party to the Convention, the Indian Government took the responsibility to protect her traditional rights in Tibet and assured Nepal, that "nothing prejudicial to her interests", would be allowed to take place in Tibet."¹¹

The Tibetan View

The Tibetan authorities, on the other hand, greatly disliked China's interference in their affairs as is obvious from their refusal to recognise the Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1890 regarding Tibet. Accounts of eyewitnesses in Lhasa testify to the almost total disappearance of the influence of Chinese Amhan (Resident) on the Tibetan polity in 1904 and his position had become quite doomed by this time. The Tibetan Government's leaning towards Russia in the beginning of the century may also, to a great extent, be attributed to their efforts to get rid of China once for all.

The Chinese Ventures

The British wanted to appease China so as to make her a bulwark against Tsarist expansionism and China exploited the whole situation to her own end. The Peking Government hastily despatched Mr. Chang, the New Chinese resident in Tibet, with some reinforcements to 'set right the affairs of Tibet', and to assert Chinese over-

Chinese claims

The contents of the letter, however, further reveal that the Chinese Emperor could not confine himself to the assertion of sovereignty over Tibet alone. The letter enjoined upon the Lama in the context of 'Training of Army and Alliance with Nepal' that,

"As long as such occasion does not arise, by remaining friendly with each other you will both (Tibet and Nepal) become united as subjects of the great Kingdom and all oppression and seizure of territory by other powers will be prevented". That this 'great kingdom' was none else than China, was made clear by further observation in the same letter, "Tibet, Nepal and Druck Yull (Bhutan) are side by side like the molar teeth in a man's mouth and the subjects of all three are those of one kingdom."¹³

When the Nepalese Mission reached Tibet in 1907, Chang made no secret of these designs. He called upon the leader of the mission, Kazi Bhairab Bahadur, and took the opportunity of telling him,

"Looking at the old records, I find His Majesty the Emperor of China compared to parents and Gurkha and Tibet mentioned like brothers of the same community and the religious belief."¹⁴

He also told the Kazi that Nepal and

Tibet, "being united like brothers under the auspices of China should work in harmony for mutual good."¹⁵

He once more suggested to the Nepalese representative in Lhasa, on the 20th March of the same year, that the blending of five principal colours (Wu—Ts'ze)—Yellow, red, blue, black and green, representing China, Nepal, Tibet, Bhutan and Sikkim, made a beautiful design and that he intended to assert Chinese claim in the face of British opposition.¹⁶

Soon after it, the Chinese Government pressed the Nepalese Government to accept their right to enlist Tibetan-Nepalese half-breeds in their Tibetan contingent. Though Nepal firmly turned down the demand, it was renewed by the Chinese on March 1, 1911.¹⁷

British India Warning

The British Government could not remain a silent spectator to these developments at this juncture as the Chinese were adopting a dangerous line. They were attempting to subvert Tibet, and Nepal appeared to be the second target in the line. The British Government, on the other hand, had guaranteed Nepal protection of her interests in Tibet, which were under direct threat from Chinese sub-version. Moreover, Nepal was her ally and any encroachment upon her freedom, sovereignty and integrity by China must have had adverse repercussions in the area. The British Minister at Peking, therefore, lodged the following protest, on 6th February, 1910, with the Chinese Government :

"Great Britain, while disclaiming any desire to interfere in the internal administration of Tibet, can not be indifferent to disturbances of the peace in a country, which is her neighbour and on intimate terms with neighbouring States on her frontier and especially with Nepal, whom His Majesty's Government can not prevent from taking such steps to protect her

interest as she may think necessary in the circumstances."¹⁸

To this Prince Ching replied on 18th April, 1910, in the following words :

"...As far as Nepalese (are concerned), they are properly (are originally) feudatories of China..."¹⁹

Basis of Chinese claims

Obviously Nepalese Government sharply reacted to this Chinese claim of suzerainty over her. The story of the diplomatic war that followed is quite interesting to note, but before turning over to those annals of the political history, we might be anxious to know what was the basis, after all, on which China could spring such insinuation against an independent nation. The matter was talked about in other countries too. A leading German paper, *Welt Korrespondenz*, for example, thus described the situation in its issue of 27th April, 1910 :—

"...the Chinese believe even to this day that they have greater claims over Nepal, as a result of the victory they won more than a hundred years ago over the Gurkhas, who are now the dominating military caste in Nepal, which made them tributary to China..."²⁰

From the official correspondence, biographies and historical records, however, we find that China's claims is based on,

(a) the treaties of 1792 and 1856, concluded at the end of the Gurkha war,

(b) the sending of quinquennial missions to China, and,

(c) the so-called submissive language and expressions of the Nepalese letters addressed to Chinese Court. Let us now take these one by one.

The Treaty Status of Nepal

The said Chinese claims date back to the year 1792, when the combined Tibeto-Chinese

forces crossed into the Gurkha Kingdom and to them the Chinese commander had agreed to defeated them at NAWAKOT, just within a withdraw after coming within a striking distance day's march from Kathmandu. The Chinese of Kathmandu because of the fear that his forces authorities and historians claimed that Nepal might be annihilated, if he led them into the had thereby accepted Chinese suzerainty. The valley. Nepal Vamshavali accounts the war various versions, however, give somewhat con- thus : flicting stories. The contemporary Chinese history of the campaign (of 1791-92) "*Cheng Youtsü*" asserted that the Nepalese had prayed, 'that they should be allowed to live under the law of China' ("*qu'il leur fut permis de vivre éternellement sous les lois de la Chine*"²¹). 'Tung-hawa-luh, also contains a decree from the Chinese Emperor on the matter :—

"...As matters stand, the success is not such that I can celebrate a formal triumph in the temple. If, therefore, the plunder taken at Tashilhumpo is returned, with Shamarpi's Corpse—retainers, you may accept their offer..."²²

The contents of the decree are further corroborated from the synopsis of the very same decree as given by Parker in his article "Nepal and China" in Asiatic Quarterly, 1899, Vol. VII, at page 72. Another record of the event with similar contention is to be found in an engraving of Chinese King upon a stone slab below the Potla, Lhasa, bearing the date corresponding to the year of 1792 A.D., in the following words,—

"...They Submitted respectfully and represented that they would conduct themselves according to our orders... Even if all those territories had been obtained, as they are more than a thousand distances from the frontiers of U and Tsang (the two main provinces of Central Tibet-Lhasa is in U; Shigatse in Tsang), it would be difficult to cultivate them and to guard them.... Therefore orders were given, the respectful submission was noted and the army was withdrawn. Thereby the work was completed."²³

This contention of suzerainty is strongly repudiated by the Nepalese authorities. According

"The Chinese Emperor sent a large army under the command of Kazi Dhurin and Minister Thumtham. This army reached Dhehun when the Raja employed one Lakhya Banda of Bhinkshe Bahal to perform purusharan, while Mantrinayak Damodar Pandey cut the Chinese army to pieces and obtained great glory. Afterwards the Chinese Emperor, thinking it better to live in friendship with the Gorkhalis, made peace with them".²⁴

Chitta Ranjan Nepali describes it so :

"And the resistance offered by the numerically outnumbered Nepalese Officers and men was so determined and valorous that the superior Chinese forces suffered a heavy reversal and the Chinese General Tsung Tsang was too happy to sign a truce and go back."²⁵

D. Wright and Prof. Niranjana Bhattarai, etc., also have held the above contention.²⁶

While these Royal accounts like Tung-hawa-luh or Nepal Vamshavali can not be literally relied upon as facts are often adjusted to restore the national honour, rather the pride of the ruling princes in such accounts, their importance as a contemporary source of history cannot be ignored. It is possible to make out a story out of these contradictory accounts when they are corroborated with other descriptions and facts. It appears that Tibeto-Chinese forces gained an upper hand in the battle and were near victory when they reached Nawakot but their position was certainly not so secure as the Chinese accounts contend. Evenmore, Chinese might be facing an equal chance of reversal in advancing any further. Further the exact date, place of signing the treaty and persons actually signing

it on behalf of their high contracting parties are not known as the text of the treaty strangely omits to mention them. It is also not definite whether it was then put to writing. Nepalese authorities say that the Chinese General unilaterally withdrew after delivering a letter to the Nepalese Officers in which Nepal was accused of aggressive intents and was warned that from thenceforth she must not repeat such bad deeds etc. It may be remembered that the Chinese adopted the same tactics in 1962, when after invading some parts of the northern frontiers of India they unilaterally withdrew while appearing victorious. It is suggested that the Chinese General, after coming so near the capital of Nepal, thought it fit to retreat even without concluding a formal treaty and contended himself only with the 'submission of the Nepalese' because of apprehensions of defeat, if he advanced further. The withdrawal might have been preceded, however, with some sort of understanding or agreement, such as the one given by Nepali or Bhattarai (*Opp.cit.F.N.* 24,25). Eminent Nepalese historians like Dr. D.R. Regmi, Bal Chandra Sharma and Prof. G.C. Shastri, have lent their support to this view during their personal interview with the author and also in their writings on the subject. As to the formal treaty, it might have been concluded later on. The peace treaty that followed the war, however, envisaged vide articles :

"1. That China should henceforth be considered as father to both Nepal and Tibet, who should regard each other as brothers...

"4. That if either of the two brotherly states should commence an unprovoked dispute with the intention of possessing the territories of the other, the representatives of the two Governments would report all particulars to the Court of Peking which would finally decide the dispute.

"5. That if Nepal be ever invaded by a foreign power, China would not fail to help her.

"6. That the two brotherly states would send to China some produce of their country every five years in token of their filial love.

"7. That the Chinese Government would in return send to Nepal a friendly present, and would make every necessary arrangement for the comfort of the mission to and from Peking."27

Whatever the Chinese view might be, it is our submission that this was only a treaty of friendship and mutual adjustments. As is well known, disputes regarding the interpretation of a treaty, as in the present case, are to be resolved in accordance with the principles of Inter-National Law and in doing this we find support from the great, probably the largest, volume of literature expounded by the text-writers on International Law and the jurists for our point of view. Without going into much detail, therefore, we only refer to the study made by Fitzmaurice of the decisions of the International Court of Justice involving the interpretation of treaties. His analysis gives five principles : I. Actuality (or textual interpretation) ; II. Natural or Ordinary Meaning ; III. Integration (or interpretation of the treaty as a whole) ; IV. Effectiveness (*Ut res magis valeat quam pereat*) ; V. Subsequent practice ; Contemporaneity (interpretation of texts and terms in the light of their normal meaning at the date of conclusion of the treaty.)

According to the first two principles, the treaty of 1792 was in the nature of a treaty of friendship and mutual benefits and does not indicate any subservience to China on the part of Nepal.²⁸ These two rules of interpretation, however, may be taken to be :

"merely a starting point and a prima-facie guide, and cannot be allowed to obstruct the essential quest in the application of treaties, namely to search for the real intention of the contracting parties in using the language employed by them"²⁹

Hyde, too, observed :

"It must be borne in mind that the final purpose of seeking the intention of the Contracting States is to ascertain the sense in which terms are employed. It is the contract which is the subject of interpretation rather than the volition of the parties."³⁰

We shall deal with the third rule in the end.

The fourth rule is inapplicable in the present case. But the fifth one, one, namely, the rule of subsequent practice may be described to be the cardinal rule of interpretation applicable in the present case. According to many leading jurists, including McNair and Fitzmaurice, the task of interpreting a treaty itself is one of "giving effect to the expressed intention of the parties, that is, their intention as expressed in the words used by them in the light of the surrounding circumstances."³¹ But when the intention is contested, the relevant conduct of the parties after the conclusion of the treaty (sometimes called 'practical construction') has a high probative value as to the intention of the parties at the time of its conclusion. The subsequent practice of the parties thus becomes doubly important. Article 19 of the Harvard Research Draft Convention, at page 966, incorporates the principle thus :

"In interpreting a treaty, the conduct or action of the parties thereto cannot be ignored. If all the parties to a treaty execute it, or permit its execution, in a particular manner, that fact may reasonably be taken into account as indicative of the real intention of the parties or of the purpose which the instrument was designed to serve."

This practice is recognised by Rousseau (pp.704-7) under the title, '*prize on consideration de l' attitude des parties*' and he has cited a number of examples there. The Permanent Court, International Court of Justice and other tribunals as well as jurists have recognised and applied this principle in their judgments and opinions.

For instance, in 1922, the Permanent Court in its Advisory Opinion, on the 'Competence of International Labour Organisation with respect to Agricultural labour' made the following observation :

"... If there were any ambiguity the Court might, for the purpose of arriving at the true meaning, consider the action which has been taken under the Treaty..."³²

The same principle was upheld in Advisory Opinion of the Permanent Court, upon the Interpretation of Article 3(2) of the Treaty of Lausanne³³ and on the jurisdiction of the Court of Danzig.³⁴ The International Court in its Advisory Opinion upon the International Status of South West Africa observed thus in 1950 :

"... Interpretation placed upon legal instruments by the parties to them, though not conclusive as to their meaning, have considerable probative value when they contain recognition by a party of its own obligation under an instrument..."³⁵

In the Chamizal Arbitration in 1911, while construing two American—Mexican boundary treaties of 1848 and 1853, the two members of the tribunal found it, "impossible to come to any other conclusion than the two nations have, by their subsequent treaties and their consistent course of action in connection with all cases arising thereunder, put such an authoritative interpretation upon the language of the Treaties of 1848 and 1853 as to preclude them from now contending that the fluvial portion of the boundary created by those treaties is a fixed line boundary."

Fitzmaurice, however, points out that reference to the subsequent practice is not so much of a principle of interpretation as a rule of evidence, that,

"It is question of the probative value of the parties as indicative of what the treaty means."

The Judge of the Admiralty Court, sitting in prize, when he was called upon to interpret a

Treaty of 1674 between England and Holland, observed,

"The usage of nations is the best interpreter of all contracts...."³⁶

Similar was the observation of Sir Robert Phillimore, Queen's Advocate, in his Report dated 13 Feb. 1866,

"... usage is a great interpreter of Treaties...".³⁷ Dr. Lushington in *the Franciska* indicated the following order of priority to be followed in seeking extraneous aid for the interpretation of a treaty :

"(i) reference to 'the peculiar circumstances attending the country at the time these treaties were made which would throw any light upon the present question ;

"(ii) Contemporary exposition (which) would be the next resource," that is to say, information as to the manner in which effect was given to the articles now in controversy, at any time before the controversy arose.

"(iii) Modern exposition (which may be of two kinds)". This order, when applied to the present case, reveals that as far as the circumstances in which this treaty was concluded, there are contradictory versions of the event. As to the subsequent conduct of the parties, we find, that none of the parties really carried out the treaty provisions sincerely in full. They, of course, tried to derive as much benefit from its terms as was possible, but did not regard themselves bound by those terms which placed obligations on them. The most important terms were either ignored or were not regarded as 'binding'. There are many instances in the practical conduct of the parties which substantiate this view. Of the most important article of the treaty, article 5 was not adhered to by China as she did not come to the help of Nepal at the latter's call in 1814—when she was engaged in the terrible war of Segauli with the East India Company. Similar was the case in 1842, when Nepal again failed to secure the help sought for, mainly financial, from China in her confrontation with the British

Government. The Chinese reply is quite illuminating in this context. The Chinese Emperor, while admitting the justice of the Nepalese request, refused to give any help, saying that both Nepal and England were equal in the eyes of China and that she could not, in such a situation, side with any of them as a matter of her long maintained policy. This statement is made on the basis of two letters which the author has seen personally in the Nepalese Foreign Office, Kathmandu. One of them is addressed by the Gorkha King to the Chinese Emperor and sought to hold China to her promise of help given in 1792. Text of the letter is quoted by Levi in his *'Le Nepaul'*, vol.ii ; page 191 and a reference to it is to be found in the documents of Indian Foreign Department also.³⁸ In reply to it, the Chinese Emperor said :

"... If we give you help the British would also ask for it and we shall have to give it to them also. It is not that we do not believe in what you have written but it being only against our long maintained policy that we are unable to grant any help."³⁹

This attitude of China thus clearly militates against the very ideas of suzerainty. Moreover, refusal by China to comply with the most important provision of the Treaty debarred her from claiming any advantage or right that might have accrued to her under it. Historically, the general approach of the jurists and statesmen has been to regard a treaty as being *prima facie* a single and indivisible whole. Grotius in, *'De Jure belli ac pacis'*, Lib.ii, held this view and since then this view has been receiving considerable support. Though there is now a controversy over the issue whether the breach of any term will justify the other party in denouncing the whole treaty, there is unanimity of opinion that at least the breach of an 'essential' or 'important' or 'material' term of a treaty entitles the other party to denounce the whole treaty and that the treaty as such may also be regarded as abrogated *ipso facto*. Decision of the Court of Claims in *Hooper vs. United States* and Reports by Queen's Advocate on the operation

of the treaties of Great Britain with the Republic of China and Guatemala, respectively, are illustrative in this respect.⁴⁰

Thus even the rights, which China claimed as these of suzerainty, were abrogated by her own interpretation of the relations of Nepal with China.⁴¹

As to the operation of article 6 of the Treaty, we will discuss it under a separate heading. In this context it may be asked why then China was given a special position of arbitrator by article 4 of the Treaty. To understand this, it would be useful to remember that Nepal formerly had minting and other special trade-rights in Tibet and on denial of these rights Nepal had to wage war against Tibet in 1788, with the result that Tibet had to enter into a treaty with Nepal with the connivance of the Chinese Resident there, under which Nepal got still greater rights in Tibet, namely, minting and other trade rights were restored and the Tibetans had further to pay a tribute of Rs.51,000 every year to Nepal. When later on Tibet refused to honour the terms of the treaty to the detriment of Nepal, the former had to invade Tibet again in 1790. But this time China came to her help and compelled Nepal not only to retreat into her territory but followed the Nepalese forces upto Nawakot, when Nepal had to enter into the treaty (of 1792) under discussion. Under these circumstances Nepal realised that she can not secure the desired rights in Tibet unless either China was made to side with her or atleast made neutral in case of any dispute between Nepal and Tibet. It was to achieve this end and to win over China, that Nepal agreed to treat the Chinese Emperor as arbitrator for any dispute between her and Tibet, in the hope that China would thus be obliged to do justice to its claims in Tibet and would exercise her influence in compelling Tibet to adhere to the treaty obligations. But assigning of this position to China, however, does not imply acceptance of suzerainty of China.

In International Law, acceptance of arbitration by a third power does not mean acceptance of the suzerainty of that third power in any way. A number of arbitration treaties may be cited in this connection. Nepal herself had entered into the Treaty of Segauli in 1816, with similar provisions, with the East India Company Government also. Article 6 of the said Treaty stipulated :

"The Raja of Nipaul hereby engages never to molest or disturb the Raja of Siccum in the possession of his territories, but agrees if any differences shall arise between the State of Nipaul and the Raja of Siccum or the subjects of either, that such differences shall be referred to the arbitration of the British Government by whose award the Raja of Nipaul engages to abide."⁴²

To quote some authorities on the subject—Mr. Borel, the Arbitrator in The Pacific dispute, observed :

"Their (the arbitration clauses in a treaty) very existence is a manifestation of the sovereign will of the Powers which had deemed it convenient to stipulate the said provisions and to accept them as governing their mutual relations..."⁴³

In an arbitration in 1921 concerning the Cession of Vessels and Tugs for navigation on the Danube under certain Peace Treaties made at the end of the First World War, Mr. Walker D.Himes, the sole Arbitrator, also observed :

"In discharging this duty the arbitrator is not undertaking to interfere in any sense with the sovereign rights of any of the States. On the contrary, he is discharging this grave duty solely because all the States, which have signed the Treaties, have each, by its sovereign act, called upon the arbitrator to do so."⁴⁴

Moreover, the arbitration clause under discussion in the treaty of 1792 between Nepal and Tibet was never treated as binding in subsequent practice and it remained a dead letter. Neither Nepal nor Tibet attached any practical importance to it as would be clear from the fact

that disputes did arise between the two neighbours from time to time but none ever cared to put them before the Chinese throne for arbitration. Even when tension between them had reached its highest pitch in 1856 and the dispute could not be solved amicably, they preferred to resort to the force of arms rather than refer the dispute to the arbitration of the Chinese Emperor.

To sum up the above discussion, the said treaty of 1792 proved of little utility for determining the relations between Nepal and China. Neither any single provision, nor the treaty as a whole, can be interpreted so as to give China suzerain rights over Nepal. Further, the treaty became abrogated by the subsequent conduct of the parties and particularly in the year 1842, when the war between Tibet and Nepal ipso facto put an end to it. This war of 1856 culminated in the Gorkha-Bhot Peace Treaty, 1856. China remained neutral this time and the Gorkhas fully avenged their earlier defeat of 1792 by occupying parts of Tibetan territory and compelling them to pay Rs.10,000 annually as tribute to Nepal and by securing extra-territorial rights for the Nepalese traders. The Chinese claim was that both Nepal and Tibet had, in the preamble to the Peace Treaty of 1856, recognised the Chinese Emperor as the common overlord. The very result of noninterference by China in the war waged by Nepal against Tibet establishes firstly that Nepal had been successful in her attempt to make China neutral in her (Nepal's) action against Tibet and secondly, that Nepal was a sovereign power not dependent on China in exercise of her sovereign rights.

The text of the preamble as found in Nepalese records (as translated by Mr. Perceval Landon and as treated also by the Nepalese authorities themselves) reveals that the treaty only stipulated that

"We undersigned Bhardars and Lamas representing the Gurkha Government and the Tibetan Government have mutually settled a treaty of the following 10 articles, and with the Supreme

Being as witness we have affixed our seals unto it out of our free will and choice. 45. Emperor of China shall continue to be regarded with respect as hereto before by both parties."⁴⁶ China is also referred to in Article 2 of the treaty which says, "Gurkha and Tibet have both been regarding the Emperor of China with respect..."⁴⁷

Apart from the official Nepalese text, there are three other translations, one from the Tibetan text, the other by Sir Charles Bell, and the third by C.U. Aitchinson, which differ slightly from the Nepalese version in some respects. The Tibetan version of the relevant portions of the treaty is to the same effect :

"Whilst conforming to what has been written concerning the continued respect as before towards Shri the Great Emperor, the Courts jointly and severally continue in mutual agreement like brother-children" in the preamble and "whilst the Gurkha country and Tibet are both respectors of Sri the Great Emperor..." in Article II of the Treaty. Charles Bell's translation of the treaty from Tibetan source is also similar on these points. These words do not imply any overlordship of China over Nepal.

The construction put by the author to the two treaties has the authority of almost all rules and established norms of interpretation. Besides those discussed earlier we may refer here the doctrines of (a) 'in dubio mitius', (b) 'restrictive interpretation', (c) 'the need of express terms, to alter an existing rule of law' and (d) 'Contra preferentem' also in this connection.

'In dubio mitius' means, in case of ambiguity, that meaning should be preferred which is less onerous to the obligated party, causing less interference with its personal and territorial supremacy.⁴⁸ John Dodson, the King's Advocate, described it thus in his Report, dated 3rd February, 1835 :

"...in the interpretation of Treaties, the terms of which are vague and indefinite,

Whatever tends to destroy the equality of a contract, and to lay burthen upon one only of the contracting parties, must be construed in a strict and limited sense, and that the obligation is not to be extended beyond what is actually expressed...."⁴⁹

In its Advisory opinion upon the Interpretation of Article 3 (2) of the Treaty of Lausanne (the Mosul frontier between Iraq and Turkey) the Permanent Court said :

"...if the wording of a treaty provision is not clear, in choosing between several admissible interpretations, the one which involves the minimum of obligations for the parties should be adopted."

This principle may be admitted to be sound. Preference therefore should be given to the interpretation put by the Nepalese.

(b) As to the doctrine of 'Restrictive Interpretation', Vattel's treatment of the matter is significant, an 'unequal treaty' is an 'odious thing', and its effect ought in the interest of 'equity' to be mitigated :

"...When there is question of favourable things, the more extensive signification of the terms accord better with than their question of odious thing, interpret the terms in the most limited sense... for we are to favour equity, and to do away with every thing odious, so far as that can be accomplished, without going in direct opposition to the tenor of the instrument, or visibly wrestling the text."⁵⁰

We have, therefore, to accept Nepal's version of friendship with China rather than that of suzerainty of China as alleged by the latter.

(c) As far as the rule regarding the 'need of express term to alter an existing rule of law' is concerned, the authority of the eminent writers support the following extract from a Report by Sir Leoline Jenkins, Judge of the Admiralty Court dated 23rd. February 1678-1,

"... in Treaties, they (the wordings) are

not to be understood as altering or restraining the Practice generally received, unless the words do fully and necessarily infer an Alteration or Restriction..."⁵¹

Thus there being no clear and specific words used restricting the already existing sovereign rights of Nepal before 1792, the idea of suzerainty of China over Nepal can not be imported to the treaty.

(d) The dictum 'Contra preferentem' implies that in case of ambiguity a provision must be construed against the party which drafted or proposed that provision, which appears to mean that in case of doubt the other party should have the benefit of doubt. This has also been adopted frequently in the judicial decisions. For instance, applying the dictum in 1929 in the Brazilian Federal Loans case, the Permanent Court observed :

"Moreover, there is familiar rule for the construction of instruments that, where they are found to be ambiguous, they should be taken contra preferentem...."⁵²

Rousseau (at page 443) deals with this rule as akin to, or part of, the rule of construing a provision in favour of the party obligated by it. He also refers to a number of decisions and texts there.⁵³

To quote one more case, in 1923, the United States-Germany Mixed Claims Commission which, in dealing with the Lusitania Claim, observed, on the question of exemplary damages that,

"The treaty is based upon the resolution of the Congress of United States, accepted and adopted by Germany. The language, being that of the United States and framed for its benefit, will be strictly construed against it".⁵⁴

The result is that the treaty of 1792, which is claimed by China to have been dictated by her, must be construed against her (China) as regards the portions disputed by Nepal.

It is sufficient to note that the words "of our own free will and choice" used in the preamble of

the treaty of 1856 by Nepal clearly establish Nepal's intention to remain a sovereign nation. The words "As before" and "shall continue to be regarded with respect" can possibly be construed in two ways. If they be taken to refer to the terms of the treaty of 1792, then they depend on a document which had become a dead letter already and could not form the basis of future guidance. We have further noted that both, in letter and spirit, that treaty gave no suzerain rights to China and as such no such rights can be imported to the treaty of 1856 from these words. If these words be taken to describe the actual political relation existing between the two Governments just before the conclusion of this treaty of 1856, it must be admitted that there were no signs of Nepal's vassalage to China.

1. *Mao Tse Tung*. The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist party, 1939, Peking.

2. "Chinese Suzerainty over Tibet became more and more nominal and the Dalai Lama was able to take advantage of the conflict between the powers interested in Tibet and assume the bargaining position. What he had to offer was the establishment of a protectorate over his country and he was inclined at the beginning of the twentieth century to choose as protector Tsarist Russia, which was in the process of establishing a strong grip over Mongolia and was eager to extend it to Tibet". Alexandrowicz—Alexander, *The Legal Position of Tibet*, 48 *American Journal of International Law* (1954) pp.265-267.

3. "Tibet had negotiated through the famous Lama Dorgeff with the Court and Government in St. Petersburg", L.A. Waddell, *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, 1905, p.52.

4. So wrote Curzon to the Secretary of State for India on 30th November, 1902, regarding the threat, "I am firm believer in the existence of a secret understanding, if not a secret treaty, between Russia, China and Tibet, and as I have said before, I regard it as a duty to frustrate this little game while there is yet time ...",

Ronaldshay, *The Life of Lord Curzon*, Volume ii, page 273.

5. The Whole question had by now, however acquired a much more sinister significance than the Viceroy would have been disposed to attach to mere local disputes concerning boundary pillars or grazing rights; for evidence of Russian activities in this quarter, which had been accumulating for some time past, had become so strong as to convince him that the Russian government had acquired definite rights of intervention in Tibet which sooner or later they would undoubtedly exploit to the detriment of British interest. From being a matter of mere local interest, the question has become, consequently, one of high Imperial importance."—Ronaldshay, *Opp.cit.*, p.272.

6. For, Sec. E, Feb. 1905, Nos.1147-1180, Pro. No. 1154-NAI.

7. A letter from Amthill, Acting Viceroy, India, to John Brodrick, Secretary of the State for India, London, Dt. Simla, the 17th November, 1904. For. Sec. E., Feb. 1905, Nos. 1147-1180 Pro. No. 1154-NAI.

8. For., Sec., Feb. 1906, Nos. 154-191, Pro. No.180-N.A.I.

9. Notes prepared by Mr. Wilton, C.M.G. British Commr., in his report entitled "India's N.E. Frontier Relations" sent to Secretary of State, London, For., Sec. E., notes, May 1908, No.74-N.A.I.

10. Letter from Major M. Smith, British Resident, Nepal to S.H. Butler, Secretary, Foreign Department, Government of India, communicating the reactions of the Nepalese Premier, Chandra Shumsher, when told about the contents of the Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1908. (For. Sec. E., June 1909, No.900) Demi-official, P.No. 69-Dt. Nepal 12-14 May, 09-NAI.

11. For., Sec E., June 09, No.900, Pro. No.69, dt. 11th May, 1909-N.A.I.

12. Tibetan Officer, second to Dalai Lama in the hierarchy of the monastic government.

13. For Sec. E., June 1907, Nos. 70-102, Pro.

No. 80; (enclo. 5.), page 34—N.A.I.

14. Translation of a letter, dated 13.12.1906, from Nepalese Representative in Tibet to his government under caption "Regarding Tibetan Affairs", dated the January 20, 1907, *ibid*, Pro. No. 80 (Enclo. 1).—N.A.I.

15. *Perceval Landon, Nepal Vol. II*, London, Constable Company Ltd., 1929. P.128.

16. *Opp.Cit.*, F.N.14.

17. Landon, *Opp.Cit.*, Note 15.
(See also For., Sec. E., Nov. 1903, Nos. 40-80 and for Sec. E, (notes) May 1908, Nos. 741-794, Pro. No. 997- (App.111) N.A.I.

19. *Ibid.*, page 115.

19. For., Sec. E., Nov. 1911, Nos. 15-17, Pro. no.13-N.A.I.

20. Translation from German to English by Mr. Taller, For., Sec. E., Jan. 1911, Nos. 124-207, Pro.no.169 (Enclo.A)—N.A.I

21. Translated by Imbault Hart, *Journal Asiatique*, Vol.xii 1878 page 348. English translation by the author.

22. "Tung-hawa-luh" of 'Eastern Flowery Transcript,' or Manchurian Dynasty Records.' The said book contains 250 years of day by day Chinese history down to 1874 and it was written more or less contemporaneously.

23. Charles Bell, *Tibet, Past and Present*, 1924.

24. Nepal Vamshavali is the Royal Dynasty Record of Nepal and is more or less in the form of history of the Kingdom. Translated from Nepali to English.

25. Chitta Ranjan Nepali, the *Shah King of Nepal*, Department of Publicity, H.M. Govt., Nepal, January 1965, p.7.

26. Niranjan Bhattarai, *China Ra Tyassit Nepal Kosombandh* (China and her relation with Nepal), Nepal Academy, Kathmandu, Nepal, 2018 V.S., P.170. Translation in English from the original Nepali by the author.

27. From the *Life of Maharaja Sir Jang* p.930.)

Bahadur, by General Pudma Jang Bahadur Rana, Allahabad, 1909.

28. McNair has discussed these principles under the title of 'plain terms', at page 365 of his book *Law of Treaties*, Oxford, 1961.

29. McNair, *ibid*, p. 366.

30. Hyde further quotes a remark by Wigmore, *Evidence*, 3rd ed. ix; pp. 2459; in support of his contention. See also Lauterpact in, *Development*, p.52; and his report in 43 (i) 'Annuaire de' *Institute de droit international* (1950), pp. 377-90.

31. McNair, *Opp.cit.*, p.365.

32. Ser. B., Nos. 2 and 3, pp. 40, 44.

33. Ser. B., Nos. 2 and 3, pp. 40-41.

34. Ser. B., No. 15 at pp12.

35. I.C.J. Reports, 1950; at p.135.

36. Vryheid (No.1) 1776.- Hay and Marriott, 170, 172.

37. Printed in full in McNair, *Opp.cit.*, pp. 316-18.

38. The fact of refusal of the Chinese Emperor to give help is also confirmed by the Chinese Records 'Tung-Hawa-luh', *Opp.Cit.*, and translation of the relevant decree from it is to be found in Indian Foreign Office records also, For., Sec. E., July 1911, No.245-80-N.A.I.

39. Letter from Nepalese Representative at Lhasa to the Prime Minister of Nepal, 1842, communicating him the text of Chinese reply received through Chinese Amban at Lhasa; Nepalese Foreign Office Records Kath. Translation from the original Nepali in English is by the author.

40. (a) *In Hooper vs. United States*, the Court of Claims in 1887 speaking of a treaty of 'indefinite duration and which contained no clause providing for its termination, said that, "if the consideration fails, or if its important provisions be broken by one party, the other may, at its option, declare it terminated."

(22 Court of Claims, 408; Hudson, Cases,

(b) Similarly, *Dr. Fravers Twiss, the Queen's Advocate*, observed in his Report dated 20th October, 1868, that non-observance of the important article of the conventions regarding slave-trading by Transval Republic, strikes at the root of the contract between the two Governments and discharged Great Britain from further observance of her engagements towards the Republic.

(c) At one time, the British Government wanted to suspend the operation of the article of the Treaty of Tientsin with China which provided for the extradition of Chinese offenders taking refuge with the British settlements on the ground that the persons so surrendered were put to inhuman torture. The Law officers of her government were of the opinion that, "the proposed suspension of the extradition would imperil the whole treaty...."

(d) Similar was their observation in another Report, dated 12 August, 1884, regarding the effect of a breach by the British Government of the Article VII of the Convention of 1829 between Great Britain and Guatemala, "...it would, of course, be open to Guatemala to insist that as there had been a breach of it by the British Government, she would retaliate by refusing to observe the other provisions of the convention, even though they were unconnected with Article vii..."

41. When a State enters into an obligation of an international character, it is not allowed to adduce any inadequacy or incompatibility in its own legal system, or in any of its legislative or executive acts, (as China did), as an excuse for the non-performance of an International obligation. *McNair, Opp.Cit.*, p. 761).

42. Yogi Narhari Nath and N.S. Vasnyath, *Itihas Prakashna Sandhi Patra Sangrah*. Kathmandu, 2021 Indra-yatra, p. 14.

43. *The Pacific A.D.*:—1931-1932, No.205 See also the Dawes Plan Interpretation, A.D., 1925-1926, No.277, and the Krone Prins Gustaf

Adolf. (A.D.-Annual Digest of Public International Law Cases) 1919-32.

44. U.N. Reports of International Arbitral Awards, Vol.i, p.103.

45. The Tibetan Text omits the phrase "of our own free will and choice".

46. Underlined is ours. Translation of the Treaty by Aitchinson reads instead: "We further agree that the Emperor of China shall be obeyed by both States as before". But the Prime Minister of Nepal challenged the authenticity of this version of the Treaty when it first appeared in his Collection. After due consideration, the Nepalese version was found to be correct and the terminology which Nepalese themselves offer for their language after duly understanding the correct meaning of Nepali terms. It is also to be remembered in this regard that Nepal was a victor and there was no compulsion to pledge her sovereignty and independence with China especially due to her close British contacts during the period.

47. Underline is ours. Aitchinson translates the relevant words as "borne. allegiance". It is again submitted that the Nepalese version appears to be correct, and it was so corrected in the Collection also after protests from the Nepal Government.

48. *McNair, Opp.cit.*, p. 462. This is Grotius distinction between odious and favourable promises; he says that in the case of former, 'figurative language is in small measure admitted, to avoid the odium' (*quo onus vitetur*) ii, xvi 12. De Interpretation.

49. F.O.83. 2368—On interpretation of some articles of the treaty of 1834 signed by U.N., France, Spain and Portugal.

50. Vattel, *Law of Nations*, (Chitty's translation), Book ii, pp.360, *opp cit.*

51. *McNair, Opp.cit.*, p.463.

52. *Ser.A. Nos.20/21*, pp.93, 114

53. *McNair, Opp.cit.*, p. 464, F.N.2.

54. *A.D.* 1923-4, No. 198, 18 A.F. (1924), pp.361, 373, and see also A.D.-22, No.170.

[To be Continued]

Current Affairs

STUDENTS OF SOUTH AFRICA AND APARTHEID

There are several white Universities in South Africa. Some are bilingual, some Afrikaner and some English. The Afrikaner Universities have always been white, that is no students other than "whites" have ever joined these Universities. Obviously the Afrikaner are the Boers who are the most rabid racialists in South Africa. The English Universities had always been multiracial and had always observed the principle that "a University is a place where men and women, without regard, to race or Colour, are welcome to join in the acquisition and advancement of knowledge." But the South African Government have passed an Act in 1959 which forbade non-whites to enter white Universities except with special leave which is seldom granted. The Government pays about seventyfive percent of the expenses of these Universities and these are, therefore, in a weak position in the matter of defying the government. But although public (white) opinion is all for apartheid the students in the Universities, who are mainly white, always put up a determined opposition to the government's policy. The students' organisation is hated by the government and many of its presidents have suffered detention, deportation, expulsion and confiscation of passport. The students however have not surrendered to the government and have

proved themselves to be as courageous as the government have been barbarously fanatical in their racialism. The University Councils have tried to placate the government so that they did not withhold their financial contributions, to the Universities; but all their efforts at controlling the students' associations have failed so far. Rather the students have succeeded in securing some support from the public (whites). Students' organisations the world over are proud of their South African fellow students, who have resisted the South African government in a manner which has unnerved the racial maniacs of that country.

RISE IN WAGES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

Dockers earnings Great Britain have displayed a strong tendency to rise without any proportionate increase in productivity or reduction in manning. Where dockers had been earning £ 21-7sh—6d per week a year ago, they are now earning £29—8sh per week or more this year. This works out at about Rs. 55 per day for 1967 and Rs 75 per day for 1968. We do not know how much work these dockers do for such high wages but we may take it that the work quantum would not be very high compared to what lesser paid workers turn out in other countries. Over payment compared to productivity is one of the most potent causes of inflation and inflation inevitably tells on

the economy of the country. The British economy has been showing signs of increasing loss of strength over recent years and one would ascribe this to the attempts made by British workers to earn more than what their work could justify. Nationally this would mean production at a loss, which if carried on over long years would lead to insolvency.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Czechoslovakian people were trying to make a novel experiment with Communism. They were trying to maintain the economic principles that guide the Soviet Socialist Republics of the Russian group, as well as grant personal freedoms which one associates with the democracies of the West. The Russians felt alarmed because they did not like individual liberty but believed in managing the affairs of a great nation by a small coterie of dictators whose authority could not be challenged by any one, nor modified by popular will. The method adopted by the Russians to meet this difficult situation was primitive and back dated. Tanks could never take the place of convincing arguments or logic. The Russians sent tanks, instead of brilliant psychologists to Prague and the result, was a tussle between heavy armour and superior dialectic. The Czechoslovaks did not fight but stood their ground like gentlemen held up by footpads. They did not cower nor make any demonstrative gestures of defiance. But it was clear to the Russians that no headway was being made in reestablishing the orthodox totalitarian form of government in Czechoslovakia. There was no fight nor any surrender. The

people of Czechoslovakia non-cooperated with the Russians in a non-violent manner. This was a game which Russian gunners did not know how to play at. They remained in the streets of Prague while the leaders of the States involved went to Moscow for discussions. The Czechs had to yield a point here or a point there; but, fundamentally, they surrendered little. All that the world could see or hear was made correct on the surface from the Communist point of view. That meant restrictions in printing or broadcasting. But things that could not be checked upon would, naturally, move along the paths that free humanity preferred. There may also be some border security forces from the Warsaw Pact countries to guard the Czech frontiers. In fact whatever may be the physical accommodation granted to orthodox totalitarianism by the Czechoslovakians, the mental breach will slowly widen, until a liberal and freer type of Communism comes to express its political and economic emotions without any compulsion from outside. This will effect all States which now practise Communism of the small-coterie—autocracy type in which selected workers, peasants and soldiers or their chosen leaders run governments and guide the destinies of the masses with grim militaristic inflexibility. Individual liberty cannot have any place in a military set-up. Once the idea of freedom enters the mind of men, they can no longer be regimented in the manner that orthodox Communism will require. The Czechoslovakian incident therefore the beginning of a process of liberalisation which will eventually enable communists to effect a synthesis of their creed with wider human ideals. That will slowly dissipate the present confrontation of the two camps and lead to a

cleaner settlement of differences in outlook. The return of the Czech leaders to Prague from Moscow clearly shows that better counsel prevails at the Kremlin.

RUSSIAN STRATEGY IN EAST EUROPE

When Hungary tried to be free in 1956 the Russian army put her back in her shackles in a straight forward manner. Hungarians who made that attempt were removed from power and some were removed entirely. It was a clear case of suppression of a revolt so to speak and there were no half-hearted moves in it on the part of the Russians. In the present case when the Czechoslovakians tried to introduce more freedom and liberty in their government and the Russians sent tanks to suppress that revolt, developments were quite different as compared to 1956. The Czechs did not fight but they made very uncomfortable propaganda against the Russians in numerous places where the Russians had friends. All Communist Parties in all countries reacted antagonistically to Russia over this brazen occupation of a peaceful and friendly country. The Rumanians and the Yugoslavs talked about going to the help of Czechoslovakia. China accused Russia of naked aggression. And the friendly democracies requested Russia to vacate the aggression. The Russians therefore had to discuss terms of withdrawal with the Czechoslovakians and they could find little to say to the Czechs. "We must be allowed to guard your western frontier, You must not allow your press to print whatever they liked" and so forth. But, it was all very weak and make believe. For no one was coming over into Czechoslovakia,

through that western frontier. And the Press was quite reasonable. So why the tanks? The tanks had to go. But the Russian had to watch the Czechs and also the Yugoslavs, the Rumanians and perhaps some other peoples too. The Western frontier was a good idea. The Russians had to go right through Czechoslovakia to reach that frontier. Constant passing to and fro would give them ample opportunity to watch and to create contacts. And they could set up more trading, manufacturing and cultural establishments in Czechoslovakia in order to be more friendly and intimate. The Yugoslavs and the Rumanians are becoming wary of all these possibilities. They feel that if Russian troops constantly pass in and out through Czechoslovakia to man their outposts on the western frontier of the country, the Russians would take advantage of such arrangements and would do things which will jeopardise the safety of all countries in the region. In fact it will create all the disadvantages that an army of occupation could produce.

EGYPT REARMS WITH RUSSIAN ARMS

During their very short war with Israel, Egypt lost her air force (300 planes) on the first day. They also lost about 800 tanks many of which the Israelis captured. Since the end of the war Egypt has been trying to obtain planes and tanks and have managed to get some from Russia. The Russians have also provided trainers to teach the Egyptians the techniques of making proper use of the weapons supplied. The Israelis also have replaced all their lost planes and tanks and they know how to use them. *Status quo* as far as the war equipment go, has been restored. Peace has not been,

The Israelis have no desire to give back the territories they have captured without getting a clear cut assurance from the Arab countries that they recognise the territorial rights of Israel and will not do propaganda for the dissolution of the Jewish State.

THOUGHTS OF MORARJI DESAI

The Congress ministers have thoughts but they donot put them in a little black book in case they had to give a new look to their alleged ideals or principles. When Morarji Desai was reminded by the President of the Andhrapradesh Chamber of Commerce recently that he had promised tax reductions after some time when he attended a conference of the South Indian Chambers of Commerce last year, Mr. Desai said he did not know how he said this. He could not have been so dreamy as to say he would reduce taxes after one year. Mr. Desai, of course, seldom knows how he says or does things. And we the lesser mortals know even less about the workings of Morarji's mind. He further said many other things which are worth quoting. Firstly, he said resources could be generated by taxation, loans and small savings. He said, secondly he was not a generator of money but was only an agent for its equable distribution. We had been under the impression that resources were generated by productive work. Taxation is a method of acquiring portions of these produced resources for the purpose of meeting expenses which are incurred by organised governments for the common good of the people of the country. Mr. Morarji Desai appears to have some confusion in his mind about the nature of

the resources he collects through taxation, loans and small savings. Further, the resources that are obtained through loans and small savings are only his to handle and use for relatively short periods. These have to be returned, with interest, to those whose property these were. Mr. Morarji Desai and his colleagues have not been able to generate any substantially measurable resources even when they have devoted themselves to productive work. The reasons for their failures have been primarily their incapacity, lack of sincerity and selflessness of outlook and dependence on treacherous friends. Mr. Morarji's job is to safeguard the interests of the tax payers and *not social reform*. What he thinks about equable distribution of wealth, exploitation of man by man and other vital matters is of no consequence for the reason that greater men than he have already expounded in detail the human needs for reforms in the socio-economic field. What we require from him is a sane and useful system of handling the country's public finance. This must be built up keeping in mind the established facts relating to the effects of taxation on the national economy and the economic realities connected with Public Expenditure. The moral questions involved in consumption of liquor, amassing of individual wealth and the use of relatively more valuable ornaments by women, are not closely related to Public Finance and are therefore, not matters for which Mr. Desai has been included in the cabinet of Sm. Indira Gandhi. His job is to balance Taxation against the pressures created by exactions on the national economy. He apparently does not realise that side of his duties. He also has to stop waste

of resources on useless expenditure. He does not do this either. In other economic and ethical fields Mr. Morarji Desai is quite unnecessarily didactic and addicted to delivering sermons. The modern intentions behind setting up democratic governments are the mustering of technical capacity, perfect planning of governmental work and relentless following up in every move in constructive work. Whosoever has taken the trouble to observe the workings of government departments, been inside institutions managed by the State, made the use of railway trains, the Posts and Telegraphs organisation, the telephone services etc. etc. will have found out that there are wide gaps between what Cabinet Ministers say and what they do. In the circumstances, the best service that these top politicians can render to the nation is tendering their resignation and devoting themselves to work which is within their ability.

EXPENSES OF ELECTIONS

The Election Commission is arranging to raise the ceilings of election expenses for different States and the Central elections as it is felt that the limits fixed fifteen years ago have become too low compared to the rise in all costs everywhere. The general increases suggested work out at 25-40 percent on the previous maxima which varied from State to State. In this connection one has to point out very reluctantly that the facts of expenses incurred quite often do not tally with what are stated or admitted. Political parties spend large sums of money at election time which benefit their nominated candidates but are not actually spent by

them or even with their knowledge or consent. Then there are the friends and admirers of candidates who spend money too for the benefit of the candidates. Lastly, the candidates themselves spend money which they quite often do not show in their statements of accounts. The ceilings of expenses are therefore not really any check on the evil practices that one finds connected with electioneering. What is necessary is cleaning up things so that impersonation, ghost votes, influencing, intimidating, purchasing of votes etc. etc. did not play a considerable part in elections as these had done in the past. The government should also take more care about preparation of voters lists and introduce cards of identity for voters. The political parties do not like to introduce such measures, but until these things are done, elections will never be fair nor free. The raising of ceilings of expenditure, is relatively useless.

PHILOSOPHY OF BLACK MILITANCY

The American Negroes are becoming conscious of the facts of the American way of assessing human values. The Gandhian way which was followed by the late Dr. Martin Luther King did not lead to anything worth having. Even in India the path of relative non-violence, that is, that of over eagerness to remain at peace with all robbers and marauders has not led us to live an easier and blissful life. Our relations with Pakistan, however peaceful, under Russo-American inspiration, have progressively increased our military expenditure, increased our borrowings abroad and intensified the worries

and sacrifices of the tax-payers. In spite of all that we are in constant danger of aggression. The American Negroes have also discovered that sheer unmixed goodness and overeagerness for peace does not convince their opposers of the rightness of their demands. The American whites, by and large, only take notice of violent outbursts. Peaceful talk, however sincere and idealistic cannot break through the apathy of the whites to do justice to the Negroes. So the Negroes are organising themselves into militant bodies and are occasionally indulging in violent riots and arson too. This is inducing the whites to take notice of the Negroes. For no white klan members can now convince the general public that they can kill off 20 million Negroes or suppress them completely if they did not agree to be suppressed.

The Black Panthers or other militant organisations, therefore are following a logical policy according to the sense of reasoning that the bellicose whites harbour. The Negroes may not and should not begin a large scale fight, but they should be prepared to fight if they are attacked in an organised manner by the klans or other exponents of white supremacy. It is always best to be prepared for the worst.

In India we are progressively being bullied by foreign powers to surrender our sovereign rights. We have a certain quantity of conventional arms, but we need nuclear weapons to be convincingly prepared for all eventualities. Unless we make our own nuclear weapons, we shall remain in the camp of second class powers and will be dealt with by the first class powers with the contempt that second class fighters deserve. All nu-

clear weapons are meant for show apparently, for no power actually wants to start a nuclear war. But the possession of these weapons gives a nation that security which superior powers can always claim and actually obtain from intending attackers. The Negroes are demonstrating the power of preparedness in the face of overwhelming odds. Our efforts in the nuclear line may be puny compared to the Russians or the Americans. But the existence of a single rifle often obliges a hundred rifle wielders to stay at a distance. So may a few nuclear headed rockets keep the major powers away from our borders.

AGE AND SOVEREIGNTY

The People of a nation are all equal in the eye of the law. Yet some of them can vote and others cannot. Some pay taxes and some do not. Some earn an income by working and some others live on those earnings without any obligations to repay anything in any manner. So that the alleged equality is not of an entirely unqualified type. Among the people constituting the nation there are some who have more power, extra advantages and superior position and there are many who indirectly enjoy the fruits of these special rights without being directly endowed with them.

We are not trying to describe social inequalities existing between "haves" and "have-nots", nor among "whites" "blacks" or party members and ordinary citizens. What we are trying to discuss are the differences existing between persons of different age groups. Statisticians have deve-

loped connections about dividing populations into age groups and it is therefore easy to know how many persons of what age group there are in a country. When India had a population of 439 millions the age groups gave us the following numbers.

Age group	Number in Nearest Millions	Percentage of Total approximately
0—9 yrs	131	30%
10—14 „	49	10%
15—19 „	36	8%
20—24 „	37	8%
25—29 „	37	8%
30—34 „	31	7%
35—39 „	25	6%
40—44 „	23	6%
45—49 „	18	4%
50—54 „	17	4%
55—59 „	10	3%
60—64 „	11	3%
65—69 „	5	1%
70 and above	9	2%

We all know that persons who belong to the age groups 0—9 and 10—14 have not many legal rights but they enjoy everything that their parents can provide. The State also provide all kinds of amenities for the juveniles for which tax payers of 21 and above age groups meet the bills. In short there are very few tax payers among minors and such as are, pay their taxes through legal guardians of higher age groups. One may think of reducing the age limit of voters down to 18 years or even less, but surely one cannot bring it down below 9 years. The age group 0—9 will certainly depend on their parents for feeding, clothing, drying of wet and soiled cloths and for primary education and general looking after. This group has

30% of the population in it. The next group 10—14 cannot also expect to vote and be part of the sovereign section of the population. They are 10% of the total inhabitants of the country. We find therefore that 40% of the people are not in a position to rule the country on account of their extreme underdevelopment of body, mind, earning capacity and other human qualities which ruling type of grown up persons possess. We suppose the age group 15—19 also lacks the development required in full grown men and women; but we shall not say so for fear of offending youthful sensibilities. From 15 to 29 the people are considered to be youngmen and youngwomen and they are those mainly who register dissatisfaction with everything that the grown ups arrange. But they constitute only 24% of the population i.e. less than 1 in 4. They cannot therefore expect to rule the rest of the people who outnumber them even if one left out the 40% extremely young persons though these juveniles are the wards of the grown up persons who are 36% of the population. Many of the age group 21-29 are earning members of society and have little time to record their frustration, anger and disapproval publicly. Many of them take sides with grown up groups too. Those above 30 yrs. of age are not very fond of the idea of being governed and ruled by persons of the age group 15-19, 20-24 and 25-29, for the reason that many of these youthful persons have all their needs provided for by the grown ups. And naturally he who pays the piper likes to call for the tune too.

It is quite clear therefore that the young persons cannot expect to govern and rule those who are not so young. They

should convince the grown-ups of the rightness of their demands in a constructive and lawful manner. By wasting their own and other peoples' time in angry demonstrations they actually achieve nothing.

'CARE' ASSISTANCE TO WEST BENGAL FLOOD VICTIMS

The following newsbriefs are taken from Releases by the United States Information Service :

Care (Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere) has undertaken an emergency programme, at the request of the State Government, to feed flood victims in distressed districts of West Bengal. In most cases, Care is distributing food from their district godowns throughout the State. Food is also being rushed from Calcutta, by truck, to those few districts where CARE stocks are in short supply. Besides, cooked food is being served wherever possible. The emergency programme presently being undertaken by CARE is in addition to the 1.5 million beneficiaries (school and pre-school children and nursing expectant mothers) receiving cooked food in the School Meals Scheme of the Government of West Bengal and CARE.

U.S. GRANT FOR FOREST SURVEY OF MEDICAL PLANTS

A five-year survey of Gujarat forests to locate plants with medicinal properties has been undertaken by the M.S. Univer-

sity of Baroda. The U.S. Government has extended a grant of Rs. 227,000 to support this research, which will also study how such plants are used for food and medicine by tribal people who live in the jungles.

RUSK ASKS HANOI TO SPELL OUT RESPONSE TO FULL BOMBING HALT

Secretary of State Rusk recently called on Hanoi to tell what response North Vietnam would make to a complete cessation of U.S. bombing. "We feel that we are entitled to an answer to that question," Mr. Rusk told a press conference. Thus far, he emphasized, the United States has met only "a blank wall" when pursuing the question of a bombing halt. "We must know what would happen if we should stop the bombing," he said. "Some responsible, authoritative source" in Hanoi could give a direct or an indirect reply, Mr. Rusk added.

U.S. AND JAPAN TO STUDY FOOD POSSIBILITIES OF OCEANS

The United States and Japan will form panels of experts to study the joint development and use of ocean resources. Agreement on the collaboration was developed at an early August conference here which originated in a suggestion by President Johnson last March that world nations look to the seas for solutions of man's needs for fuels, minerals and foods.

PRIMITIVE WARFARE IN N.E.F.A.

(II)

P. THANKAPPAN NAIR

STONE-CHUTES : The Abors are famous for their ingenious ways of warfare. They show excellent understanding of modern military science. An Abor village can never be found without its cordon of rock-shoots. Stone-chutes or rock-shoots, which the earlier writers designated as 'booby traps' add to the ingenuity of the Abors. "The booby traps" says the *Hand book* (1911 : 5), "consist of stout bamboo hurdles piled with rocks and built out from the hillside, the inner edge resting on the ground and the outer supported by two strong canes. A couple of slashes with a *dao* liberates the contrivance and the rocks go crashing down the hill." The stone-chutes are placed over the paths leading to the village or the stockades.

"Stone-shoots are platforms", says Dunbar (1915 : 50), "made of bamboo piled up with stones. They are built out over cliffs hanging above the path to be defended and held up by a cane rope which is cut to let down the avalanche of stones on to the enemy below. Shoots are generally built in lines and the jungle is cleared to give the stones a free run ; but not withstanding this they are not easily discovered from below. This form of defence is a favourite amongst the Abors and Mishmis."

"The rock-shoots", says Hore, 'are platforms of bamboo or timber built out from the hillside, and overhanging the path, from

which they are nearly always invisible owing to the thick jungle. On this platform, which is held in place by ropes of creeper or cane, large rocks are piled, some of which may be several maunds in weight. The arrangement is released by cutting the ropes, which precipitates the whole contrivance down the hill. A rockshoot may be placed from 50 to 200 feet above the path."

The stone-chutes are ineffective since they are placed over the paths leading to the village and over the cliffs. Stone shoots are not hard to spot out. Speaking of the inefficiency of rock shoots, Dunbar (1932 : 152) says : The platforms holding the stones are bound to jut out somewhere, and if the jungle is at all likely to stop the stones, the Abors cut runs down the hillside through the jungle. Sure enough, as we climbed the path, there were the tell-tale bamboo traps perched nearly 100 feet above us. Now stone shoots are a bother to make, and an Abor won't cut the cane ropes and let them go just for one man. So about a dozen of us ran underneath them, one by one, and got over the danger zone...Stone shoots from 40 to about 100 feet above the path are the most likely to do damage. For although a shower of rocks coming down a steep place from nearly 1000 feet up looks pretty formidable, the stones are almost certain to miss the path altogether. But the high shoots take an unconscionable time to clear".

Though the Abors mainly depend upon their Panjis, stockades and rock-shoots, nevertheless, they are known to use foot traps, spring traps and big trees for the purpose of defence. They are experts in setting foot-traps, in the forms of shallow pits, lined with poisoned Panjis, carefully covered over and sunk in the jungle tracks.

"A variation on the foot-pit", says Hamilton, "was an ingenious adaptation of the spring trap, fitted with arrows in place of the customary blunderbuss, and much used by the Abor hunters. In this unwieldy, though pretty reliable contrivance, hollow lengths of bamboo, each fitted with a poisoned arrow were fixed in bows, which are fastened to bamboos growing conveniently near a jungle path. From the bows lines of bamboo fibre were carried across the path at various elevations from the ground; from a few inches to two or three feet. The lines were strung tightly, and so placed that the lightest touch discharged a flight of arrows...In warfare, or as a defensive measure along a path leading to a village, both sides of a section of the track, perhaps two or even three hundred yards in length, would be closely planted with the traps, the bow-strings so adjusted that they released an irregular fire of poisoned arrows from any angles and at varying distances.

"Another popular, though less reliable, trap was formed by cutting nearly through some tree that overhang the track, and connecting its top with the path by a length of bamboo fibre in such a way that the trunk crashed to the ground if the least strain were put upon the line."

Food Supply

The traditional methods of warfare of the Abors and the rest of the tribes of NEFA

are meant for settlement of inter-village or internecine feuds. Even in the absence of any recognized leader and weapons of the 20th century, the tribes have always proved their fighting spirit by inflicting heavy loss on their civilized enemies. The tribesmen seem to have no provision for their ration in warfare. An Abor warrior can carry some 7 days' ration on his person and this is the only means of his supply. He must hasten home for getting more, whenever this limited supply is exhausted and consequently, if a stockade is threatened for long, the defenders, after occupying it for some time, begin to melt away. "In a country like that of the Abors", says Hore, "where the food supply is comparatively small, each warrior has to carry his own provisions, and cannot rely on getting them replaced from the nearest village. The amount that a man can carry is of necessity limited usually from 7 to 10 days' supply, and when that is exhausted he has to return to his own village to obtain fresh supplies: consequently the number of men holding a defensive position varies considerably from day to day. Of course small scouting parties can and do obtain supplies from the villages they pass through and are therefore enabled to remain out on the war path for an indefinite time, but this does not affect the main question at all."

Methods of Warfare

The methods of defence that the tribesmen practised were mainly confined to constructing stockades and rock-shoots at suitable points across the paths leading to their villages. The stockades are made inaccessible by placing a number of stonechutes over

the paths. The rock-shoots are invariably built to protect the flanks of the stockade. "One, if not both flanks of the stockade itself", writes Hore, "rests on a precipitous hill side so that the construction of the rock shoots, as a protection to the flanks is an easy matter. Where the ground is difficult but does not admit of the construction of the rockshoots, as for instance, where the path runs along the crest of a knife-edge ridge with precipices on either side, the Abor contents himself with merely blocking the path by felling trees across it. An obstacle of this kind can be a very serious one, consisting as it often does of large forest trees felled so as to lie lengthways down the path. Three or four of such obstacles each from 500 to 800 yards require an enormous amount of labour to clear away".

When the enemy advances to the village, the big trees on the way that have been severed from the ground and kept in position by ropes are pushed to fall on the enemy. The progress of the enemy is checked by cutting up the canes that support the rock-shoots and thus causing an avalanche of rocks. Any further advance to the stockade is checked by a shower of poisoned arrows. "A stockade, until one of the flanks is turned", says Hore, "is held with much stubbornness, showers of arrows and stones (thrown by hand) being discharged by the defenders, while the rock-shoots of which there may be as many as a hundred are let off at regular intervals. The Abor always greets the release of rock-shoot with loud shouts. The arrows are mostly discharged high into the air, but occasionally are fired through loopholes. No attempt at a counter-attack was ever made by the Abors during

the expedition of 1911-12 : this was probably due to the fact that the defenders of a stockade were invariably outnumbered, and would not trust themselves outside its shelter". "The Abors", says the *Handbook* (1911 : 5), "are capable of holding a frontal attack on a stockade, while other parties of their warriors concealed in the jungle, deliver flank attacks".

Tactics and Methods of Attack

The Abors are clever enough never to expose themselves to rifle fire in the open. On the approach of the enemy, after trying their favourite methods of releasing the cut-up trees, spring traps and stone-chutes, they concentrate in their stockades for showering the poisoned arrows. The path leading to the stockade is left open upto what the Abors consider their impregnable defences, while all other tracks are blocked. It cannot be said that the Abors entirely depend upon their stockades for defence, but they "trust not in a strong stockade, but in the natural difficulty of the position backed by over a hundred stone-chutes".

"Judging by previous experience", says the *Official Account* (p. 103), "the favourite methods adopted by Abors is to hold up the head of the column by a strong stockade impossible or difficult to turn, and, at the same time, to rush in on the flanks of the line of coolies. As the paths are so narrow that they only permit of moving in a single file, and as the jungle is too thick to permit of the use of the flankers, the guarding of the coolies is a matter of considerable difficulty".

The Abors are not in the habit of assuming the offensive by rushing on the column with swords. Their offensive tactics solely consist

of lying in ambuscades from which they release their poisoned arrows at columns. The Abors prefer ambuscades below the path, as they consider that there is a better chance of escape downhill than uphill. Abors are not known to attack by night, but treachery in war is their chief characteristic.

"The Abor method of attack as distinguished from defence", says Hore, "consist entirely of ambuscades on the line of march. These consist of a few men carefully hidden in the jungle some 5 or 10 yards from, and below, the path. Behind them the hillside is precipitous and they have no hesitation in throwing themselves backwards down the steepest slope when fired on. On a column passing one of these ambuscades, the Abors discharge a flight of arrows and immediately disappear. They do not, apparently, follow up the arrows with a sword rush. There was only one instance during the expedition of 1911-12 of a column being rushed by swordsmen, and then the attack was carried out by three men in pitch darkness during a night march".

It is incorrect to say that the Abors will never return to the ground from which they have once been driven. "A stockade near Doshing village on the south of the outer range", says Hore, "was twice rebuilt after having been taken and destroyed: in each case, however, the stockade was unoccupied as its position being known, it was approached from the flank or rear on the second and third occasions. The Abor may also be expected to lay ambushes anywhere on the line of march, even after he has been driven from his stockades".

Abor Signals

The Abors send all sorts of things as

peace messages, or declaration of war. "Broken weapons or a sword bent practically into a pruning-hook are, of course," says Dunbar (1932: 140), "peaceful signs, as are rice and salt. Chillies and charcoal are messages of defiance, and the stone accompanying them means determination to see it through".

Declaration of War

Though we have a good account of the auguries taken by the Abors before declaring a war in his *Abors & Gallongs* (1915: 80), the following account given by Dunbar in his *Frontiers* (1932: 159-61) is more lively and worth reproducing. "A declaration of war is a much longer business. When the people of the village get thoroughly annoyed with their neighbours, there are one or two things to do before any messages of defiance are sent. The village headmen—there is often more than one—call a meeting of the men, either in the *Moshap* (the bachelors' barrack) or just outside it. Everyone else squats down while the headman makes the first speech. He harrangues them for hours, and the only one of the kind I ever heard reminded me of what one gets in Hyde Park. There is no voting. If the audience don't agree with the speaker, they howl him down, as our ancestors used to do in the Anglo-Saxon moot. The shouts of the largest crowd take the place of a division of the House.

"But before war is actually declared, some of the fighting men go out from the village and take omens. A civilized general staff calculate the chances of success by the probable effectiveness of their plans and the efficiency and speed of their concentration arrangements: the hill-man by the postmortem behaviour of a fowl. Both

like to feel they are backing a certainty, but have different ways of reaching a reassuring conclusion.

"This is almost the only ceremony in which the medicine-man does not take part. He functions later, in the Gallong tribe at all events, by building a platform in a tree, on which he sits and curses the enemy. Known persons who are particularly disliked are selected for this long-range offensive, and I was given instances of its success when they saw I didn't believe them. They gave me one example not of an enemy but of an Assamese trader in the Plains who had apparently cheated them. The Gallongs said they turned a medicine-man on to him, and he certainly died suddenly. which satisfied them anyway. I never, of course, saw the war augury taken, but more than one man, in widely separated villages, told me about it. The party go out a short way from the village and put their spears on a stand pointing in the direction of the enemy. Just in front of this they put up two fences in the form of a 'V', leading to a long basket with a very wide opening. The open end of the 'V' is towards the enemy. A red cock is produced, and one man holds it by the head, and another by the tail. A third man beheads it with the words : O Piang (the god of war), if we are to win, may the cock go into the basket". The headless body is at once put down on the ground between the fences, and sprinkled with powdered maize and roasted grains of rice. If the cock runs into the basket, and the subsequent operations are successful, pigs, fowls, and other animals are sacrificed to Piang. Nothing, of course, was said to me about what happened supposing the war went the wrong way. But it occurred to me that the shrewdness of

medicine-men as a class accounts for their absence from this particular ceremony.

"It the cock does not flutter into the basket, the men taking the omen walk a little way in the direction of the enemy's village and then go home again, without speaking a word, and spend that night in the *moshap*. Everyone else in the village avoids catching their eye, for the hill-men believe that 'if four eyes are together' after an unsuccessful omen, the two who looked at each other will die of a discharge of blood from the mouth. Next day everybody behaves again as usual. But another augury cannot be taken for a year."

Conclusion of Peace

The hillmen of our North-East Frontier have their own ways of concluding a peace, though the terms are never reduced to black and white. "The way the Abors make peace", says Dunbar (1932 : 158-59), among themselves is most convivial, and they could hardly have expected us to conform to it.

When time had made the subject less delicate, they told me how two villages come to terms. A sapling is planted on the path half-way between the two villages as a meeting-place, and a party of men from each side come out carrying *dankis*, and driving cattle with them. At the meeting-place the peace delegates from each village exchange *dankis* and cattle. Then they sit down facing each other with the tree between them and talk for a bit. Abors are great talkers. presently someone suggests that they might have a meal together. The cattle are killed, fires are made and lit, and the meat is cooked in the *dankis*, which is not the usual way of preparing it. A huge feast follows, washed down with gallons of *apong*. At

the end there's a lot of "he's a jolly good fellowing" done in Abor, and everyone swears eternal friendship. The interesting thing is they seem to stick to it."

Human Sacrifice to War-god

Though it was believed that the Abors used to make human sacrifice for Piang and his fellow war gods Pekang and Yebo, careful investigation has failed to discover the actual practice. Dunbar (1932 : 161) admits that "It is, of course, quite possible that human sacrifices were once made to bring success in war, but about three years' enquiry never gave me a trace of it. Only slaves or prisoners of war (who become slaves themselves) could possibly have been sacrificed; and as several Abors and Gallongs said to me, "Why waste anything so valuable, when something else has always done as well?" Careful investigation by Dunbar, however, revealed the right of the master to hang an incorrigible slave and inflict capital punishment on a medicine-man who indulged in death dealing magic.

The Akas

The Akas who were much dreaded by their neighbours for their martial spirit, lost their reputation by the time the English annexed Assam. Hesselmeier (1868 : 192) has recorded that "the Hrusso use the cross-bow and poisoned arrow, a light spear for the purpose of throwing, and a narrow sword, about 5 feet long. They manufacture their own arms; the iron and steel, however, they buy in Assam. They use neither shield nor helmet. Their tactics are simple; like all the hill tribes, they rely upon sudden surprise, they lie in ambush and fall upon their foes

unawares.' A crude harpoon may be added to Hesselmeier's list of weapons in order to complete it. The light throwing spear was not noticed by 1883 Aka Expedition. The Akas possessed a few old muskets which have been replaced by new ones. Their positions are defended by Panjis and rock-shoots. Their villages are rather unprotected and quite open. Stockades are, more or less in the Abor fashion, in strategic and topographically favourable places. The tactics of the Hrusso consist in ambuscades, surprises and night attacks. During night attacks they use a kind of primitive dark lantern to enable them to avoid the concealed Panjis. The Akas prefer to lie in ambush for hours together and then fire the enemy with a volley of poisoned arrows. Some sort of a guerilla warfare is the one the Akas prefer.

We have a good account of the weapons and warfare of the Akas from the pen of Macgregor in the following words :

Weapons : "The principal weapon of the Aka is", writes Macgregor (1884 : 198ff), a long sword, the blade being 4 feet long and handle about 4 inches. Near the hilt the sword is not sharpened, and often a piece of cloth is folded round, so as to enable the owner to use the sword in a two handed fashion, and in this way the weapon is generally used. The bow and arrows constitute, however, the most effective weapon of the Akas : the bow is an ordinary one (I did not observe any cross-bows), the arrows, some of which have iron barbs, are usually poisoned with aconite; the aconite is mixed up with some of adhesive substance, and stuck on to the arrow-head. The poison is obtained from the Mijis, who get it from the higher ranges

behind them. I was informed by an Aka that it was expensive, a pig being usually the price of a very small piece. Immediately a wound is received, it should be well scoured out with a knife, well washed with water, and if the wound is on a limb, a bandage should be tightly tied above: stimulants should also be given to the wounded man. Some Gurkhas used the bark of a tree, which they first chewed into a pulp. When a man was hit, some of this pulp was given to the man to chew and some forced into the wound. The bark had a smell like lemon. I saw this used in two cases, one of which was fatal and in the other the wounded man recovered—the recovery was, I think, due to the skilful treatment of the wounded man by the surgeon and not to the supposed antidote. I only mention the use of this bark as an antidote believed in by the Gurkhas, as any information bearing on the subject may be useful.

"The Akas possessed a few old muskets and a few guns, which they had looted from Balipara (these were however, all given up before the expedition left the hills).

"Panjis (sharp pointed pieces of bamboo hardened by being half burnt), are placed in the ground to retard the advance or stay the pursuit of an enemy. They are very good obstacles against men who are not well booted. A collection of rocks placed upon a kind of scaffolding of bamboos and held in position by single canes, which can be severed at a blow, are, owing to the precipitous nature of the hills, most formidable obstacles. These obstacles commonly called booby traps, are usually placed so as to command a path ascending a steep hill-side: and as the path generally zigzags, the rocks, when libera-

ted from the cage, strike it in several places before finding a resting place at the bottom.

Stockades: "The stockades of the Akas are strong and well built; they are constructed of double rows of bamboos placed to a height of about 4 feet; the stockades being 10 or 12 feet high, a perfect *chevaux de frise* of pointed bamboos are firmly secured in the stockades (so firmly are the pointed bamboos secured that it takes one a considerable time to cut a way through). These stockades are constructed near the summit of a hill and in such a position that it is almost impossible for a two-legged animal to 'turn' them. The Akas keep a good supply of large stones behind the stockades, to hurl at an advancing foe.

Methods of warfare: "In my opinion the Aka does not take kindly to the war-path. A thieving expedition, where there is a minimum of danger and a maximum of loot, is more in his line. In the late expedition, the Akas relied to a great extent on the (supposed) inaccessibility of their country, and this, combined with their ignorance of the nature of the troops they were to meet, gave them a certain amount of confidence. At the action in the Tenga River on the 8th January, they blew horns and kept up a peculiar kind of war-chant; this was done probably with the object of encouraging each other and of striking terror into the hearts of their foes. This method of fighting is quite opposed to their usual one, which is essentially a system of ambuscades and surprises, and in this system they excel. Small bodies of men will crouch quietly for hours in the jungle, hiding themselves with the aid of leaves and bushes, which they plant in front of them, and wait for the arrival of the convoy, into

which they will fire a volley of poisoned arrows and decamp down the hill-side.

"The Akas do not, so far as I am aware, mutilate the the slain, nor do they torture a prisoner.

"When the Aka is on the war-path he must, of course, have his provisions with him : these are generally carried by one of the slaves, and consist of rice (cooked), rice wine, Indian corn etc. The cooked rice is carried in long bamboo tubes : several of these are placed in a basket and carried on the slave's back ; thus one slave can carry the provisions for three men for about a week."

The Apa Tanis

The Apa Tanis are essentially the cultivators of the Subansiri and they have never been heard of taking to war-path. There is no record of their method of warfare. "The Tenae", wrote Dalton in 1845, "appear to be a very peaceably disposed people, but they occasionally are compelled to take up arms to punish marauding Abors, and they are said to do the business at once effectually and honourably, whilst the Meris and Abors confine their warfare to nocturnal and secret attacks, and, if successful in effecting a surprise, indiscriminately massacre men, women and children. The Tenae declare hostilities, march openly to attack their enemy, and make war only on men, and their revenge does not extend beyond the simple

attainment of their object in taking up arms. If this be true, it places them in a high rank." The Apa Tanis may, added Dalton in his *Descriptive Ethnology* (1872 : 35), "claim a hearing as the most humane of belligerents at the next International Congress."

The Daflas

Next to Abors, the only tribe that retains the martial spirit at present in NEFA is the Dafla. The Daflas, being widely scattered in the Subansiri Frontier Division do not organize themselves into a single unit. The defect of their warfare is the lack of village-spirit, as clan spirit is uppermost among them. Even in inter-village or inter-tribal feuds and raids, the whole village rarely take up arms.

Weapons : Every able-bodied Dafla is a soldier on his own right. There is no separate warrior-class and the fighting men are not accorded any privileged status. The Daflas are more efficient in using their iron-headed spears. A large sword or *dao*, a bamboo bow with a quiver full of poisoned arrows, a black cloak of *Taseh* fibre over a *nara* and a mithun hide to cover his chest and back are the weapons that a Dafla needs before taking to the war-path.

There is no recognised leader among the Daflas. Before proceeding to war, omens are taken and if they are favourable, they slip into the enemy's territory. Utmost secrecy of the movement is maintained.

(To be continued)

RAJA RAM MOHAN ROY AND LITERARY AWAKENING OF INDIA

SAMAR DUTTA

Raja Ram Mohan Roy was born in 1774. The Mohammadan rule had lost its hold on the country at that time. The East India Company had not been established till then. The country was divided into a large number of small States ruled by the Muslims, Sikhs and Marathas. Taking advantage of the disintegration of the Muslim rule the East India Company, which came to India as traders, gradually acquired political ambition and turned itself into a body of political adventurers. It was one of the darkest period of Indian history.

By the beginning of the 19th Century the East India Company was more or less master of the Indian situation. And what was the situation ! India had lost vital link with her own supreme realisations and universal and eternal thoughts. Losing all contact with her great past India had become entangled in the mesh of superstition and bigotry. In place of critical analysis there flourished unreasoned acceptance, instead of deference to the authority after judgement there ruled blind acceptance. The Indian mind had become lethargic and fearful. India had lost her youth and vitality.

At last in 1813 the British assumed in India educative and civilising functions besides political functions. Missionaries were permitted to enter the country freely and a token grant of Rs. 1 lac per year was made for education. The idea, however, was that Oriental learning was to be promoted. On the other hand forces were at work whose influence was coming to be felt slowly.

The Missionaries had already helped to establish printing presses in different parts of the country and books in vernacular and also in English came out since the beginning of the 18th century. Dictionaries, grammars and translations were among the first fruits of the missionary enterprise. The printing press inevitably led to the newspapers and Hicky's Bengal Gazette was India's first newspaper that came out in 1780. Last came the private schools imparting English education. Such schools had been started as early as 1717 at Madras, 1718 at Bombay and 1720 at Calcutta. The Hindu College at Calcutta which was the creation of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and his friends David Hare and Sir Edward Hyde East was established in 1817. It was started with one hundred students and in course of a few years it became the Presidency College, the premier educational institution of Bengal. Meanwhile the Serampore College was founded in 1818 by Carey, Ward and Marshman, the Missionaries.

In his plea for English instead of Oriental education Ram Mohan asked Lord Amherst in 1823 to compare the state of science and literature in Europe before the time of Bacon with the progress made since. He added :

"If it had been intended to keep the British nation in ignorance of real knowledge, the Baconian philosophy would not have been allowed to displace the system of the schoolmen which was the best calculated to perpetuate ignorance. In the same manner, the Sanskrit system of education would be

the best calculated to keep this country in darkness if such had been the policy of the British legislators. But as the improvement of the native population is the object of the Government, it will consequently promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction embracing Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy with other useful sciences, which may be accomplished with the sums proposed by employing a few gentlemen of talent and learning, educated in Europe and providing a college furnished with necessary books, instruments and other apparatus".

Although the Orientalists and the Anglicists continued to wrangle, it was clear that the former were steadily losing ground when at last Macaulay's celebrated Minute clinched the issue. He declared that it was both necessary and possible 'to make natives of this country good English scholars and that to this end our efforts ought to be directed'. On March 7, 1835, Lord William Bentinck resolved that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India and all funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone.

In the 18th Century Voltaire and others demanded introduction of scientific education in France and for the fulfilment of that aim they fought vehemently against the Roman Catholic priests who in those days controlled the educational affairs of France. In the same manner Ram Mohan took a firm stand against the conservative class of the country who were totally opposed to the stand taken by Ram Mohan. But Raja gave them a stubborn fight. He had gone ahead against

all opposition. At long last his efforts were crowned with success.

In fact Ram Mohan was the fountain head of Indian renaissance. But the literary awakening of India which too was brought about by Ram Mohan was a great contributing factor to full-fledged Indian renaissance. And English language and English education played a vital role in the literary awakening of this country. English education was certainly desirable. It brought new life and opened new vistas of knowledge. But trying to swallow the West wholesale a good number of newly educated men became comic institutions without any enduring contact with the West or the East. Sir Charles Wood's Despatch of 1854 took note of this alarming symptom and made a praiseworthy attempt to effect a balance. The mother tongue would be the base but English would reign at higher levels. Such was the happy and healthy compromise and in essential this is the position even to-day.

It is a fact that introduction of English education, the infiltration of Western culture, the study of English literature, the adoption of Western Scientific techniques gave a jolt to India's traditional life and generated a good many wrong movements. Nevertheless they served us nobly by shocking us into new a awareness, a sense of urgency, a flair for practicality and an alertness in thought and action. The long dormant intellectual and critical impulse was quickened into sudden life, a new efflorescence was visible everywhere and a re-awakening. Indian spirit went forth to meet the violent challenge of the values of modern science and civilisation of the West. In this way there came in India what is called

a literary awakening for which sole credit goes to Raja Ram Mohan Roy.

The study of English literature stimulated literary creation in Bengali, Marathi, Telugu, Tamil, Gujrati and other languages and some great writers of last one hundred years have been men and women educated in English even if they did not seek creative expression through English and of course some have been unrepentant bilingualists writing in two languages—English and their mother tongue with equal facility and if necessary translating their English into their mother tongue, or their Bengali or Marathi or Tamil into English. The filiations of modern Indian literatures and English literature have been many and the links have been renewed from time to time.

The literary awakening of India begins with Ram Mohan to whom pointed reference has already been made. As already stated above, Ram Mohan was born in Bengal in 1774 but he died at Bristol in 1833—a preordained sequence of events in the life of a man who was destined to act as a bridge between India and England. Ram Mohan mastered many languages—Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic and Hindustani besides Bengali. After some business ventures in Calcutta, he served in the districts under the two British officials—Woodforde and Digby and his association with them was something more than merely official. It was when working with Digby that Ram Mohan completed his mastery of English language which he had started learning much earlier. Giving up Company's service Ram Mohan returned to Calcutta in 1814, started Atmiya Sabha and thus launched himself on the consciousness of Calcutta Society. The next few years

were a period of hectic activity, tireless endeavour and often acrimonious controversy with the Christians and the Hindus alike. The plight of the widows, the darkness of superstition, the miasma of ignorance, the general backwardness of the country all stirred him to action.

Although Ram Mohan could be named as the first of Indian masters of English prose, he was great in so many fields that he belonged to Indian history more than to mere Indo-English literary history. It is Ram Mohan who had, first of all, brought out a commentary of the Vedanta sutras in Bengali, translated the five Upanishadas into Bengali, wrote grammar and Geography in Bengali and published newspapers in indigenous languages. Ram Mohan started Vedanta College at Calcutta in 1826. This had naturally mystified people since he was a staunch supporter of English education in this country. But, in fact, he was not against Vedanta philosophy rather the philosophy of Vedanta was the very basis of the religious reformation movement upon which he launched. He followed the teachings of Vedanta but he could not accept the interpretation of Vedanta that was already in vogue in his time. It should be remembered that Ram Mohan's efforts were not directed towards revivalism. He did not want to resuscitate the past and romanticise it. Nor did he press for its total acceptance. He wanted his countrymen to eschew Pauranic Hinduism with its hundreds of gods and accept the unalloyed monotheism of India—Brahmavada. His mission to England during the last two years (1831-1832) of his life augured well for India and he seems to have left a

noteable impression on the leaders of opinion in England. He even wrote on request a brief autobiographical sketch which appeared in *Athenaeum* and the *Literary Gazette* and concluded by saying disarmingly—'I hope you will excuse the brevity of this sketch as I have no leisure at present to enter into particulars.' He thus started the tradition of Indian leaders writing autobiographies. Ram Mohan mastered the English language

and spoke forceful English years before Macaulay wrote his *Minute*.

Thus the literary aspect of India's life was shaken out of stupor and rendered dynamic once more as a result of the hard labour and untiring efforts of this mighty personality who had saved Indian civilisation from its inevitable decay. Not only that. This towering genius was the pioneer of Indian Renaissance of which literary awakening is an ingredient of vital importance.

PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION AND THE CONGRESS

SHANTI KOTHARI

The outcome of the last General Elections has qualitatively changed the political complexion of the country. The Congress dominance, both at the Centre and in various States for long considered to be a factor promoting political stability in the country—has either been whittled down considerably or broken completely as in Madras. However, the electorate has not decidedly opted for any one political party; it has only expressed its dissatisfaction with the Congress party. For, the increased strength of various parties opposed to the Congress does not in any real sense indicate a sharp breakaway from the Congress on the part of the voters. The voter seems to be more angry than alienated; the vote against the Congress is a negative vote, it is a vote of protest, and not of any positive affirmation for any alternative to the Congress.

The polarization of political power—considered to be of prime importance for the viability of democratic institutions has yet to take place. It is not even sure whether such a polarization will take place in a decade or two. In the meantime alliance along negative expediency among political parties desperately trying to dislodge Congress from power has emerged to be a dominating feature of political life in our country. This tendency was operative even before the Fourth General Elections began. Electoral alliances were entered into by political parties which stood poles apart ideologically and programmatically. Clearly such alliances were negative in spirit inasmuch as the motivating force behind such alliances was a pure and simple antipathy to Congress power and prestige. However, such alliances in many parts of the country were instrumental in preventing opposition votes from being

split up in multicorner contests. Simultaneously, intensification of factional squabbles in the Congress and attempts by majority factions to ride rough shod on the minority faction presented a spectacle of alienation as well as defection of Congressmen on a large scale. This along with growing economic difficulties and mishandling of certain political issues brought down the Congress prestige to a low level. The result was that the Congress lost heavily in terms of seats in State Legislative Assemblies as well as in the national Parliament. Most surprising of all is the fact that the Congress also fared badly in States which were supposed to be its strongholds.

The post-election political developments are too recent to be amenable to any systematic analysis and evaluation. However, they raise some very pertinent issues whose implications are very grave for the political system in general and the Congress Party in particular. The tendencies which have come on the surface, if handled unwisely and left unchecked, threaten to disrupt the political institutional framework which we have raised so laboriously. It is therefore necessary to disentangle the complex web of emerging political trends and try to discern some underlying patterns.

Post-electoral polity accelerated the trends of political opportunism in which arch rivals of yesterday became comrades-in-arm of today. No party, including unfortunately the Congress, was immune from this unprincipled defections. Coalition ministries composed of heterogeneous political groups came into being in several States. The divergence in ideology and

sharp programmatic differences were momentarily shelved and hidden under hastily drawn up minimum common programmes to be implemented by the coalition ministries. That these minimum common programmes were nothing more than pious wishes was demonstrated very soon when partners of coalition ministries began to pull in different directions, even in the recent by-elections. No matter how strong their antipathy to the Congress, the political reality that the coalition partners are also potential political rivals could not be suppressed for long.

The first taste of power emboldened the coalition partners to exploit the governmental machinery for furthering their own political ends. Moreover, the attempt to implement minimum common programmes itself brought to surface the contradictions inherent in such opportunistic alliances. Tensions in the various coalitions developed with the result that functioning of government was rendered difficult if not impossible. Interference in the administration for partisan purposes, attempts by coalition partners to create their own sphere of influence, through patronage and horse-trading, unprincipled exploitation of various social sectors for undermining institutional bases of our polity—all these things reflect the hollowness of such opportunistic political alliances on the one hand, and provide Congress with opportunity not without exacting challenges.

Another pernicious tendency manifested in recent political developments relate to the fact that some undemocratic political parties have chosen to sabotage governmental authority from within the government. The spectacle of Naxalbari and Hindi-Urdu riot in Bihar

are some of the extreme examples of how these elements are unmindful of the basic rules of the democratic game. The events have conclusively shown that their sham profession of commitment to democratic way of government cannot be taken seriously. The propensity to take political issues to streets when they cannot be resolved in one's favour in assembly halls, to invite lawlessness against lawfully constituted authority which they are responsible for respecting and safeguarding, and blaming Central Government for the ills in the States which they have themselves created, all point to a planned move on their part to disrupt political authority by fomenting dissatisfaction and creating disorder with the ulterior motive of reaping political benefits. The magnitude of disorderly political changes would be awful, when one finds the ministers violating the rule of laws by defying them, whatever may be the reasons, openly and courting arrests as it happened in Delhi recently in connection with the 'language issues.'

Yet another tendency relates to the unprecedented scale of quick succession of defections by elected representatives from one political group to another. That such defections represent only a craving for power and status, and an utter disregard for the principles of representative government cannot be doubted. However, it also poses a great threat to political stability in the country. Moreover, it strikes at the very root of the appropriate and responsible role of a peoples representative. It also highlights the gap that has come about between the electorate and its representatives.

To sum up, three broad political tendencies can be identified which need to be taken

into account when contemplating political actions for providing correctives. First, with the decline in Congress dominance, politics has become highly competitive. The expectation of polarization of forces being still a far-off possibility, it is expected that different political parties would try their utmost to gain ascendancy. The struggle for power therefore, does not permit the possibility of any long enduring political alliance among heterogeneous political parties. This may well lead to a state of political instability in various States where any one political party has failed to secure absolute majority.

Second, democratic norms have not yet found enduring moorings in the minds of political actors. After all, the conduct of democratic politics is governed by certain rules and it is necessary that political actors must conform to these rules and manifest in their behaviour an unflinching respect for lawfully instituted political authority. If this fails to materialize, the legitimacy of political regime and its effectiveness is in danger of being adversely affected. Lastly, danger to democracy emanates not only from a wide divergence between social and political norms but also from organized political groups which have no scruples in sabotaging democracy.

All these tendencies have to be checked in order that political development may proceed in right direction. The responsibility of the Congress Party is as still the major party is clear. The Congress has to cast off traditional ways of functioning in order to be able to function effectively in a harshly competitive politics. This requires, firstly,

the streamlining of organisation, training of committed and dedicated party cadre capable of holding its own against varying odds, democratization in the party, recruitment of responsive but responsible leadership, and politics based on programmes rather than struggle for power. Secondly, democratic forces must be strengthened in the country. A constant vigil must be kept on the misdeeds of anti-democratic parties and their conduct

must be exposed in public so that unwary minds may be saved from the traps laid by these unscrupulous parties. Thirdly, a forging of code of political conduct must be undertaken. Unprincipled political behaviour must be condemned wherever it occurs.

Congress has to be a model as a responsive ruling party on the one hand and must demonstrate as a responsible opposition as the case may be.

ACHARYA BRAJENDRA NATH SEAL

J. L. DAS

Acharya Brajendra Nath Seal was born in Calcutta on September 3, 1864. He was the second son of Mahendra Lal Seal, who, besides being a reputed lawyer of the Calcutta High Court at that time, was also an eminent philosopher, mathematician and linguist. Brajendra Nath had a brilliant academic record right through. After passing the Entrance examination with credit, he got himself admitted in the General Assembly's Institution, now known as the Scottish Church College. There he had Narendra Nath Dutta, who subsequently earned fame as Swami Vivekananda, as his class-fellow. In 1883 he graduated with "A" class, and in the following year he obtained a first class in the M.A. Examination, being the only candidate to achieve that distinction. Two episodes bear eloquent testimony to the high esteem in which he was held by even his teachers for his academic attainments and intellectual brilliance. Immediately after his graduation he was appointed a Professor and Fellow of his Alma Mater, the General Assembly's Institution. Regarding the subject he would offer at the M.A. Examination, there was virtually a tug-of-

war between Principal Hastie and Professor Gouri Shankar Dey, the former insisting on Philosophy and the latter on Mathematics. Brajendra Nath finally opted for Philosophy.

As soon as Brajendra Nath passed the M.A. Examination (1884), he joined the City College as a Professor. He was then barely 20, and the number of students who were senior to him in age was not inconsiderable. Still he got on exceptionally well with them. The students looked upon him with profound admiration for his vast scholarship and disarming humility. "You cannot teach without being pupil of your own pupil," was his favourite observation. After about a year he left the City College and went over to Morris College, Nagpur, where he first served as a Professor and then as Principal during 1885-87. His next assignment was the Principalship of Krishna Nath College, Berhampore for a decade (1887-96). Thereafter he was called upon to serve as the Principal of the Coochbehar College from 1896 to 1913. It was Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, the master jeweller, who drew this "gem of the purest ray serene" from the obscurity of a private mofussil college and installed him

as King George V Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy (1913-1920) of the Calcutta University. Thereafter he went to Mysore as Vice-Chancellor of Mysore University on the recommendation of Sir Michael Sadler, who had come to India as Chairman of the Calcutta University Commission, of which Brajendra Nath also was a member.

Incidentally, it might be noted that Sir Michael, who came in close contact with Acharya Seal in course of the Commission's work, was greatly impressed by the all-embracing character of his erudition and compared him with Aristotle of Greece. Said Sir Michael, "I know of no one, either in the East or in the West, to equal Sir Brajendra Nath Seal in point of width, depth, and originality of scholarship." His residence was verily a replica of the ancient Greek academies where disciples and seekers after truth flocked and got illumination from the intellectual giant on the whole gamut of human knowledge branching out in philosophy, religion, literature, philology, sociology, history, politics, economics, statistics, mathematics, cosmology, science, biology, geology and what not. He inaugurated the Indian section of the International Congress of Orientalists in Rome 1897 and delivered an address on the "Test of Truth". Further, before the section of "History of Culture" of the Congress, he read a paper on the Origin of Law, and the Hindus as founders of Social Science." The Acharya was again called upon to inaugurate the International Races Congress held in London in 1911. His illuminating address on "Race Origins" "threw a flood of light on many obscure aspects of Anthropology. He re-visited Europe thrice during 1912-14. On each occasion of his European tour, his thought-provoking address took the intellectuals of the West by storm.

It is, however, surprising that such a polymath who could rightly be said to have

taken all knowledge for his province, should have left only scanty published records of his scholarship and thoughts. Possibly it was the result of his conviction that human knowledge was imperfect, that "never knowing but in parts, our knowledge seems successively vanishing away." Besides a handful of addresses and articles, the following comprise the Acharya's published works:—(1) Quest Eternal (2) New Essays In Criticism And Neoromantic Movement In Literature, (3) Mysore Constitution, (4) Vaishnavism And Christianity, (5) Race Congress, (6) Syllabus of Indian Philosophy, and (7) The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus. Each of these books was regarded by competent authorities as a magnum opus, revealing as it did the surprisingly broad sweep of his intellectual genius.

In course of his Brajendra Nath Seal Centennial Address delivered on September 3, 1964 at the Mahajati Sadan, Calcutta. Dr. Radha Kamal Mukherjee, one of the Acharya's favourite disciples whose lamentable death took place very recently, remarked that the great master was the pioneer of the comparative study of civilizations and the comparative sociology of religion, and that in many important directions he foresightedly chalked out India's political destiny. He had laid stress on the unity and wholeness of Indian History and also pleaded for decentralized, federal and vigorous peasant democracy. The Acharya also emphasized on synthesis of religions and universal humanism. He asserted "that the future will see a rapprochement of Buddhism, Christianity, Islam and Vedantism—not a melange, not one concrete universal religion but world redactions of each of these religions under mutual contact and assimilation." While paying our tribute to the memory of the great savant on the occasion of his birthday let us hope that his concepts and prophecies would come true to the peoples of the world torn with social, religious, and political strifes.

Indian Periodicals

Indianization of Ancient Malaya

Prof. Himansu Bhusan Sarkar's paper dealing with the Indianization of Ancient Malaya and the Role of Brahmanas in it, published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of January 1968 gives an enlightening picture of socio-political conditions in Malaya round about the fifth-sixth centuries A. D. A few excerpts from this interesting monograph will be well worth presentation to our readers.

"On account of the exhaustive presentation of the literary data bearing on Malaya, supplemented by archaeological and other kinds of evidence, we can now form a tolerably fair estimate regarding the Hinduized States of Malaya and see therein depicted the grand role played by the Indian Brahmanas. As in Indonesia, the society of Malaya was apparently based on the caste system, though all the castes have not been specifically mentioned. There is no doubt, however, that the Brahmanas occupied a prominent place in society, and they have been particularly mentioned in many old records. The nobility and the commoners have also been referred to. The kings naturally constituted the ksatriya caste, but the position of the merchants was also important enough to merit attention in the Chinese annals.

"The King's position was very exalted. If the interpretation of archaeological ruins from Kedah and Province Wellesley in the west coast of Malaya be correct it would appear that the kings of this region had their palace-halls for audience and also forts for their defence around the fifth century A. D. The Chinese annals, however, provide us with earlier literary data bearing on Langkasuka. It is stated that an exiled relation of the king went to India and there

married the eldest daughter of the ruler of that country. When the King of Langga died, this exiled prince was called back by the noblemen to be their King. He died more than twenty years afterwards and was succeeded by his son Pa-ka-da-to (—Bhagadatta). Apart from Indian names of the rulers, it is interesting to note that in his letter addressed to the Chinese emperor in 515, the Prince wrote that the precious Sanskrit is generally well known in his land. The walls and palaces of his imposing cities are high and lofty as the mountain Gandhamadana. Although these things seem to refer to China, the high place accorded to the precious Sanskrit and the reference to the Gandhamadana which implies acquaintance with the Ramayana episode of Hanumana's uprooting the Gandhamadana hill, indicate the extent of Indian cultural influences, at best in the court circles of Langkasuka.

"The pomp at the ancient Malayan courts sometimes reminds us of India. Regarding regality in the kingdom of Langkasuka, we read in the *History of the Liang Dynasty* (A. D. 502—556): 'when the king goes out he rides on an elephant, he is surrounded with flags of feathers, banners and drums, and is covered by a white canopy. His military establishment is very complete. More details of a royal durbar are available in the Chinese annals regarding the Indianized State of Ch'ih-t'u which lay, according to Wheatley in the vicinity of Kelatan in north-eastern Malaya. In an obvious reference to the audience-hall, the Chinese annals proceed to state.....the king sits on a three-tiered couch, facing north, in rose coloured cloth, with a chaplet of gold flowers and necklaces of varied jewels. Four damsels attend on his right hand and on his left, and more than a hundred soldiers mount guard. To the rear of the King's couch

there is a wooden shrine inlaid with gold silver and five perfumed woods, and behind the shrine is suspended a golden light. Beside the couch two metal mirrors are set up, before which are placed metal pitchers, each with a golden incense-burner before it. In front of all these is a recumbent golden ox before which hangs a jewelled canopy with precious fans on either side. *Several hundred Brahmanas* sit in rows facing each other on the eastern and western sides. The description leaves no room for doubt about the strong influence exerted by Indian culture in Ch'ih-t'u. Some sociological data are also provided by contemporary Chinese annals. Regarding the dress of the king and the people of Langkasuka in the first half of the sixth century A. D. we read therein: 'Men and women have the upper part of the body naked, their hair hangs loosely down and around their lower limbs they use only sarong of cotton. The king and the nobles moreover have a thin, flowered cloth for covering the upper part of their body (slendang); they wear a girdle of gold and golden rings in their ears. The scanty dress of the women sometimes reminds us of iconographic representation of female figures in India. in Temple sculpture and Ajanta frescoes and in other places. Further details are available in regard to the kingdom of Ch'ih-t'u where all persons pierced their ear lobes and cut their hair. Women gathered their hair at the nape of the neck and both men and women made clothes out of rose and plain coloured material.

"India contributed to the blossoming of a gay social life in some places of ancient Malaya. Wales has stated that the miniature damaru—drum found in a bronze casket recovered from the Bujang valley in W. Malaya, reveals a South Indian type. If Korah or Kalah lay on the West coast, as it seems to, then its people, according to the *New History of Tang Dynasty* (618-906), played a kind of guitar, a transversal flute, copper cymbals and iron drums. Some of these musical instruments were known in

India. Indian music received royal patronage in Ch'ih-t'u, a kingdom in the north-western part of Malaya. When the Chinese ambassadors came to the kingdom in A. D. 607, they were received in a gorgeous way and a hundred men and women sounded conches and drums', the same way as in ancient Indian courts. When the ambassadors sat, Indian music was played. During the ceremonial feast a few days later, maidens played music in rotation. In Same-bo-tsal which may refer to the Sumatran or Malayan part of the Srivijaya empire, the people had a small guitar and small drums; slaves from Pulu-Condore made music for them by trampling on the ground and singing. Many such examples can be provided from the bas-reliefs of Indian temple architecture.

* * *

"In Kedah and Province Wellesley in the western coast, Col. Low had discovered more than a century ago undoubted relics of a Hindu colony with ruins of temples...mutilated images etc. and several Sanskrit inscriptions dating from the fourth or fifth century A. D. A record of mahānavika Buddha-gupta of Raktamrttika tells us that he donated a votive tablet to his Buddhist istadevata, apparently on the successful completion of his journey.

* * *

The excavations of Wales have revealed basements of two stupas in the heart of Bujang valley. These have been referred to the fifth or sixth Century A. D. Wales excavated the foundations of ten saivite shrines from the neighbourhood and referred them to c. A. D. 550-750. The foundations of some of the Saivite temples of Kedah seem to have been built by Pallava immigrants, but in the West coast no surviving buildings of purely Pallava type, corresponding to the Pallava sculpture which has been found have hitherto been discovered, though Wales thought that he had found near to one of the Siva Temples, a miniature shrine-roof closely resembling the roof of a Pallavaratha.

Foreign Periodicals

Man Power Problems of Industrial Societies at War

Olive Anderson writing in the *Political Science Quarterly* of Columbia University, U. S. A. brings up the question of a new way of looking at man power problems by British in the 1850s, she has selected the Crimean war period for this purpose.

It is now a platitude that comprehensive manpower budgeting plays a vital role in the total war effort of any industrial society. Yet it was not until the Second World War that it was fully appreciated, even in Britain, the nation with by far the longest experience of the problems of an industrial economy geared to international trade. In the first World War bitter experience did indeed slowly compel its rudimentary enforcement, first with badges and leaving certificates for munitions workers, and finally with the prevention of those in essential occupations from enlisting for military service. Yet British ideas about the best way to meet the calls of war upon a country's manpower remained obstinately naive. Three or four generations earlier, however, in the 1854-56 war with Russia, the only European war Britain engaged in between 1815 and 1914, mid-Victorian Englishmen had already had their eyes forcibly opened to some of the novel problems which confront an industrial society at war, and a few had dimly begun to perceive their implications. In manpower, as in many other wartime concerns, the problems and expedients of twentieth-century Englishmen at war had mid-nineteenth-century antecedents of which they knew nothing and whose very existence they did not suspect. For British experiences during the Crimean War were

not simply forgotten, they were grotesquely distorted exceptionally quickly and thoroughly, and necessarily remained so as long as the Crimean War itself continued to be dismissed as the classic example of military inefficiency and futility.

In reality, unexpectedly brief and limited though it was, the Crimean War was no mere barren anti-climax. In the matter of man power, in particular, it demonstrated to many reflective men that the policies employed in earlier struggle had ceased to be either workable or desirable, partly because of the changing nature of war itself, but even more because of the demographic and economic changes which were so obviously transforming Britain in those years. Yet even the most open-minded could not agree upon the solutions to be put in their place. Moreover the sanctity the mid-victorian generation accord to economic processes meant that many of their successors' most useful devices necessarily reminded a closed book to them. In the event, manpower policies in the Crimean War remained an obstinate melange of old and new, with the old heavily predominating: some of the old policies were retained for novel reasons, and many of the new policies which were adopted were intended to solve old problems. The sudden advent of peace in the beginning of 1856 abruptly cut short the evolution of policies and comment alike. Nevertheless, even in official circles, the logic of changing circumstances had compelled decisions and discussions which deserve attention, and outside the limiting confines of the official mind, some strikingly perceptive evaluations of the new situation had been made.

Even to the most hidebound, the Crimean War very soon made it clear that the perennial problem of recruiting the army in time of war had taken not simply a more acute, but a genuinely novel form. Throughout the war a large gap yawned between the number of regular troops for which ministers had secured parliamentary sanction and the army's actual strength, while the militia was even more seriously below its full establishment.¹ Some such situation, however, had long been a familiar ingredient in British wartime experience. It was not this shortfall itself which was alarming, but its new demographic background. Since 1814 the number of British males at military age had approximately doubled. Nevertheless, in 1854 it was with difficulty that Britain maintained a force in the Crimea whose numbers amounted to barely half the number of British troops Wellington had under his command in 1814.² Why did a so much larger population prove incapable of readily furnishing a substantially smaller number of men for active service? This was the humiliating and disturbing paradox for which the Crimean generation was obliged to seek an explanation. Many of them, it goes without saying, found the solution simply in mistaken official policies. Their charges of government blunders and delays are all too familiar, and although some of them would never have been made if the government's objectives had been fully understood, many were entirely justified and indeed hardly severe enough. But the root of the manpower problems exposed in the Crimean War lay elsewhere—in the economic transformation of Britain—and it is striking how often and how thoughtfully this was recognized by contemporaries. All too

often official policy lagged behind informed contemporary opinion in drawing out the consequences of economic change. Yet it hardly follows that the ministers of the day deserve to be singled out for condemnation, despite the fact that for England the Crimean War was decidedly a politicians' and not generals' war. Few governments walk forward on their own initiative, and fewer still of those bold enough to disregard military advice and precedent in the midst of war are in any position to impose a policy distinguished for logic and coherence. Certainly the two British governments in office during the Crimean War were not. Thus, although educated English opinion was often remarkably perceptive and alerting in those years, it need not provoke great surprise that official manpower policies reveal a series of compromises scarcely less erratic than those of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars.

¹ Throughout the war the army was short of around twenty-five per cent of its establishment, as against a peacetime deficiency of about two per cent. Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1867, XV (*Reports*, I), (C, 3752), "Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the recruiting for the Army," Appendix E. P. 221. At one point (March 1855), the militia shrank to less than one-third of its establishment. Great Britain, *3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, CXXXVII (1855), 554. At the beginning of that inauspicious month, the army needed around ninety thousand men; by the end it had got 4,514. Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1854-55, IX, Part 3 (*Reports*, III, part 3), (247), "Fourth Report from the Select

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Committee on the Army before Sebastopol," Appendix 14, p. 351.

² This paradox is expounded in R. H. Patterson, "Our Rural Population and the War," *Blackwood's Magazine*, LXXVIII (1855), 734.

A Church Survey of China

The International Review of Missions of January 1968 published a survey of the position of the church missions in various parts of the world during 1966--67. The following excerpts are taken from the survey of North East Asia.

In late 1966 newly recruited teenage Red Guards moved about China and into major cities in thousands. They unconstitutionally attacked and defaced places of worship and everything reminiscent of the old bourgeois China, the West, or Russia. This included street names, art objects, customs, anything peripheral, luxurious, aesthetic or not directly related to Mao's thoughts.

Early reports that this was only a cynical succession struggle were mistaken. Mao is in trauma from repeated shocks: Khrushchev's destalinization, the Hungarian struggle, relaxation in Poland and Czechoslovakia, set-backs in Africa, Malaysia, Indonesia and, recently, in Burma and Hong Kong. Mao saw a new generation, including children of Party leaders, growing soft. He noted revisionist tendencies in his colleagues who had blocked his programmes of rapid communization, Great Leap Forward, etc. The infected Party had forced him out of supreme power. He had to go outside to use teenagers and the People's Liberation Army. It was deviationist, and contrary to his own theory, to pit the army against the Party.

Armies, like police forces, abhor disorder. The P.L.A. hesitated and became confused as the party hero attacked the Party and the Head of State, and as a war of posters began, accompanied by street fighting between new activist groups. The great contributions of the Party: efficient organization, clear chain of command, rigid unity, effective political education, engineering triumphs, might all be neglected. These had produced experts, bureaucrats, who longed to strengthen China and modernize her army and economy. Such interests led in Khrushchev's direction. Therefore, experts were repudiated, universities closed, respected Party leaders denounced, and Party organization disrupted.

The Chinese Church remains silent. No news of prominent Christians filters out, nor any reports of worship services in the closed churches. It is, however, too early to generalize. The situation is fluid. Of course the Christian movement lives, but faces its most serious crises.

Politicians and Generals of Russia

Roman Kolkowicz writing in *Problems of Communism* May-June 1968 gives a summary analysis of the clash of outlook between military professionals and Party politicians brought about by the new global factor of nuclear weapons. We are reproducing portions from his dissertation:

Carl von Clausewitz, the perennial touchstone of strategic writers, has had an overwhelming impact on generations of political and military leaders, shaping their concepts of politics and war. Among his numerous maxims, two must be reexamined within the context of the nuclear age: "War is a

continuation of politics by other means", and "War has its own grammar, but not its own logic." The former implies that war can serve as a rational instrument of politics; the latter reinforces that view, suggesting that the larger, strategic problems of war lie beyond the competence of military "grammarians" and should be handled by political decision-makers. In other words, war is a political process by military means, and its problems and concepts are not uniquely those of military specialists.

The vast destructive capacity of nuclear arms has by now persuaded almost all political and military leaders in the world to reject the idea that nuclear war can be considered a rational instrument of politics. But in the event that nuclear war does occur, could it also be argued that the terrible simplicity of massive strike and retaliation will be primarily a military responsibility rather than a political process? That is, has Clausewitz been overtaken by events?

In the Soviet Union, there is —understandably— widespread disagreement between politicians and generals as to the future role of the Soviet military in the development of strategic policy. Soviet politicians argue that their insistence on supreme control over nuclear decision-making is necessitated by a number of related factors: (a) the speed, global scope, and irrevocable destructiveness of certain hostile actions, (b) the potentially ominous consequences of minor actions in the context of a "delicate balance of terror," and (c) the close relationship between the economic, scientific, diplomatic, political, and strategic sectors of the state, which must be "orchestrated" by politicians, not generals. But the military argue that

the speed and irrevocability of nuclear war place certain basic limitations on policy choices and make them nearly automatic. In other words, in the nuclear age, policy choices are almost wholly dictated by the *technology* of war, which is the rightful province of the military. Nevertheless, the political leadership contends that on questions of strategic importance one is wise "not to trust the appraisals of generals."

There are good reasons for the Soviet Union's sensitivity regarding its defense problems and strategic policies. The regime is faced with the key task of establishing a desirable relationship between its foreign policy and military strategy and, in the final analysis, between the civilian policymaker and the military expert in its defence establishment. It is readily apparent that the Soviet Union has in recent years been experiencing the internal strains which accompany what one Communist writer has called the "process of professionalization of the officer corps, which generates certain difficulties and dangers." This "process of professionalization" refers to the difficulties involved in getting the armed forces to adapt their weapons, technology, and strategic concepts of nuclear war to the government's shifting policy objectives. Throughout this process there is the problem of retaining constant and complete control over a military organization with a technology so vastly complex that it largely defies the layman's understanding. While in recent years some Western armies have also undergone the strains of "professionalization," such strains represent a much more profound problem in the unique socio-political context of the Soviet state.

If we look back over the past two or three decades of Soviet strategy, it becomes apparent that military policy has lagged behind foreign policy. Since World War II, Soviet foreign policy has had a global scope and direction, while military policy has been cast—until recently—in a continental European mold. One can almost isolate three stages in the evolution of Soviet military policy over the decades, each one representing a partial closing of the gap between foreign policy objectives and military capabilities and strategies.

It is apparent, in retrospect, that Stalin, who invested sizable resources in the development of modern weapons, continued to view nuclear war in conventional terms. At the time of his death, however, it became clear to some Soviet political and military leaders that nuclear war would be qualitatively different from all previous warfare, although this new view was initially resisted by many orthodox military minds. Indeed, a number of studies indicate that "military professionals have a long record of resistance to technological change" and a "general and native suspicion of unanticipated change." Khrushchev overcame this military orthodoxy after he assumed power. He encouraged the military to "modernize" their technology and strategic concepts and to reject "obsolete fetishisms" regarding the conduct of modern war.

Khrushchev eventually went too far with his cuts in conventional forces. Or, to state it differently, he did not go far enough towards providing (in the face of mounting evidence that the West was discarding its "massive retaliation" policies) an adequate

counter-measure to deal with the shift in Western policy during the Kennedy era. As a consequence, while the West was coming into possession of a variety of forces and weapons and was assuming a posture of "flexible response," the Soviet Union under Khrushchev continued to ossify its strategic position, preparing only for nuclear war.

The Brezhnev-Kosygin regime fell heir to the problems and tensions created by Khrushchev's policies. First, the credibility of Soviet military capabilities had become severely undermined, and the danger arose that a "credibility gap" might embolden a potential opponent to challenge Soviet commitments and the resolve to act upon them. Second, Khrushchev's erratic and "harebrained" diplomatic behavior not only disturbed international politics but motivated the United States to undertake a large armament program. Third, his overcommitment to various objectives often proved detrimental to domestic planning, which at times became convulsed as a result of his impulsive grand designs. In contrast to Khrushchev's bombast, irresponsible claims, erratic political behavior, and confusing crash-planning, the new regime acted with sobriety and pragmatism, quietly building up Soviet strategic capabilities and thereby lending credibility to stated strategic objectives.

The new regime's policy formula was basically this: We are striving to make our diplomacy vigorous and active and at the same time to exhibit flexibility and caution." The USSR would be "opposing aggressive imperialist circles without allowing itself any saber-rattling or irresponsible talk." It would "soberly assess the situation" and consider "in a sober manner the possibilities

which we have," rather than "succumb to illusions." The regime's formula was therefore one of the prudence and restraint, based on continuing detente with the United States and on pragmatic, balanced economic planning at home. The new leadership took great pains to stress that "words and promises make it mandatory to act on them;" it rejected "certain forms of bragging and irresponsible promises that are greatly inconsistent with actual possibilities."

The new regime found support for its strategic policies among the Soviet population, in managerial and bureaucratic circles, and among its East European allies. These policies, however, generated growing dissatisfaction and dissent within the Soviet military establishment. At the centre of this disagreement between the party and the military has been conflicting assessment of the risks and opportunities arising from Soviet policies.

The generals maintain that the party's formal rejection of the political utility of nuclear war is senseless and dangerous for military morale; it negates certain basic ideological tenets, induces passivism, and undermines the rationale allocating greater resources and authority to the defense establishment. The military also contends that the capitalist world, "far from observing the rules of the game"—the necessary restraint of detente and deterrence—arrogantly uses its power, brags about its strategic superiority, and denigrates Soviet capabilities and the resolution to use them. Furthermore, the army asserts that the Soviet policy of "stability and prudence" serves the interests

of the West by providing it with ample opportunity to pursue "adventurist" policies in Asia, Latin America, and Africa.

In 65-66 the military launched a three-pronged campaign with the purpose of persuading the regime: (a) to continue high levels of investment in defense-oriented sectors of the economy, (b) to increase the manpower and firepower of conventional and strategic forces and (c) to increase the military's authority to plan, develop, and execute defense policies.

They cited Lenin to prove that even "the best army, one most loyal to the cause of the revolution, will be immediately routed by the enemy unless satisfactorily armed, supplied with necessities, and trained." They rejected the views of bourgeois theorists who "are trying to glorify the cult of the bomb, who are trying to prove that modern war has ceased to be continuation of politics and its instrument. They urged allocation priorities for the military since "he who does not learn to defeat the enemy in peacetime is doomed to defeat in war." They also argued that the "Soviet armed forces must be ready to guarantee the destruction of the enemy not only when nuclear weapons are used but also when only conventional weapons are used."

Without a doubt party leaders are confronted with one incontrovertible fact: the influence of super-power and the plausibility of its commitments are largely determined by the effectiveness of its military machine. And "defense intellectuals" in the Soviet Union have drawn their conclusion from that fact: nuclear war is too serious to be left entirely in the hands of politicians.

Editor—ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

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CHARACTER STUDY

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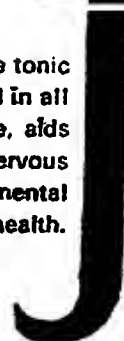
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BENGAL CHEMICAL

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FOUNDED BY RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

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NOTES

* MID-TERM ELECTIONS

Elections cost the nation substantially in money expenses. It should be mentioned that the expenses incurred by political parties and individual candidates probably run to higher figures than those of the expenses incurred by the government to organise and arrange the actual election. The expenditure of newspaper space and the money and energy spent by the voters and others interested in the elections will also total up to crores of rupees if properly valued. It may therefore be assumed that an election for setting up the central legislature or a state legislature is a major national economic effort and that the people of a country should be wise to acquire a clear and precise knowledge of what it would cost to carry out all the elections or any particular one, with a view to arrive at a fair understanding of the

profit and loss aspect of elections. The question naturally arises, whenever any efforts are made or expenses incurred, whether it is worth it to make the effort or spend the resources. We all know that the Central Government of India looks after the nation's affairs in various spheres some of which are quite important to the nation's existence and progress, while some others are of imaginary value or of little consequence. But as the nation's foreign relations, defence, commerce railways, posts, telegraphs and telephones, money, credit etc. require to be looked after in an organised manner; the Central Government has to be maintained according to some accepted principle or system. We have chosen to run it according to a Constitution which is of the representative, democratic type that is of a kind which requires that the elected representatives of the people will manage the government and the affairs

of the nation. The elections, therefore, as far as the Central Government is concerned, have to be organised and put through in order to satisfy the Constitution.

When we come to the States we see a different picture. The British gave political power to the Indian National Congress as representing the Indian nation in August 1947. The States had no statutory existence at that moment of attaining national freedom and the right to rule belonged to the nation as a whole from that point of time. When we talk about a federal union of States, we indulge in non-factual fancies. A federation would mean the pre-existence of the units which will form a federation by what will be tantamount to treaties. Where the units have no such statutory existence any union of units created by the will of the central body, is merely an expression of the sovereign rights exercised by the central body and NOT THAT OF ANY SOVEREIGNTY THAT BELONGED TO THE UNITS, historically or due to any reasons which engender the right to exist separately as a political entity. There may have been such rights existing in certain areas of India before the British made the whole of India their overseas possession. But after that was done the divisions created by the British for administrative purposes were carried out by their will and they had changed these divisions as and when they had liked. The various provinces, as set up by the Indian Government after independence, were also created by the will of the Central Government and not by any other means. As the provinces are they do not represent any historical, racial, cultural or other recognisable social-anthropological, political entities or rights. The Constitution

made by the Congress party grants certain rights to certain areas and zones called States by the makers of the divisions. One can easily see that these rights have been given and made use of by the States, that is by the people who managed the States, in a manner which has a flavour of gainful possession of powers, rather than of having any special sovereign rights. The States are really administrative zones and not any autonomous units as one finds in the United States of America or the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. One may even say that the Indian Government split up India into so many States in order to divide the gains of governmental power among the various Pradesh Congress Committees.

The political power of the States, therefore, are of the kind that MANSABDARS used to have under the Great Moghuls. The powers gave them advantages which had no fundamental significance in point of sovereign rights. The States could not change the pattern of life of the peoples of the States. So, when the States Governments had any ideological differences with their masters, the Central Government, the expression of such differences acquired the characteristics of the propaganda of street corner revolutions and the State Governments lost their dignity of position. The various minor political parties, which had no basically significant ideology, lost interest in following any program of work, as no such programs meant anything to anyone. The various crossing of floors merely indicated the fluidity or absence of real political ideals and the party system of democracy failed. In such circumstances, when governments fell, mid-term elections

were not considered to be any remedy for the basic faults developed by the politics of the States. The mid-term election will cost a lot of money and the indirect losses will also be considerable. The probable gain may be a reinstitution of certain coalition governments none of which will or can do any good to the people of the state. The government that is now functioning is doing its work quite well. If a coalition of leftists replace it, the chances of unreal revolutions in street corners, factories, offices and other places where productive work is done, will increase. The public will gain nothing by institution of such a coalition in power. If the Congress comes back to power, directly or through a Congress led coalition, its leadership in West Bengal is not such as would guarantee good government and freedom from corrupt and anti-social practices. In the circumstances, we have failed to see the advantages of a mid-term election. If it is necessary for reinstating any sovereign rights that the people of West Bengal have lost due to President's Rule in the State, we must point out that such an assumption is fundamentally wrong. The States have no separate sovereignty and President's Rule is as democratic as the partial rule over a state by an elected majority can be. The formation of fictitious coalitions further makes a farce of the Party System of democratic government.

EXPORT OF TEA

Studying facts relating to the Port of Calcutta we find that during the period 1961-65 (four years) the numbers of ships entering the Port were 1806, 1821, 1828 and 1807 per annum. The gross tonnage was 12 million tons approximately every year. The

export figures had also been more or less steady, though the values showed differences probably due to devaluation of the Rupee. The tonnage of imports were 4.8, 5.4, 6.0 and 6.0 million tons which shows a progressive increase. The exports were 4.4, 4.7, 4.91 and 4.98 million tons which also show a steady increase during those four years. Coming to exports of tea about which there have been rumours of a falling off we find that during the years 1962-66 (four years) the value of the exports of tea from India were 122 crs., 123 crs., 124 crs., and 114 crs. We find no reason why this fall occurred in the year 1965-66 unless devaluation or a general fall in tea prices abroad could have been the reason. Comparing export figures of tea from Ceylon we find that country exported tea worth 114 crs. annually during the whole period 1962-66, without any marked changes. Ceylon being the only other large tea exporter, if India had lost any exports to any competitor, Ceylon should have been the gainer and the Ceylon earnings by extra exports of tea would have shown an increase. As there had been no such increase, the assumption would be that India continued to export the same quantities of tea—only at a lower price.

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT WORKERS STRIKE

On a certain day in September the Central Government Workers in the Posts and Telegraphs, Telephones, Railways and may be certain other departments too will go on strike with a view to force the government to accede to their demands. We have not had any opportunity to study these demands and we are therefore not in a position to judge how reasonable these are. But we can

always arrive at an estimate of the legitimacy of demands by studying the character and the performance of the persons making the demand in their particular spheres of work. We know that the Posts and Telegraphs, Telephones and Railways Workers do not do their work at all in a spirit of undertaking a serious responsibility. Letters posted are seldom delivered on time or at the correct address. Telegrams follow the same rule and quite often a telegram arrives later than a posted letter. Incorrect transmission of message is not uncommon. Some people say that moneyorders are not sent to the payees in time and often take a long time to reach their destination for the reason that the monies handed over at the post offices remain available for use in other ways while the poor payees count the days for the arrival of their moneyorders. We should not discuss telephones for the reason that being the world's worst telephonic system (?) the Indian telephones have acquired an infamy which they may not like to lose. The telephone users have no love for the telephone workers and would shed no tears if these workers suffered starvation or any other form of deprivation. About the Indian Railways, the less one says the better. The persons, who by their negligence, mishandling of railway apparatus and deliberate failure to carry out maintenance work properly, cause hundreds of accidents and breakdowns annually, cannot be looked upon sympathetically by their victims or their friends and relations. We notice that persons responsible for major accidents are also not punished nor even dismissed from service. In the circumstances, the public have to

do something to safeguard their own interests. This can be done by demanding the dismissal of ALL RAILWAY EMPLOYEES of particular zones, unless the actual guilty persons are handed over for prosecution by their fellow workers.

The general idea is that all Central Government employees are employed at the cost of the public. They do not do their work in a responsible manner; rather, they are inclined to abuse their power. In the circumstances, the public cannot look after their wellbeing when they know that these workers are not at all interested in the welfare of the people of the country. India should start from scratch by dissolving all her public establishments and by remauning them anew. The proposed general strike of Central Government employees will be a good occasion to carry out such a scheme. The Government can remove all employees from service if they donot wish to carry out orders faithfully and wholeheartedly. New men can be recruited and made to work according to international standards of work schedules. If they do more and better work, they can also earn much higher wages.

HELP THE FLOOD VICTIMS

Our leftists as well as our rightists are both agreed that persons who fall victims to natural calamities should be helped individually as well as nationally. That is to say, all persons who can render assistance to the people who have lost their homes as well as their possessions on account of the recent floods should help them immediately. The State should also render assistance by supplying food, clothing, housing and employment.

As far as we know the state is rendering assistance to the best of its ability. The Governor of West Bengal, Sri Dharamvira, is tireless in his activities to help the flood victims back to a normal state of existence. Individuals too are giving donations and many private organisations are also opening relief centres. But we have not noticed any move to give a little out of all Puja Bonus receipts to flood victims. Nor have there been any moves to cut down Puja expenses with a view to collect funds for the same purpose. We hope the numerous public pujas this year will set aside some part of their receipts for the relief of those who have lost everything due to the floods. That will be a truly ethical gesture in keeping with the ideals of Durga Puja.

PRIME MINISTER TOURS SOUTH-AMERICA

Our Prime Minister has gone on a tour of South America. With prospects of a general strike of Central Government employees in the offing, the attractions or importance of the South-American tour must have been very powerful and all embracing to make her move out of India at such a critical juncture. Usually all such visits have a cultural purpose. Though borrowing money also plays a part in such programmes. Brazil or Argentina have cultures of their own uniqueness, but we cannot imagine why Sm. Indira should suddenly want to create a synthesis of the two cultures of Iberian-America and India. As far as South-America gives us something of the ancient Mayans, Aztecs and other races with fairly developed civilisations, the cultural approach may produce something worth the

trouble taken. The Iberian, that is the Portuguese and Spanish elements in the modern civilization of the South American countries together with what the United States of America have contributed to it, may not be so very rich from a cultural point of view. But, one cannot suffer any loss by a cultural contact with South America. Moreover such contacts may yield other economic results later on.

Both Brazil and Argentina, these being the most important countries of South America, have very large areas with a limited population. Brazil is more than twice the size of India with a population of about 70 millions. Argentina is smaller in area than India but with a population of only 22 millions it can accommodate immigrants in large numbers. If Mrs. Gandhi can arrange to send some Indian settlers to these countries, she will have done something which will reduce the pressure of population in this country. India has every type of worker for which there is a place in Brazil and Argentina. Those countries have very substantial export balances of trade in their favour and wage rates are quite high. In the circumstances some Indian settlers can be accommodated in those countries to the advantage of all parties. Now that Burma and Ceylon are trying to get rid of persons of Indian origin, fresh outlets will be of great use to us. Our population also is increasing fast and that also will require some safety valve. We do not know whether Mrs. Gandhi has gone to South America with any ideas of organising migration of Indians to that part of the World. If she has, she has made a good choice.

CAN HINDI BE A GOOD MEDIUM OF EDUCATION ?

We have been told time and again that Hindi will be, must be and should be our state language. That was the idea of the framers of India's Constitution. An Official Language was required for the whole of India and Hindi was chosen to be that. Arising out of this privilege that was granted to Hindi for no very good reason, the Hindi propagators began to arrogate other extraordinary privileges to Hindi. They said Hindi must be made the NATIONAL Language, the Link Language, the Common Medium of instruction for higher education for the whole of India and so on and so forth. The latest was an uproarious demand for "Angrezi Hatao", remove English and put Hindi firmly in the gap that will be created by the removal of English. The removal of English would create a very wide gap indeed and Hindi could not possibly fill even one tenth of that gap. How do we come to that conclusion ? Count the number of English books on various subjects that exist and count those that are written in Hindi. The result will be, perhaps, Hindi 1 to English 1000. Then count the number of persons who can teach various subjects with English as the medium of instruction and thereafter count those who can teach in Hindi. No teachers will perhaps be found for numerous subjects as far as Hindi goes. The absolute number again will be 1 : 1000 against Hindi.

We may thereafter proceed to count the journals that are published in English and those that are in Hindi. The result will cause discomfiture to Hindiphils. As to

being a language for interprovincial communications we have to find out who desire to communicate with whom and for what purpose. Where the purpose is trade, conducting law cases, making enquiries for a state purpose or similar things, the use of Hindi will be limited. For, the persons who will be involved in such communications will be by and large of the English knowing class and would prefer to use English. Persons who know English and an Indian language vastly outnumber those who know Hindi and another Indian language. As a matter of fact the total number of English educated persons in India outnumber those who are Hindi educated in a substantial manner. In the Hindi speaking areas a very low percentage of the students go in for higher education whereas in the non-Hindi speaking areas higher education is much more wide spread. As a result, the use of Hindi for interprovincial communications would be very limited. Further, the provinces which adjoin each other usually make use of each others language quite easily. Thus Tamils, Telegus and Malayalam speakers will never use Hindi for intercommunication. Nor will Maharastrians and Gujratis or Bengalis and Oriyas or Assamese. In the tribal areas the use of English is quite common. Hindi therefore will have little use as a link language or as a medium of higher education.

INVASION AND THEREAFTER IN PRAGUE

When the Russian tanks rolled into the streets of Prague the Russian political leaders thought that orthodox Communist forces in Czechoslovakia would rise and demand the removal of Svoboda and Dubcek

and thus enable them to set up a Moscow nominated puppet government. But it did not work out that way. No Pro-Russian hard core Communists took advantage of the presence of Russian Tanks and went forward to set up an old style Communist Government in Czechoslovakia. The Russians waited. The Czech leaders were sent to Moscow to discuss matters with the Russians and to discover what they should do in order to be in line with the supreme command of Communism. They came back but neither they nor anybody else dared start a return to orthodoxy. Rather they discussed possibilities of reviving the reforms that had been planned right in the beginning. The Russians too felt at a loss at these peculiar developments. Should they start using force and dissolve the leadership of the Czech people? Would it not be a bit of a farce to wait for natural developments for such a long time and then start oppressive moves unilaterally? The leaders in the Kremlin too were divided in their opinion regarding possible moves on their part to control things in Czechoslovakia. The "Treat them rough" group had missed their bus. What can they do; and how? Things had gone wrong all along the line. There is no easy way out of the ideological deadlock. The Tanks are there, but then what? One might like to think that the Czechoslovak incident is a matter purely resting between Russia and her supporters, and Czechoslovakia which is a communist country desiring to give communism a new look. But in fact, one has to remember that it was East Germany which started the propaganda against the Czech leaders. Whether the East German fears were based on facts of NATO

plans of aggression cannot be ascertained now for the reason that NATO preparations at the present moments are the result of the Warsaw pact invasion of Czechoslovakia. For all we know, the Czechoslovakian reforms, if allowed to grow unchecked and unchallenged, could have led to other revolutionary reforms in other communist countries too. This might have set in motion small revolutions here and there and enabled West Germany to become more than a mere military power in Europe. This is a possibility; that other European countries, particularly East Germany, does not view with favour. The Russian Tanks therefore did not only announce an intention to contain reforming zeal within narrower limits, but it also gave a warning to would be reformers and revolution mongers in other adjoining territories. The NATO powers also realised that the map of Europe will not change through domestic reforms in the Iron Curtain countries. The live and let live policy that was growing between the West and East in Europe suddenly threw into prominence certain political tendencies which had grave potentialities in them. Democracies of the West had no divine rights as against the total rationality of communism. Both could claim the right to maintain their individual peculiarities. Insidiousness of approach in ideological infiltration is possible and is naturally resented by the victims. In such circumstances, the reprojction of opposing ideas with warlike gestures makes things clean and straight forward.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

One of the things that lovers of Socialism always hanker after is nationalisation of

economic institutions and industries. They forget however that national ownership does not mean ownership for the workers. The employees of nationally owned institutions do not become just employees any less than they would be in privately owned establishments. That is why the cry for expanding the Public Sector is raised more often by the politicians than by the workers. For the workers feel that their rights are not fully granted to them in the Public Sector as they are not in the Private Sector. Quite often the state as an employer proves to be more exacting, inconsiderate and unjust than the private owners who are not in a position of power compared to the state. Laws and ordinances can be passed by the state to suit their policy, the police and the army are always at their beck and call and the machinery for publicity at their disposal are extensive and formidable. In the circumstances the employees of state departments or state owned establishments are always at a disadvantage when they protest against the terms and conditions of their services. In olden days when Monarchies imposed monopolies on their kingdoms and set up Royal Factories, the employees of the kings had very little of royal privileges. Today when the National Factories and productive departments employ millions of workers, the privileges granted to employees are equally limited. Employer-employee relations are seldom sweet where the state is the employer.

The Labour Government of Great Britain have not shown any noticeable tendency to abolish private industry and replace them by publicly owned establishments. The Select Committee on Nationalised Industries of Britain has now produced a report which examines in a realistic manner the organisation and operation of Public Sector industries of that country. The fact that those industries are a jumble of separate corporations managed by different state departments without any common policy, spirit of coordination and eagerness for mutual help; has stood in the way of their efficient management and expansion. The various ministers who are in charge of the departments which run the nationally owned establishments are often at cross purposes in the matter of policy or methods of management. This leads often to delegation of an industry or a particular establishment to a most neglected and least favoured position. No one has, as yet, found a remedy for this sort of mismanagement of establishments of vital interest to the nation. The idea that a single minister of nationalised industries will be better than separate ones for railways and transport, irrigation and power generation, roads and buildings etc. etc. has been considered. But no solution has been arrived at yet. In Socialist Countries Centralisation has been discarded in favour of decentralisation in many cases. The matter therefore is not quite so simple as one would like it to be.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION ADDRESS 1968

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

To be asked by one's *Alma Mater* with which one has been connected for over sixty years, first as Student and then as Teacher and finally as Emeritus Professor, to deliver its Annual Convocation Address, is indeed the highest honour that can come to an alumnus from his University. This honour has finally come to me, towards the end of my career, from my *Alma Mater* to which I owe so much in my life, and in my intellectual, moral, cultural and spiritual being. I feel very grateful for it to the Vice-Chancellor and the Authorities of my University.

* * * *

Intellectually agnostic, and emotionally mystic, with regard to matters which are beyond physical reach, I have to admit that I have not been able to arrive at my firm or positive religious conviction or realisation. Yet I cannot help having a wistfulness for an Ultimate reality, an Unseen Truth, which is the **Ekam Sat**, the One Single Whole or Entity, and which is also both transcendent over and immanent within all Existence. And for this One Single Entity, there is within us a vague or a persistent yearning. Deeply and seriously pondering over it, with the Macrocosm going beyond billions and billions of light-years, and the world of the Microcosm that is Man with his physical and hyper-physical being, we are lost in a maze of wonder and bafflement, which cannot be detached from an inexplicable longing. We seem to experience, in the words of Albert Einstein, a sort of "Cosmic Religious Feeling", of "rapturous amazement" at its "Harmony" and at its "Intelligence", which become abundantly clear even to our very limited perception. This Single Entity—this **Sat**—comprising all existence, has been declared by the thinkers of India to be also **Cit** or **Prajna'na**, Complete Knowledge, and **A'nanda**

and **Rasa**, Supreme Bliss and Supreme Charm and Rapture. We aspire to approach it through **Jna'na**, Cultivation of the Intellect ; we yearn to abandon ourselves to it through **Bhakti**, Absolute Faith ; and we try to prepare ourselves for this aspiration, and this yearning, through **Karma**, Incessant Activity. We are all of us, animate, or inanimate, one with this **One**, although in our physical existence we are separate and limited in our individuality.

On all solemn and serious occasions, it will only be proper first to think of this Unity, this Ultimate Reality, the "Divinity that shapes our ends", so that our thoughts may be properly guided and our resolutions be formed with intent to bring good to all :

**tat savitur varen'iam bhargo devasya
dhi'mahi ;
dhiyo yo nah pra codaya't**

"We meditate upon the adorable glory of the Effulgent Creator :

May He guide our thoughts" ;
and,

tan me manas' s'iva-sankalpam astu
"May the Mind of mine be inspired by good Resolutions."

* * *

The most effective and most powerful agent in the modern world, in India as in other civilised countries, for the proper guidance of our thought and resolution, our endeavour and action, has been the University, working through the schools and colleges, and in itself as a centre of the highest learning. The modern University in India, bringing to us the learning and culture, the humanities and the sciences of Europe, has been one of the greatest gifts of the age. India was great in her civilisation and culture a thousand, two thousand or three thousand years ago, when she kept abreast of all the

civilised nations of the times. But for the last few hundred years, there started a stagnation in her intellectual life, she fell into the background and cut herself off from the progress which was manifesting elsewhere, particularly in Europe. The English came to India at the turn of the 17th century to make money by trade, seeking to emulate in this other European peoples like the Portuguese, the Dutch and the French, besides the Arabs and the Persians and the others. India became the happy hunting ground for all these foreign seekers of pelf who as fortune-hunters came "to shake the pagoda-tree". Want of knowledge and purposefulness, and with it the loss of efficiency in running the affairs of the country for the benefit of the people, brought in a state of chaos which made Indians as an entire people to lose both their nerve and their morale, and fall off from the high standard of their national ethos and mental calibre. After half a century of struggle and conflict, with the Portuguese (already receding in the background in India) and the French, the English, became masters of the field, and were able to remove or suppress most of the ruling houses in India (excepting the Marathas and the Sikhs) by 1800 A.D. "The measuring yard and the weighing scales of the merchant and shipper were transformed into the sword and the sceptre of the conqueror and ruler." India became a vassal and a subject of England, to be exploited and domineered over by the latter. Her degradation was complete, more so when she became incapable of understanding her past greatness in its world context, and lay grovelling mentally and spiritually (except in the case of some rare souls who did not lose their mental alertness), in what was nothing but rank medievalism and blind superstition. These were dragging her down so that she seemed to have no chance to raise herself up again.

These forces of medievalism and superstition

and obscurantism are not yet dead, and they are raising their ugly heads once again, to destroy the work of two centuries of intellectual and spiritual emancipation through both modernism and enlightened conservatism as brought to India by the University. Combined with a false patriotism linked up with self-interest, and with an utter lack of realism, these forces are now becoming more and more formidable and more and more violent, and they are putting our Universities in a desperate situation as upholders of national knowledge and wisdom, national discipline and integrity, and national ethos and morale. And the callousness of ignorance and immorality, injustice and cruelty of some of the powerful protagonists of Party Politics of all sorts have come, to join these evil forces in their work of disintegration and destruction.

* * *

Some years ago, after our Independence, it was declared by an Indian Administrator of high position, who was a staunch Congressman from Panjab, that "the only silver lining to the dark cloud of English rule over India was the English language". The acceptance of the English language spontaneously and willingly by the Indians in their educational set up, to further their political and cultural interests throughout the entire sub-continent, was fraught with far-reaching consequences,

The English language in the first instance was not forced upon us by the British. The first educational institutions they started for Indians, in Calcutta and Banaras between 1748 and 1824, were to teach Persian (and with it Arabic) and Sanskrit. It was through the initiative of a number of Indian gentlemen that the *Hindu College*, for teaching the English language and to give a modern type of schooling to Indian boys, was established in Calcutta in 1817. The founders of the *Hindu College* were actuated by a desire to bring English or European learning to India, and to partici-

pate in external trade, access to which was opened by the British who however kept it largely confined to themselves. The English contact brought news of a wider world to the Indian intelligentsia. Moreover, it had already created a great intellectual hunger among intelligent Indians, the like of which was never experienced before by them. English schools were also opened in Bombay and Madras, which with those in Calcutta became foci for the new light to spread all over the country. These English schools brought in an intellectual ferment, and ushered in an unprecedented ideological Renaissance among Indians. They formed also the nuclei of the three Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, which were later established by the Government of the East India Company in 1857, after the Company had become the sole ruling and controlling power in India and started some measures for the welfare and progress of the people. A new epoch in the intellectual advancement of India was brought in by the foundation of the Universities. This enabled Indians take their stand before other peoples as members of a progressive Humanity with their minds modernised and advanced and able to have intelligent participation in the development of the Humanities and of Science and Technology, for the benefit of India as well as all Mankind.

* * *

The Universities in India brought in through the English language what has been called *Yoga* or "Addition", i. e. Introduction of New things of Value which we never had before, in Humanism and Science and Technology, and in Political and Democratic Ideas. By including our Classical Languages in our school and college curricula, languages like Sanskrit and Persian, Greek, Latin, and Arabic, among compulsory subjects which all students had to study for at least six years (in the old Entrance or Matriculation as well as First Arts or Intermediate courses which were in vogue for over hundred years all over India),

the Indian Universities also helped to maintain in Indian education *Kshema* or Conservation of Things of Value in our own Culture which have a meaning not only for ourselves but also for all Mankind. Through a judicious balancing of *Yoga* and *Kshema*, a hundred years of University training in India brought an immense benefit to our country and we cannot think of anything better in this matter. We took up Western Learning, which is Modern Learning, and did not lose our soul. A solid basis was laid to our education through the medium of the mother tongue in the primary stage and through English in the higher secondary and college stages, together with Sanskrit as a very necessary discipline. Then we turned our attention to our modern languages. These could soar only with the two wings of English and Sanskrit. It was through English education, largely with the help of the Universities and also through contact with English, that we could have a remarkable galaxy of men as Leaders of Indian Thought and Education, in the the Humanities and the Sciences as well as in Politics and the Affairs of Life, like Ram Mohun Roy, Radha Kanta Dev, Ram Comul Sen, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Bankim Chandra Chatterji, Rangalal Banerji, Bal Gangadhar Jambhekar, Vishnusastri Krishna Chiplunkar, Govardhandas Tripathi, Mahadev Govind Ranade, Kashinath Trimbak Telang, Haraprasad Sastri, Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, S. Kuppaswami Sastri, Satyendranath Tagore, Rabindranath Tagore, Swami Vivekananda, Kasturi Ranga Ayyangar, Jagadish Chandra Bose, Praphulla Chandra Ray, Kandukuri Viresalingam Pantulu, Gidugu V. Ramamurti Pantulu, Hrish Chunder Mookerjee, Michael Madhusudan Dutt, Bhudev Mukherji, Girish Chandra Bose, Anundoram Barooah, Kristodas Pal, Rajnarayan Bose, Romesh Chunder Dutt, Keshub Chunder Sen, Bipin Chandra Pal, Sir Syed Ahmed, Syed Ameer Ali, Badruddin Tyabji, Dadabhai Naoroji, Surendranath

Banerji, Sri Aurobindo, Swami Rama Tirtha, N. G. Chandavarkar, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Gooroodass Banerjee, Ramendra Sundar Trivedi, Ramananda Chatterjee, Pramatha Chandhuri, Lakshminath Bezbarua, Hirendra Nath Datta, Asutosh Mookerjee, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Chittaranjan Das, Motilal Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose, Jawaharlal Nehru, Radhanath Ray, Phakir mohan Senapati, Madhusudan Rao, Bhai Puran Singh, S. Ramanujan, K. S. Krishnan, Birbal Sahni, Meghnad Saha, and living personalities like Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, Chandrasekhara Venkata Raman, Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, Zakir Husain, and quite a number of others too numerous to mention. Most of the above men, great in European Learning, and in Science in some cases, were also Protagonists and Interpreters of Indian culture and Indian aspirations. Indian patriotism and Indian nationalism. They grew all the stronger with English. English also braced us up in our struggle for freedom, and also in our general ardour for parliamentary democracy with a socialistic ideal.

Our Universities are a great legacy in Indian life as it developed during the last one hundred years before our Independence. They served the people of India nobly and most efficiently, circumstances being what they were, although there are unthinking critics who do not know what they want. Some of the astute politicians in the British Government in India made overt and covert attempts to force the Indian Universities to become subservient to the Government policy of "keeping Indians in their place", but they failed. The Universities helped in the real "Advancement of Learning", while retaining our basic national cultural values. We can all feel proud of our Universities : our *Alma-Maters* have nursed their children well.

* * * *

"Let Knowledge grow from more" to

more : but this aspiration and prayer are not being fulfilled after our Independence. In a Free India, our education and intellectual advance should have progressed in all directions, and with great strides. But the reverse is being noticed everywhere, and deplored by every sincere and responsible lover of his people, who has India's intellectual advance and the welfare of her students as future citizens close to his heart.

It is true that in the physical sciences, in higher studies and in fundamental research, and in the field of the humanities in its higher reaches, our best students have still been maintaining their place. But there is a woeful fall off in intellectual standard and in seriousness of study which is causing the greatest apprehension and alarm. The average is considerably below par, compared with our own studentdom twenty-five years ago, and even considerably lower when we compare with the advanced countries of the West. I need not dwell upon this sad story : but from my own experience of a large section of our college students, I can only hang down my head in shame as an educationist for more than half a century when I hear it said with unconcealed contempt, that large percentage of our Indian college students now are semi-illiterate, and have in many matters an uneducated and a primitive mentality.

I shall not blame our young men wholly for this. It is not their fault. They have been pushed by circumstances into this almost hopeless situation they now find themselves in. There is no proper education, through reckless and persistent experimentation upon them by faddists with "progressive" ideas ; and there is merciless and criminal exploitation of students by political parties for their sordid party interests, deliberately misleading the unfortunate frustrated students with catchy slogans and half-truths. No political party is free from this. Moreover, party politics of another anti-national type, with an eye only

on the pecuniary and other advantages of a particular section of the people, is bringing in all sorts of complications which are the negation of a sound and rational system of education.

Serious and sincere people are everywhere suggesting remedies, so that the present desperate situation may be changed to something normal and healthy. We find no lack of conferences and commissions and committees giving their advice for rehauling the present educational set-up, which is looked upon as one of the reasons of the present debacle, and which nobody seems to like. We have plenty of sage advice to do away with "Student Unrest", both blaming the students and exonerating them, and, above all, blaming the system. But to my mind, as one who has been closely within it for over half a century as a teacher and researcher and guide for research, and some twenty years as a close observer of the public scene in India in education and in politics, we have all shirked to face the fundamental issues--tinkering at the problem from the edges, leaving the vicious core to flourish and to bring to nought all attempts at improvement. There are economic and political issues which are also involved, and social injustices and interprovincial jealousies and exploitations which continue to work their evil below the surface.

At my age approaching eighty, I should freely speak out my mind, in all humility, for the serious consideration of those who are responsible for guiding the affairs of the nation, so that our boys and girls and our young men and women at school and college may get easily the best benefits of education. Our education is now controlled by a democratic state working for the welfare of the entire people and for the unfettered development of thought and action. As in other advanced countries, multi-lingual and multi-racial and multi-religious like our own, we should have a rational and realistic system, without the

imposition of any particular policy which will be educationally unsound.

Two things have been basically responsible for the present state of things. These are—

(1) Irresponsible and unrestricted Experimentation, by theorists (and by some busy-body "reformers") in seeking to bring in new ideas and to rehaul the old system and reshape it into something new, in our Education. Immediate and impatient application of these ideas succeeded in dislocating our current system of education; and when complications and difficulties set in, there were futile attempts at fresh "reforms" which made matters worse. But it is a hopeful sign that some of our educational magnets are thinking of going back to something like the old system once again.

(2) Intrusion of Party Politics in our Education. This completed the debacle started by indiscriminate alteration in courses and curricula, in dates and age-limits for school and college. Our unthinking yet enthusiastic adolescents and young people are being affiliated to political parties promising Utopia to all and sundry. Being quite unscrupulous in their methods, these politicians with their special vested interests and affiliations are hastening intellectual and frequently moral ruin. Most of these politicians use students for election campaigns, and condone every kind of unseemly behaviour to get their support.

Apart from drawing students to a very sordid game of politics by political leaders, there is a progressive lowering of standards through subjects of study and curricula, particularly in the matter of language, being forced upon students through Governmental agencies. Excessive burden of a large number of subjects, with a huge number of prescribed texts which must all be read for examination purposes, is making our education a severe strain upon boys and girls of a tender age. Both these should be rectified, and I

shall confine myself only to giving my suggestions in this connexion for what they are worth.

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"The old order changeth yielding place to new". But we should think of changing only when we find that the old is unworkable. The old curricula-cum-programme for primary secondary and university education which was in vogue for over a hundred years, and which was substantially uniform for the whole of India through all our Universities, old and new, was a tried one, and had proved to be a good one at that, as good as the education system obtaining in most civilised countries. This was the system we had to build upon after Independence, but we should not have been in a hurry to change that. This should have been allowed to continue, and we ought to have paid greater attention to the Spread of Literacy through Primary Education and its strengthening through Secondary Education. But after we had decided in Delhi to have something new, the system was sought to be changed, quite unnecessarily. I should say, although with a formal approval of some of the States. And the result was chaos, haphazard and inefficient teaching, and untold hardship upon teachers and students for these last decades.

We hear that it is now being considered whether one single system in all its niceties of detail can be imposed upon the entire country. In other words, whether the educational system will be wholly centralised, and run from Delhi. We should seriously consider whether this will be good for Education all over the country. Each State or linguistic area has its own special problems which cannot be properly understood or adequately tackled by theorists at the Centre. Education in its general outlines should be of a pan-India type. But details, e. g. regarding courses and curricula, should be left entirely to the State Educational Departments. Our National

Ideal is of Unity in the midst of Variety. You can't put souls in the same uniform: nor can you shave all heads with one single razor (and a blunt one at that) — to quote two wise observations, one by a Philosopher, the other by the People in a proverb. Already strong protests against this proposed measure are coming out, in Bengal and elsewhere; and there should not be another retrograde measure, in the name of "Uniformity" and "Centralisation", in our Education.

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I. I would suggest this: No more futile experimentation at the expense of the students. Let us now drop false pride and shame, take courage in both hands, and restore the old system, or something like it. A number of responsible educationists are also seriously thinking of a come-back to the old position. I would suggest an organisation along following lines:

- (1) Four or Five Years of Primary Schooling—age 5 to 8 or 9;
- (2) Eight or Seven Years of Secondary Schooling—age 9 or 10 to 16;
- (3) Four Years at College—2 for the Preliminary or Intermediate stage and 2 more for the Graduate or Degree stage;
- (4) Two more years, or one year, for the M.A. degree.
- (5) Research Studies, according to convenience, after M. A. or M. Sc.

This will be as before a simple and clear-cut programme, without ambiguity, and both the teachers and the taught will not have any difficulty and worry. The curricula, subjects and text-books, and examinations for each stage will be fixed with complete reference to educational needs and efficiency, and not to any political *parti-pris*.

II. The question of **Language** has now become the most exasperating thing in our Education, and it has already led India to

Disintegration. Everyone now is for the mother-tongue in our education to as high a stage as possible. But mother-tongue does not mean the eschewing of English. We are loud in our lip-service to English and Sanskrit, and we are forcing a curriculum which has virtually tabooed Sanskrit, and is neglecting English with a view to driving it out as quickly as possible. English **MUST** remain as a compulsory language in our Secondary Schools. If we look at what is happening now, and do not go in for specious arguing, we will have to admit that not only has English established its permanent position in our intellectual and cultural, and even in our ordinary day-to-day life, but that its influence is growing greater and greater every day. As a free people, requiring to maintain our pre-eminent place before all the nations of the world, English is a much greater necessity than before.

The matter of enforcing of Hindi which is being attempted by the Central Government not only through its Education Ministry but through all other Ministries, sometimes openly but mostly insidiously, has to be re-thought by our ruling authorities. They should think about the good and the convenience as well as about the sentiments and feelings of all non-Hindi speaking peoples, and should not be blind to these, thinking only of Hindi-speaking people and their demands. They cannot afford to overlook the great fact that **Compulsory Hindi in non-Hindi areas is bringing in quite a Confusion and Disruption in our Education and Disintegration in our Political Life.**

In 1956, as a Member of the Official Language Commission I placed my *Note of Dissent* in the Commission's Report, and I gave an expression to my serious misgivings, which unfortunately are now proving more than correct after 12 years. My arguments for retaining English and against Compulsory Hindi for non-Hindi peoples, I venture to assert, have remained unanswered. In reply,

there is only re-iteration of a vapid sentimentalizing about a "Rashtra-bhasha", and a most primitive type of contempt for English as being a foreign language, while using English an still more English in all the walks of life.

I also gave at the end of my *Note* some clearly expressed views of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and his misgivings at the eagerness displayed by some to remove English from the Indian scene and to put Hindi in its place within the shortest period possible.

English still is the current and effective common Language for the Intelligentsia, and it is the Intelligentsia which gives the lead to a nation in a democratic state. I would humbly request our Central Government not to help to destroy something good and useful and valuable in our national life, out of deference to mere sentiment and the supposed interests of a small group of people who just happen to be speaking or using Hindi and whose contribution to the sum-total of India's intellectual and scientific advancement in recent centuries has been of the most meagre kind.

In 1937 Rabindranath Tagore gave his Convocation Address before the University of Calcutta in Bengali—the first occasion when an Indian language, the speech of by far the largest number of students in the University, was given a place of honour like this in India. What he said about the role English in our Universities for stimulating education and culture, even when the mother-tongue has been established in the University as a language of instruction and examination as much as English, deserves repeating on the present occasion :

এ প্রসঙ্গে এ কথা স্বীকার করা চাই যে, আমাদের বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ে ইংরেজি ভাষার সম্মানের আসন বিচলিত হ'তে পারবে না। তার কারণ এ নয় যে, বর্তমান অবস্থায় আমাদের জীবনযাত্রায়

তার প্রয়োজনীয়তা অপরিহার্য। আজকের দিনে যুরোপের জ্ঞান-বিজ্ঞান সমস্ত মানবলোকের শ্রদ্ধা অধিকার ক'রেছে; স্বাভাৱ্যতঃ অভিমানে এ কথা অস্বীকার ক'রলে অকল্যাণ। আর্থিক ও রাষ্ট্রিক ক্ষেত্রে আত্মরক্ষার পক্ষে এই শিক্ষার যেমন প্রয়োজন তেমনি মনকে ও ব্যবহারকে মুক্ত-মুক্ত করবার জন্য তার প্রভাব মূল্যবান। যে চিন্তা এই প্রভাবকে প্রতিরোধ করে, একে অস্বীকার ক'রে নিতে অক্ষম হয়, সে আপন সক্ষীর্ণ সীমাবদ্ধ নিরালোক জীবন-যাত্রায় ক্ষীণজীবী হ'য়ে থাকে। যে জ্ঞানের জ্যোতি চিরন্তন তা যে-কোনো দিগন্ত থেকেই বিকীর্ণ হ'ক, অপরিচিত ব'লে তাকে বাধা দেয় বর্বরতার অশুভ মন। সত্যের পকাশ-মাত্রই জাতি-বর্ণ-নির্বিশেষে সকল মানুষের অধিকারগম্য; এই অধিকার মনুষ্যের সহজাত অধিকারেরই অঙ্গ। রাষ্ট্রগত বা ব্যক্তিগত বিষয়-সম্পদে মানুষের পার্থক্য অনিবার্য, কিন্তু চিন্তা-সম্পদের দানসত্ত্বে সর্বদেশে সর্বকালে মানুষ এক। সেখানে দান করবার দাক্ষিণ্যেই দাতা ধন্য, ও গ্রহণ করবার শক্তি দ্বারাই গ্রহীতার আত্মসম্মান। সকল দেশেই অর্থ-ভাণ্ডারের দ্বারে কড়া পাহারা, কিন্তু বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের জ্ঞান-ভাণ্ডারে সর্বমানবের একেবারে দ্বার অর্গল-বিহীন। লক্ষী কৃপণ, কারণ লক্ষীর সঞ্চয় সংখ্যা-গণিতের সীমায় আবদ্ধ, ব্যয়ের দ্বারা তার ক্ষয় হ'তে থাকে; সরস্বতী অকৃপণ, কেননা সংখ্যার পরিমাপে তাঁর ঐশ্বর্যের পরিমাপ নয়, দানের দ্বারা তার বৃদ্ধিই ঘটে। বোধ করি, বিশেষভাবে বাংলাদেশের এই গৌরব করবার কারণ আছে যে, যুরোপীয় সংস্কৃতির কাছ থেকে সে আপন প্রাপ্য গ্রহণ ক'রতে বিলম্ব করেনি। এই সংস্কৃতির বাধাহীন সংস্পর্শে অতি অল্পকালের মধ্যে তার সাহিত্য প্রচুর শক্তি ও সম্পদ লাভ ক'রছে, এ কথা সকলের স্বীকৃত। এই প্রভাবের প্রধান সার্থকতা এই দেখছি যে,

অনুকরণের দুর্বল প্রবৃত্তিকে কাটিয়ে' ওঠবার উৎসাহ সে প্রথম থেকে দিয়েছে।.....

***বস্তুতঃ, নবযুগ-প্রবর্তক প্রতিভাবানের সাধনায় ভারতবর্ষে সর্বপ্রথমে বাংলাদেশেই যুরোপীয় সংস্কৃতির ফসল ভাবী কালের প্রত্যাশা নিয়ে দেখা দিয়েছিল, বিদেশ থেকে আনীত পণ্য-আকারে নয়, স্বদেশের ভূমিতে উৎপন্ন শস্য-সম্পদের মতো। সেই শস্যের বীজ যদি-বা বিদেশ থেকে উড়ে এসে আমাদের ক্ষেত্রে প'ড়ে থাকে, তবু তার অকুরিত প্রাণ এখানকার মাটিরই। মাটি যাকে গ্রহণ ক'রতে পারে সে ফসল বিদেশী হ'লেও আর বিদেশী থাকে না। আমাদের দেশের বহু ফলেফুলে তার পরিচয় আছে।

ইংরেজি শিক্ষার সার্থকতা আমাদের সাহিত্যে বঙ্গীয় দেহ নিয়ে বিচরণ ক'রছে বাংলার ঘরে ঘরে, এই প্রদেশের শিক্ষা-নিকেতনেও সে তেমনি আমাদের অন্তরঙ্গ হ'য়ে দেখা দেবে, এ জ্ঞান অনেক দিন আমাদের মাতৃভূমি অপেক্ষা ক'রছে।

রবীন্দ্রনাথ অগ্রত্ব বলিয়াছেন—

বাংলার বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ে ইংরেজি এবং বাংলা ভাষার ধারা যদি গঙ্গা-যমুনার মতো মিলিয়া যায়, তবে বাঙালি শিক্ষার্থীর পক্ষে এটা একটা তীর্থস্থান হইবে।

('শিক্ষার বাহন', রবীন্দ্রচন্দ্রাবলী, পশ্চিমবঙ্গ সরকার, খণ্ড ১১, পৃঃ ৬৪৩)

In the present context it has to be admitted that the place of honour for the English language in our University cannot be removed. The reason is not just this—that in the present situation its necessity is unavoidable in our life. At the present day the knowledge and science of Europe has acquired the respect of the whole of humanity; if we are to deny this through national pride, it will lead to evil. This training is necessary for self-preservation in the field of economics and politics—its influence is equally valuable to free our mind and our behaviour from ignorance. The mind which resists this influence

and is unable to accept it is reduced to a miserable existence in its narrowly limited and unilluminated life as a living creature. It is only the clouded mind of barbarism which would oppose, because it is new and unknown, the light of a knowledge that is eternal, no matter from whatever distant horizon it spreads out. Any light of truth is within the right of all men irrespective of race and colour, and this right is a part of the birth-right of humanity. Diversity of Man in national or individual ownership of wealth is inevitable, but in the public distribution of the wealth of the mind Man is one in all lands and all times. There the donor is glorified by his spirit of largesse, and the receiver's self-respect is in his power to receive. In all countries there is strict guarding at the gateway to their treasury but the door to the unity of all men in the treasury of learning in a University has no bar. The Goddess of Wealth is niggardly because her funds are bound up within the limits of mathematical figures, these funds are depleted by spending; but the Goddess of Learning is not miserly because the measure of her treasures is not with figures, her treasures increase through giving. It seems to me that Bengal specially has reason to feel proud for this, that she did not delay taking from the culture of Europe what was her due. Through an unrestricted contact with this culture her literature acquired within a very short time tremendous force and richness,—and this is admitted by all. The main fulfillment of this influence I have found in this—that it has from the first engendered an eager desire to rise above the weak tendency to imitate only

As a matter of fact, through the endeavours of some men of genius who ushered in a New Age in India it was first of all in Bengal that the harvest of European culture first showed itself with an expectation for the future, not in the form of some articles brought as merchandise, but as the wealth of a crop which was born of the native soil. Even if the seeds of this crop had been blown into our fields from foreign lands, its life which had sprouted up is of the soil of this land. A crop may be of foreign origin, but if it is received by the soil it ceases to be foreign. We find enough evidence of this in many of our fruits and flowers.

The success of English education is in its taking in our literature a Bengali body and moving freely in the homes of Bengal; similarly it will in the same intimate manner find its place in our seat of education, and for this our Mother-land has waited for a long time.

Elsewhere he has said—

If the streams of both the English and Bengali languages commingle like the waters of the Ganga and the Yamuna within Bengal's University, then this will become a place of pilgrimage for the studentdom of Bengal (*Sikshar Vahan* or 'the Medium of Education': Complete Works of Rabindranath Tagore as published by the West Bengal Government, Vol. XI. page 643).

With regard to Hindi, a great admirer of Hindi that he was, and as one who by his English translation had made Kabir, the great mystic poet of Hindi, known all over the civilised world, Rabindranath said, condemning the unseemly and totally anti-national attitude in artificially (by a lavish and wholly unjustified diversion of public funds) trying to give to Hindi a prominence and a pre-eminence over all other National Languages, many of which have great literatures and are in no way inferior to Hindi :

রাষ্ট্রিক কাজের সুবিধা করা চাই বই কি, কিন্তু তার চেয়ে বড় কাজ—দেশের চিত্তকে সরস, সফল ও সমৃদ্ধ কর। সে কাজ আপন ভাষা নইলে হয় না। দেউড়িতে একটা সরকারী প্রদীপ জ্বালানো চলে, কিন্তু একমাত্র তারি তেল জোগাবার খাতিরে, ঘরে ঘরে প্রদীপ নেবানো চলে না।

এই প্রসঙ্গে যুরোপের দৃষ্টান্ত দেওয়া যাক। সেখানে দেশে দেশে ভিন্ন ভিন্ন ভাষা, অথচ এক সংস্কৃতির ঐক্য সমস্ত মহাদেশে। সেখানে বৈষয়িক অনৈক্যে যারা হানাহানি করে, এক সংস্কৃতির ঐক্যে তারা মনের সম্পদ নিয়তই অদল-বদল করছে। ভিন্ন ভিন্ন ভাষার ধারায় ব'য়ে নিয়ে আসা পণ্যে সমৃদ্ধিশালী যুরোপীয় চিত্ত জয়ী হ'য়েছে সমস্ত পৃথিবীতে।

তেমনি ভারতবর্ষেও ভিন্ন ভিন্ন ভাষার উৎকর্ষ-সাধনে দ্বিধা ক'রলে চ'লবে না। মধ্যযুগে

যুরোপে সংস্কৃতির এক ভাষা ছিল লাতিন। সেই ঐক্যের বেড়া ভেদ ক'রেই যুরোপের ভিন্ন ভিন্ন ভাষা যেদিন আপন আপন শক্তি নিয়ে প্রকাশ পেলে, সেইদিন যুরোপের বড় দিন। আমাদের দেশেও সেই বড় দিনের অপেক্ষা ক'রবো—সব ভাষা একাকার করার দ্বারা নয়, সব ভাষার আপন আপন বিশেষ পরিণতির দ্বারা।

('বা.লাভাষা-পরিচয়', অধ্যায় ৮)

It is of course necessary to make easy the work of the State, but a bigger task is to make the heart of the country fertile, fruitful and bright. And that cannot be done without one's own language. It is all right to light a lamp at public expense at the main gate, but just to supply oil for that light one cannot put out the lamps in the different rooms.

In this context let us take the example of Europe. There in the different countries we find different languages, but there is the Unity of One Culture in the entire continent. There those who fighting with each other for disunity in worldly matters are incessantly exchanging their mental wealth through this Unity of Culture. The mind of Europe enriched by this wealth brought along the streams of the different languages has triumphed over the whole world.

Similarly in India too one must not hesitate to improve all her languages. During the middle ages in Europe the one language of Culture was Latin. It was the great day for Europe when all her different languages broke through the barrier of that linguistic bond and came out in all their strength. We shall also wait for that great day in India—not through a chaotic mixing up of all our languages, but by the special and individual development of all languages.

(*Bangla Bhasha-Parichay*, Chapter 8)

I would again and again urge upon our ruling authorities at the Centre to have a broad, a dispassionate, a just and an equitable view of the whole question, and thus prevent the Disintegration of a great country. India's Intergration into a Single Nation with a common history and humanistic ideal was accom-

plished in the past by Sanskrit, and then to some extent by Persian, and finally was forged into something massive and strong by English. What Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had said could be expressed thus. Owing to the compulsion of events in History, we have not been able to set up any of our *Modern* Indian languages as a pan-Indian language acceptable to all; and since English is already there, we can only in our own interests make the best use of this.

For the present, with regard to Languages at school, I would suggest, primarily in the interest of Education and Mental Development of our Youth at school and college throughout the whole of India, and not just to satisfy the whims of a small group, with its own special interests in the offing, the following language set-up in the school and college and the University :

We can have **Three Languages** compulsory .

- (1) **Mother-tongue,**
- (2) **English, and**
- (3) **A Third Language** from any of the following three groups : **either (a) A Classical Language**—any one of these : Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Avestan and Pahlavi, Persian, Arabic, Hebrew, Syriac, Greek, Latin, Classical Armenian, and Classical Tibetan, and Old or Sangam Tamil (excepting the last, all of these classical languages have been already accepted by one or the other of our Indian Universities; and to this list, Old Tamil should in all propriety be added, for the convenience of students of Tamizhakam who would choose to take it); **or (b) A Modern European Language other than English,** e. g. French German, Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, Russian; (or a Modern Asian Language like Japanese, Chinese, Thai, Indonesian, Burmese, Modern Arabic); **or (c) A Modern Indian Language other than**

the Mother-tongue accepted under (1)—any one of the languages recognised by the *Sahitya Akademi*, plus Nepali, Tulu and Manipuri, for the present.

We should put an end to all jarring controversy and danger to Indian Education and Indian Unity by removing Hindi as a Compulsory Language for non-Hindi Students, Compulsory Hindi in this way is proving to be absolutely a useless waste of time, energy, money and temper; and barring the sentimental value put on it by some (and this is questioned) as the 'Rashtra-bhasa', it is of no use for the intellectual advancement of Tamil, Bengali, Gujarati or Marathi speakers, *vis-a-vis* Sanskrit or English. Why condemn the non-Hindi students to this penalty? Just because some Hindi enthusiasts dream of setting up their mother-tongue or adopted speech Hindi in place of English in all departments of life, and throughout the whole of India too?

So much for Language in the school and college. For the Higher Post-graduate Education, we must perforce have to remain Bilingual, with the Mother-tongue and English. I will not venture to give a year or any time-period as a dead line for removal of English—on the face of it, it will be unmeaning and useless. English and the mother-tongue—that will be the only rational way, situated as we are, for our highest education in its pan-Indian context. I respectfully but strongly disagree with a few of my very eminent colleagues in Education who say in general (and rather vague) terms that we must remove English immediately from our highest educational set-up—generously conceding that English will certainly be studied as a "tool language" or "library language" (whatever that might mean). We should never forget two great facts. (1) It may (but it need not) hurt our national pride, but the truth is that it will take years before any of our Modern

Indian Languages can effectively be used for the highest scientific study and research—study as well as research which will be necessarily confined to the elite among our students; and English has already become wellnigh the Sole International Language—a Language for all advanced nations—for all sciences, thanks to both U. K. and U. S. A. and the co-operation of most European, Latin American, and even Asian and African countries; and (2) India is a polyglot nation where the binding force is not Hindi but English, and the Integration of India through higher education in science and the humanities can only be through English, as setting an international standard which is not to be found in our Modern Indian Languages as they are now. To maintain the Cultural and Political Unity of India and her Intellectual Pre-eminence with high international standards in Education, English has got to be retained as our Pan-Indian Language in higher University Education, with the Indian Languages as auxiliaries in their different areas. And that will be in the interest of the Indian Languages themselves, and their speakers also.

Thus, both for ensuring efficiency and uniformity of administration, and also for preventing chaos in a multilingual country which can only have a single neutral "link-language" of the highest cultural and scientific value like English, and not our 14 or more "National Languages", the employment of all of which will lead to a Tower of Babel. The setting up of Hindi (either side by side with or wholly replacing English) will permanently give unjust special privileges to one single speech-community over the rest of the people. As experience has shown for the last decades and more, in practice it means two languages for the students in the Hindi area—Hindi, and a little English (and even that English is being discarded), and four for those of the Bengali

area (Bengali, English, Sanskrit, and Hindi). Can our students feel happy and content? Is this not a drag on our Education.

For this very cogent reason, which is always passed over in silence, our *All-India Services Examinations* will have to be continued in English, and in English alone.

I shall not dwell upon the far-reaching evils of trying to force Hindi on the rest of India, and of the most questionable waste of crores and crores of rupees furnished by the rest of India for "the development of Hindi" and "the spread of Hindi in non-Hindi areas". I would implore those who are responsible for framing the Hindi policy at the Centre to ponder over the utter uselessness and the injustice of this policy. The Indian people, other than a group of persons in Northern India (with a few from other parts), are now restive and resentful of this useless drain of all-India public funds in the name of *Integration*, while it is destroying this very Integration which is still there and which forms our greatest asset for a united and strong India. Will there not be in the first instance a serious pondering over the *employment potential*, benefiting a small group of Hindi speakers only, of these huge sums of money being diverted to please the demands of a junta, when there are so many urgent and crying needs in the domain of Education? How long will students in schools of Bengal and other States be forced to spend years, with Government money going all waste, in reading Hindi as a compulsory language which has not got and will never have any intellectual or cultural value for them (unless they were to specialise in the literature of Hindi as a discipline of their own choice), *vis-a-vis* their own Mother-tongue, English and Sanskrit?

Besides, I have noted with concern (and I have expressed my concern openly) that teaching at the same time two closely related

languages like Bengali and Hindi to tender-aged children is not good—their Bengali gets mixed up with Hindi, and their Hindi with Bengali. Such a linguistic admixture does not occur if the two languages are basically distinct from each other, like Bengali and English. Moreover, the direct and the indirect or insidious imposition of Hindi is now spoiling the purity and beauty of Bengali, as it has been noted with alarm in the Bengali papers. Thus we see that frequently the meanings given by present-day builders of Hindi to Sanskrit words, which have their own meanings in Bengali, create a confusion in the minds of Bengali students at school.

With a political ideology of a most questionable value, how long will this step-motherly treatment, leading to a sense of frustration, continue to hamper fullest development of Education through the Mother-tongue aided by English, without this unnecessary and unwelcome interloper Compulsory Hindi?

I cannot be against Hindi, within its legitimate limits. For over a quarter of a century, I have been actively engaged in spreading the study of Hindi among Bengali and other non-Hindi students *on a purely voluntary basis as an extracurricular subject* through the *Rashtra-bhasha Prachar Samiti* and other organisations, with very good results, and this is well-known. But I strongly oppose Compulsory Hindi for non-Hindi boys and girls in our schools and colleges.

* * * *

I am speaking of *Education*, which means the drawing out of the latent mental faculties of Man. Education like *Defence* or *Finance*, is much more of a specialised subject, than perhaps *General Administration*, *Public Works* or *Transport*, *Food* or *Health*, or even *Law* or *External Affairs*. Here, keeping clear of Party Politics, we should pay attention to the advice of our accredited educationists and thought-

leaders. Every action or policy must be preceded by thought, with a sense of the realities, and there must be a vision. Why should we not listen to persons whose views, attitudes and opinions deserve greater attention than those of politicians? E.g. of persons like Rabindranath Tagore, Jadunath Sarkar, Pramatha Chaudhri, Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, C. V. Raman, M. C. Chagla, Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, P. B. Gajendragadkar, P. Kodanda Rao, K. M. Munshi, P. Subbarayan, Bidhan Chandra Roy, C. D. Deshmukh, besides the larger number of Vice-Chancellors in different Universities, and a number of others, all men of light and leading and highest experience and impeccable sincerity for the good of the country, in such a vital matter?

With regard to the question of Language in life and education, the third quotation which I give from Rabindranath should be taken very seriously, not only by Bengalis but also by all lovers of Modern Indian Literatures in the different languages giving expression to the Indian Soul in all its variety:

অতএব, বাঙালি বাংলা ভাষার বিশেষত্ব অবলম্বন করিয়াই সাহিত্যের যদি উন্নতি করে তবেই হিন্দিভাষীদের সঙ্গে তাহার বড়ো রকমের মিল হইবে, সে যদি হিন্দুস্থানীদের সঙ্গে সস্তায় ভাব করিয়া লইবার জন্য হিন্দির টাঁচে বাংলা লিখিতে থাকে তবে বাংলা সাহিত্য অধঃপাতে যাইবে এবং কোনো হিন্দুস্থানী তাহার দিকে দৃকপাতও করিবে না। আমার বেশ মনে আছে, অনেকদিন পূর্বে একজন বিশেষ বুদ্ধিমান শিক্ষিত ব্যক্তি আমাকে বলিয়াছিলেন, “বাংলা সাহিত্য যতই উন্নতি-লাভ করিতেছে ততই তাহা আমাদের জাতীয় মিলনের পক্ষে অন্তরায় হইয়া উঠিতেছে। কারণ এ সাহিত্য যদি শ্রেষ্ঠতা লাভ করে তবে ইহা মরিতে চাহিবে না—এবং ইহাকে অবলম্বন

করিয়া শেষ পর্যন্ত বাংলা ভাষা মাটি কামড়াইয়া পড়িয়া থাকিবে। এমন অবস্থায় ভারতবর্ষে ভাষার ঐক্য-সাধনের পক্ষে সর্বাপেক্ষা বাধা দিবে বাংলা ভাষা, অতএব বাংলা সাহিত্যের উন্নতি ভারতবর্ষের পক্ষে মঙ্গলকর নহে।” সকল প্রকার ভেদকে ঢেঁকিতে কুঁদিয়া একটা পিণ্ডাকার পদার্থ গড়িয়া তোলাই জাতীয় উন্নতির চরম পরিণাম, তখনকার দিনে ইহাই সকল লোকের মনে জাগিতেছিল। কিন্তু আসল কথা—বিশেষত্ব বিসর্জন করিয়া যে সুবিধা তাহা ছুঁদিনের কঁাকি—বিশেষত্বকেই মহত্ব লইয়া গিয়া যে সুবিধা তাহাই সত্য।

(“হিন্দু-বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়”, ১৩১৮, রবীন্দ্র-রচনাবলী, পশ্চিমবঙ্গ সরকার, খণ্ড ১৩, পৃঃ ১৮১-৮২)

Therefore, if the Bengali people improve their literature only on the basis of the peculiar qualities of the Bengali language, then only there will be a union on a grand scale with the Hindi-speakers. If they start writing Bengali in the Hindi manner just with a view to cultivating a sort of cheap friendship with the Hindusthani people, then Bengali literature will go to the dogs and the Hindusthani person will not even look at it. I remember quite well what long ago an exceedingly intelligent and learned person had said to me: “The more Bengali literature is progressing, the more it is becoming an abstacle for our national unity. Because if this literature attains to a very high place, it will never agree to die,—and to the last the Bengali language will stay on clinging to the soil by holding fast to its literature. In a situation like this, the Bengali language will give the greatest resistance to bringing about a Unity of Speech in India. Therefore the advance of Bengali Literature will not be good for India”. At that time this idea was playing in the minds of most people that the final or supreme end of a National Unity was to build up some shapeless lump by pounding in a husking machine diversities of all kinds. But the real thing is this—the convenience by sacrificing special qualities is a short-lived make-believe for a

day or two: when a Speciality is sublimated to Greatness, then we have a true convenience or benefit. ("Hiudu Visvavidyalaya", Bengali Year 1318-1911: Complete Works of Rabindranath, West Bengal Government, Vol. XIII, pp. 181-182.)

I have heard similar views expressed explicitly or implicitly by persons, mostly Hindi speakers, who were anxious for "the Unity of India through Hindi in the Nagari Script". Some would glibly talk about an impossible thing—a "Composite Hindi" to serve the needs of the speakers of all Indian languages, Aryan, Dravidian, Tibeto-Burman and Kol or Munda (we may question: What needs?). Others would love to "Hindiise" Bengali and other languages of India, preparing the path for merging all of them into Hindi. The execution of the language policy certainly seems to be moving that way, though this cannot be the intention.

But it will be easier to bring most of our Modern Indian Languages closer to each other by strengthening the common platform or background of Sanskrit, by teaching it in the school as an optional or elective language, one of the compulsory three, which most of our students will take up as a matter of course. They will not generally feel Sanskrit to be useless and irksome, as they find Hindi to be. When shall we shake off an impracticable idea? When shall we have a sane and a clear view, and free our Education from the Old Man of the Sea who is being made to sit tight upon our neck with a stranglehold?

* * *

This expression of his considered opinion by Pramatha Chaudhuri, one of the leaders of literature for the whole of India, will be a *propos*, giving as it does his testimony as a great writer of Bengali to the value of both Sanskrit and English in the development of most of our Modern Indian Languages.

উপসংহারে আমার বক্তব্য এই যে, মৃত-ভাষা ওপর-ভাষার প্রভু থেকে মাতৃভাষাকে আমি মুক্ত

ক'রতে চাই ব'লে, এ ভুল যেন কেউ না করেন যে, আমি সংস্কৃত ও ইংরেজির পঠন-পাঠন বন্ধ ক'রে দিতে চাই। আমার বিশ্বাস, তা ক'রলে বঙ্গসাহিত্যে ইভলিউশন হওয়া দূরে থাক, একটা বিষম ও সম্ভবতঃ ভীষণ রিভারশন এসে প'ড়বে। সংস্কৃত ও ইংরেজি সাহিত্যের চর্চা থেকেই আমরা সেই মনের বল ও হাতের কৌশল লাভ ক'রবো যা আমাদের সাহিত্যের মুক্তির কারণ হবে।....

....সংস্কৃত ভাষা ও সংস্কৃত সাহিত্যের সম্যক চর্চা আমাদের চিরদিনই ক'রতে হবে। বলা বাহুল্য, পৃথিবীর অসংখ্য মৃত-ভাষার মধ্যে গ্রীক, লাতিন ও সংস্কৃত, এই তিনটি আধ্যাত্মিক ক্লাসিক, অপর কোনোটিই নয়।....এই তিনটি ক্লাসিকের মহা গুণ এই যে, তার প্রত্যেকটিই পুরুষালি সাহিত্য, মেয়েলি নয়; সে সাহিত্যে আশ-আশ ভাষা কিংবা গদগদ ভাবের স্থান নেই; সে সাহিত্যে যেখানে কোমল সেখানে দুর্বল নয়, যেখানে সানুবাগ সেখানে সানুনাসিক নয়। এ কারণেও সংস্কৃতের চর্চা আমাদের পক্ষে অত্যাৱশ্যক এবং অবশ্য-কর্তব্য, কেননা বাংলার বাণীর কাস্তা-সম্মিত হ'য়ে পড়বার দিকে একটা স্বাভাবিক নৌক এবং রোধ আছে।

...আজকের দিনে ইংরেজির চর্চা ত্যাগ ক'রলে বিপ্লবমানবের বিদ্যালয়ে প্রবেশদ্বার স্বহস্তে বন্ধ ক'রে দেওয়া হবে। বাংলা আমাদের শিক্ষার প্রধান ভাষা হ'লে ইংরেজি বাণী আর প্রভু-সম্মিত থাকবে না, সুস্থ-সম্মিত হ'য়ে উঠবে; প্রভু তখন যথার্থ সখা হ'য়ে উঠবে।....

(“বাংলার ভবিষ্যৎ”, অগ্রহায়ণ ১৩২৪, মির্জাপুর কিনিস ইউনিয়ন লাইব্রেরিতে পঠিত; দ্রষ্টব্য—প্রবন্ধ-সংগ্রহ, প্রথম খণ্ড, বিশ্বভারতী গ্রন্থালয়, ১৯১৯ সালের পুনর্মুদ্রণ, পৃঃ ৯৯, ১০০, ১০১)

Finally I want to say this : I warn friends against this mistake that because I want to free my mother-tongue from the pressure of a dead language and a foreign language, I want to put a stop to the study and cultivation of Sanskrit and English. I believe that if that is done, far from an *Evolution* taking place in Bengali literature there will be a tremendous and in all likelihood a terrible *Reversion*. From a study of Sanskrit and English literature we shall acquire that strength of mind and skill of hand which will lead to the liberation of our literature...

...We shall have to carry on a full and thorough study of the Sanskrit language and Sanskrit literature, and that for all time. It need not be reiterated—of the innumerable dead languages of the world, these three Aryan speeches, Greek, Latin and Sanskrit, are the 'classic' speeches, and none other is. A great virtue of these three 'classic' speeches is this—that their literatures are all of the manly type, they are not effeminate. There is no scope for childish prattle or gushing sentiment in these literatures; they are never weak where they are gentle, and not whining where they express love. For these reasons also, the study of Sanskrit is for us exceedingly necessary and has to be retained, since there is a natural bias and tendency for the Muse of Bengali to be gentle and beautiful like a lady of charm.

...In these days, if we were to give up the study of English then it will be closing with our own hands the entrance of World Humanity into the school. When Bengali becomes the chief language of our education, the Muse of English literature will no longer remain something belonging to our masters, it will be transformed into something truly friendly; the erstwhile master will become a real friend. ("The Future of Bengali", a paper read before the Phoenix Union Library, Agrahayana 1324=1917; Collected Writings of Pramatha Chaudhuri, Visva-Bharati, 2nd edition, 1959, pp. 99, 100, 101.)

The Central Government shows great solicitude for Sanskrit. We all understand the value of Sanskrit for both India and the world and we remember the high and sincere tribute paid to Sanskrit by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Our Central Government Educational Ministry has a full Sanskrit Directorate, and also spends some money to promote Sanskrit studies. And yet, to bring Sanskrit to the largest number of our students (not to force it upon them as

a compulsory subject), as an instrument of National Cultural Integration; the curriculum now being enforced (as in the officially sponsored Three Language Formula) taboos Sanskrit (or an equivalent classical language). In this, Sanskrit has been replaced by Hindi. And yet in our Education, Hindi has nothing of the formative or character-building or of the informative or mind-building power that Sanskrit has. The few Sanskrit verses and tags, which we always pick up at school, with their thought-content and their aesthetic quality become for us "a possession for ever", and a strengthgiving leaven for life, adding also beauty and fragrance to the spirit. The unreasoning fetish of the holy "Three-Language Formula", which cannot be "revised" (like the inspired and sacrosanct scriptures of some religious or political persuasions), stands in the way. Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, pointing out the international value of Sanskrit and its service to the Indian mind and spirit for raising its self-respect, declared rightly, in the form of an apophthegm, that **"Sanskrit is the symbol of our seniority among the nations of the World."** And two Russian scholars of Sanskrit have recently sought to bring home to the world the value of Sanskrit for India in these terms : Sanskrit "performs a unique function of a cementing force. **The very notion of India is hardly conceivable without Sanskrit, which has symbolised and cemented the unity of Indian culture and history throughout several millennia.**" (Soviet Academy of Sciences, Institute of the Peoples of Asia, Nauka Publishers, Moscow, USSR, 1968 : "Sanskrit", by V. V. Ivanov and V. N. Toporov, pp. 26, 27.)

Let us not sacrifice a great heritage for fulfilling a whim of a small group, and deny to our youth in schools and colleges one of their greatest national treasures—a measure which will make us lose our very being and

soul as the "Indian Nation". Let us make it possible for them to study Sanskrit as part of their fixed curriculum.

* * * * *

Our school children should be released from the burden of too many subjects and too many text-books, text-books which weigh them down both physically and mentally. In some directives for educational programmes, it seems there is in certain quarters an anxiety, conscious or unconscious, to bring in too much of specialisation in science and other subjects at the school-going stage. We are often forgetting the forest in the trees, or losing the tree in the leaves. There should be the aim to give a sound training in broad and general outlines in the basic subjects : Mathematics in its three branches of Arithmetic, Algebra and Geometry ; Geography and History (Mother-land, and main currents of World History) ; Elementary Science (on specialisation in any particular science, but enough general knowledge to carry the student through most of his life as a social being, including some basic concepts of Administration and Economics) ; and of course, Languages—two, in the first instance : Mother-tongue, and English (particularly for those intending to go to the college stage and beyond), with an elective Third Language (we have never found a third language to be a burden in any advanced country) which is to be either a classical or a modern language.

I have said all this, because I felt that I should speak out once again, before my final exit. I have been giving out my mind freely and openly ever since the Question of Language in Education and Politics was made, quite unnecessarily, to assume its present disproportionate place and to become a National Problem. But what I say I say with both knowledge and experience and

conviction, and with the greatest concern for our youth and our studentdom. As one who feels a professional and an idealistic pride in his avocation as a teacher for over half a century, I feel also a great fellowship in service, in success and failure, with the world of teachers, in all the stages of Education. There is still no lack of teachers with high ideals, whose silent suffering I have been noticing with profound respect and admiration. They are almost at the starvation level, are neglected and held in contempt, yet they want to keep straight, never lowering their high standards of conduct in study and teaching. All honour to them and I offer the blessings and good wishes as well as respectful salutations as from one of the seniormost among them. But I have been latterly very much pained to see that a good many of them are now taking to their avocation as a teacher in a cavalier spirit. Some of them would seem to think that they are members of a political party first, and then they are teachers. A number of others seem to think that once they become teachers they cease to be students. But a teacher can only be a good teacher who remains a student all his life, and takes his sacred duties seriously. I feel exceedingly grateful to that great man who rebuilt the University of Calcutta and transformed it from a mere examining body (teaching but indirectly through "affiliated" colleges and schools) to a real University, as a centre of learning and research, and who first found a proper place for his Mother-tongue and for other Indian Languages in our Universities—the illustrious Asutosh Mookerjee, for some sage advice he gave me when I began my career as teacher 54 years ago. I had taken my M. A. in English in 1913, and in 1914 Sir Asutosh called me and asked me to be an Assistant Professor in the newly established Department of Post-Graduate Studies in the subject of English. I felt some trepidation, and a little hesitation. Asutosh Mookerjee,

in his brusque and affectionate manner, gave me a slap on the back, and said: "Never fear. How much knowledge do your English teachers bring when they come here to teach you their language? Don't you know, one really starts learning when one takes up the task of teaching?" I have tried to follow this wise counsel, and I am ever so grateful to Sir Asutosh for this,—and also to my students for their having always inspired me to know more. This is the advice I would like to give to my colleagues at school, at college, and in the Universities: always read, read, and read more, and assimilate what you read, and put everything to the test of intelligence; try to understand the difficulties of those who are placed in your charge; always own up your ignorance, but never omit to make it good; and whether at class or in the question paper, never try to explain anything to your students or to ask them a question, without knowing the matter yourself thoroughly well. Party Politics and other ephemeral things distract both our teachers and students from work and from their real avocation. I think it should be a creed for teachers not to take part in such politics as looks at things only from the party angle, losing sight of national as well as broad humanitarian issues. This lowers the ideal without bringing any good:

আপনি আচরি' ধর্ম আন-কে শিখায়—

"By doing the proper thing oneself, one teaches another".

"Hitch thy wagon to a Star"—this can very well be a great Ideal for the humble teacher. His personal life should be the best guide for his pupils; and a sense of this should add a greater responsibility to a teacher in his behaviour and in his ways.

And above all, Love begets Love. If you have real love for your work and real love and solicitude for your students, you will be able without any effort to work wonders, and feel

thankful within yourself, which is the best reward in life.

I shall close with this peroration on what I feel should be the duty of our students. Some teachers or professors become so much of a teacher or a professor in their grain that they must always seek to give advice, and to profess". But the present situation as a Convocation Speaker gives me a special right to do so, and for this I hope to be excused,

I would always like to impress upon our students, particularly in the University, to remember that as persons boasting of some education, they are always, above anything, men and women with a sense of Honour, to whom certain things must always be sacrosanct, unlike what we often see in our political leaders, who are also gentlemen: viz. first of all they must always adhere to the Truth, at any cost. They are to "play the game", that is, to be honest to themselves and to their fellow humans. In their speech and behaviour they must never forget themselves that they are the Inheritors and the Bearers of a Great Culture. Then, as Intellectuals, they have a great spiritual duty to themselves, to their entourage, their society, their people: they must cultivate the Intellect, and have an Intellectual Approach to things. Emotion and Sentiment are great and good things. But these, to be useful and fruitful in our higher life, are to be wedded to Intellectualism. Above all, they must be actuated by Altruism, a spirit of serving others,—"Service before Self", as the Ideal of the Rotarians goes. There are many ways of showing this in practice, by coming to the help of people in a less advantageous situation. They should always try to preserve the sanctity of an educational institution—the school, college or University; and within the institution maintenance of discipline and

proper behaviour is a basic concern of theirs.

Finally, I shall place this great Ideal of Conduct in Ancient India which captivated a cultured Greek Ambassador, Heliodoros, in India in the 2nd century B. C.—the Ideal of **Dama** or Self-restraint ; of **Tya'ga** or Renunciation, of things that are not enduring, for a great Idea and for the Good of Society around, in the first instance ; and **Aprama'da** or Keeping the Mind and Intellect Clear and Alert, ever Shining with Reason, and not clouded by sentiments, feelings and ideas, imposed by outside agencies and not tested by Reasoning and Intelligence.

I can only wish you all a life of honest work and service, with the best of good luck and success in your career, and perfect happiness as citizens of a Great Country who have inherited a tradition of great value to Man, doing your duty by your own People, your Nation, and Humanity, and deriving fullest satisfaction from it.

tejasvi na'v adhi'tam astu,
ma' vidvisha'vahi' :

“May the studies of both of us, the Teachers and the Taught, be with vigour ; and may we never have any ill-feeling or misunderstanding amongst us”.

• • •

BULGARIA'S BIRTH RATE

By Dr. IVAN BOROV.

The birth rate has fallen over the past two decades from 21.4 newborn per 1000 of the population in 1939, to 15.3 in 1965 (14.6 in the cities, and 16 in the rural districts). The marriage rate has not changed essentially: 9.1 per 1000 citizens in 1939, to 8 in 1965. The greatest difference, therefore, lies in the preference which young families are showing for having less children.

This tendency has been noted since Bulgaria's liberation from Ottoman rule in 1878. In the year 1900 there were 42.2 newborn per 1000 of the population and the drop followed a steady downward curve, until it reached 21.4 per thousand in the last prewar year of 1939. We are facing a long and stable process, and not a sudden change due to negative factors arising during the past two decades or so.

One main reason has been the constant migration of the rural population towards the larger urban areas. In 1900 Bulgaria had 3 million people living in the villages, and only 742,000 in the cities. The labour needed in the rural districts for agricultural purposes stimulated the birth rate.

Cultural growth, the artisan crafts and industrial developments in the towns started an influx of people from the rural areas. City life was different and many children were hard to feed, especially as the greater part of the city people were of the proletariat class for several decades after Bulgaria's liberation from Ottoman rule,

In the older European countries, where the process of urbanization has long been stabilized, the birth rate knows comparatively

slight fluctuations. This is the case of Austria, Great Britain, Belgium, Denmark, France, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and some others.

By 1965 the ratio between city and village population stood at 1.1. Social and economic reforms, the development of heavy industry, the cooperation and mechanization of agriculture made redundant a fairly large section of the rural population, which found jobs waiting and good pay in the urban areas.

Only in the past few years has this trend subsided, and will probably cease to take effect in the nearest future.

Migration towards the city centres did not appreciably reduce the birth rate. In 1963 it stood at about 16 to 18 newborn per 1000 of the population in the West, while for Bulgaria it was 16.1 per thousand.

The death rate has to be taken into account for an objective evaluation of the problem. No matter how high the birth rate of a country, its influence can be counteracted by a high death rate. This was evidenced towards the turn of the century in Bulgaria. In spite of a very high birth rate, high general and infant mortality rates resulted in a very slow population increase.

High birth rates are not justified from an economic and humane point of view in the presence of high general and infant mortality rates, as is the case in many countries even to this day.

Improving living standards and public health services have greatly changed the statistical data regarding birth and death rates.

While the birth rate over the last 25 years has fallen from 21.4 to 15.3 per thousand, the death rate has dropped even more sharply. Far greater numbers of newborn children make grown-up citizens. This explains why Bulgaria's population increase is more favourable than that of a number of European countries. Reckoned per thousand, in Bulgaria it was 8.2, Austria —6, Belgium 4.4, Great Britain 6.2, Norway 7.5, France 6.3, Sweden 4.7.

The general and child mortality in Bulgaria has also dropped sharply— from 24.2 in 1910, to 13.4 in 1939 and 8 in 1965.

The Bulgarian death rate is one of the lowest in Europe (Austria 12.8, Belgium 12.7, Great Britain 12.2, Denmark 11.9,

France 11.7, Italy 10.2, Sweden 10.1, and so on).

At the same time life expectancy has increased from 51.75 years in 1935/39 to 69.59 years in 1960/62. This shows that the able-bodied population of the country is on the increase.

Child care is a matter of special Government concern. Because of new maternity homes and maternity wards at city and rural hospitals, more than 95% of expectant mothers give birth to their children with clinical attention. Infant mortality has dropped from 138.9 per thousand in 1939 to 30.8 in 1965. This, too, will have its demographic effect.

Bulgaria's birth rate follows the regularities observed in the advanced countries of Europe. Economic, public health and cultural improvements have their favourable influence on the population census.

DECADENCE OF IMPERIALISM AND FUTURE WORLD ORDER

Prof. C. L. CHAKRABORTY, M.A.

Difference of Technique :

Imperialism is a stage of development of Colonialism. European Colonialism was the product of Commercial Revolution in Europe in the 16th century whereas Imperialism which became a very powerful factor since the seventies of the nineteenth century was the by-product of Industrial Revolution. But in essence both were same ; both were based on the philosophy of exploitation of the backward countries for the development of the economy of European countries. Only their techniques were different. Under both the peoples of Asia and Africa suffered and paid the price for the opulence and power of Europe. While the method and technique of colonialism were crude and barbaric those of Imperialism were more refined and scientific even though its effect upon the people was not necessarily less severe. Under both most despotic political set-up was established, the cardinal principle of which was to wield it to serve the best economic interest of the mother country with least regard for civilised principles.

Superior position of England :

Among all the Imperialist powers it was England that had reached the apex of glory from the very beginning of the Industrial era and continued to retain its supreme position until the out-break of the second world war. Since the period of colonialism down to its evolution to Imperialism British statesmen had been displaying an uncommon power of foresight and flexibility of policy and readiness for adjustment by evolving out novel method and technique commensurate with the changing

condition. While the Portuguese, the Spaniards or the Dutch were mainly concerned with plunder and rapacity, England planted her surplus population to colonies, developed and reclaimed vast tracts of land, introduced administration on their own model, set up educational and some charitable institutions and so on. None of these was, of course, done from any altruistic motive but from the practical economic point of view, for their method was not directed to senseless plunder but to develop and then exploit in a scientific way for a longer period of time. The result was that England was successful in retaining her position and increasing the wealth of the nation on a far bigger scale than others while incurring less hostility of the natives than say Portugal, Spain, Holland or France. Therefore, while analysing Imperialism it will be profitable if we concentrate our attention principally in respect of England and secondarily on others.

Factors behind Imperial Expansion :

It would be a superficial view if one thinks that England or any other countries of Europe built their empires with a view simply to displaying their might or to demonstrate their national glory or racial superiority. Of course these were very important elements in forming imperialist psychology but they did not constitute a basic impelling force. The basic force was the economic revolution that had changed the entire face of Europe, pushed it on the threshold of an era of prosperity, filled the mind of the people with a bold vision of conquest of man and nature. And in this field England was the pioneer. England was

already the biggest colonial power ; she was in command of vast resources that facilitated the fulfilment of her Industrial Revolution the background of which had already been prepared by scientific and technological developments of tremendous significance. All these had brought the importance of the colonies in developing the Industrial Empire of Britain more on the forefront and thanks to her statesmen who had built up a sound imperial policy that went a long way to raise the stature of England in the world. The colonial system thus forming her life line all the parties and politicians of England have shown, inspite of their ideological differences on the home front, similarity of approach in dealing with this question. If ever any politician indicated any change in matters of Imperial policy the crown came forward to intervene. Seton-Watson mentioned a concrete case : Gladstone in his election speech, condemned the war policy of Beaconsfield ; the treaty of Berlin was repugnant to him for the annexation of Cyprus in violation to the treaty of Paris that formed "part of the international law of Christendom" "Yet in the speech from the throne the new Government (1880) proclaimed as one of its foremost aims 'the early and complete fulfilment of the treaty of Berlin', and when the Queen told Granville that she would never 'sanction a reversal of the policy of the last few years', he assured her that 'instead of denying the Berlin Treaty, the Government was determined to do their best to carry out it's provisions. 'Cyprus was kept on the fantastic plea that neither the inhabitants nor the Porte wanted it back' (1) All parties, especially the Liberal and Labour parties very often assured the colonies of granting autonomy at their election speeches and manifestoes, but always giving scant consideration after coming to power. There are plenty of instances to prove "that in matters of Imperial policy there

is little to choose between Tory or Labour in England" (2) Of course this was nothing peculiar with England alone, all other powers of Europe, especially France, followed similar principle in respect of their Imperial interest, because of the fact that the interest of their Industrial capitalism demanded the political tutelage of the backward countries for exploiting their resources and providing markets for mother countries. 'Political Imperialism' was subsidiary to "Economic Imperialism" although the impact of both upon the people of backward countries was equally harmful.

The intensity of Imperial expansion and world rivalry over it reached a new phase since 1870 when both Germany and Italy became independent and demanded their rightful share in the loot. France had already begun a new phase of her colonial expansion right from 1830. Within two decades the whole of Africa and China were parcelled out amongst various European Powers. Even though the celestial Empire of China still retained her formal sovereignty, economically she became subservient to European powers. The supremacy that England had so long been holding in the Industrial field had thus been slipping out of her hands necessitating a change in her policy. In fact long from the past she was aware that it was coming and hence getting herself prepared for a change of policy. From a policy of domination she switched over to a policy of partnership with the colonies by accepting the principle of self-government that would be given to them gradually. A new epithet was given to the earst-while empire i.e. commonwealth. The Durham's Report in 1839 marked the beginning of this new policy. Those colonies such as Canada, Australia, Newzealand where white peoples were in predominating number, right of self-government was quickly granted but India had

1. Britain in Europe. 1789—1914 p. 548

2. An Autobiography, Nehru p. 583

to remain satisfied with minor reforms and promises of self government in the future. All these, it should be understood, were no signs of 'progressive imperialism, but a strategy of shift and balance whereby to save her industrial interest at a time when it was gradually facing opposition from other Imperialist Powers and resistance from the rising Nationalism in the East as well. The prudence of such a policy was testified by the fact that during the first world war England received the support of the Nationalist of India headed by the Indian National Congress which was won by the promise of Dominion Status though later betrayed. No other Imperialist Powers could claim such a success to their credit and as such the comparative wisdom of the British policy must be admitted.

II

Exploitation of Colonies :

The technique of exploitation had no common pattern ; it varied with different imperialist powers and under different conditions. Sometimes the Powers came to blows, as the Fashoda incident or Agadir crisis proved, over the question of possession, sometimes they made common cause in the loot as Sardar Panikkar writes : "The story of rise (and fall) of the international concessions at Shanghai, a fascinating romance of adventure, commercial spirit, Western Co-operative methods of administration, police and business management, together with international sharp practice, aggrandisement at the expense of the weak and toleration of vice and malpractices of all kinds, will serve to epitomise this chapter of western relations with China"³.

Where the whole country was under the domination of a single power it developed its own method of exploitation. In India the first phase of the British rule under the company

was mainly concerned with reckless plunder of the wealth of the country thereby providing the capital urgently needed for the industrialisation of England. During the second phase, roughly from the first half of the 19th Century India was converted into a market for British goods. Tariff discriminations were made in favour of the British Industrialists. The manufacturing industries of India were destroyed, cities like Dacca and Mursidabad, once great centres of commercial activities, were ruined and India was changed into an agricultural colony of British capitalism, supplying raw materials and buying British manufactured goods. Even though certain industries began to be developed in India by the British capitalists and railway communication extended on strategic and commercial considerations, the substantial export of capital to India and industrialisation of the country under the control of British capitalist began extensively since the close of the first world war which was necessitated by competitive and strategic considerations. The outstanding characteristic feature was that "the British capital invested in India was in reality first raised in India from the plunder of the Indian people, and then written down as debt owed by India to Britain, on which she had thenceforward to pay interest and dividend. (4) Besides, there was a thousand and one device of exploitation like remitting huge sums of money to England as salary, charges on various counts and through the exchange ratio between rupee and sterling. Therefore, it was aptly commented by Pt. J. Nehru that, "these heralds of Industrialisation came to us primarily for the strengthening of British rule. They were the veins and arteries through which the nations blood should have coursed, increasing its trade, carrying its produce, bringing new life and wealth to its millions. It is true that in the long run some such result

was likely, but they were designed and worked for another purpose—to strengthen the imperial hold and to capture markets for British goods" (5) Even though at a later stage the Imperialists helped create a comprador class and sought co-operation in certain limited spheres, the industrial growth of India, nevertheless, remained lopsided because the setting up of heavy industries were disfavoured. The fact stands out that India remained a political and economic appendage to England despite minor concessions. This was made further clear by 1930 through 'Imperial preference' and Ottawa Agreements that sought to safeguard the interest of British Industrial capital at the expense of the indigenous economy.

The crudest and meanest of all imperialist games were displayed by the Jameson raid, against the Boer Republic organised by Cecil Rhodes with the complicity of the British ruling circle when the news of the discovery of gold in Transval was known. It is of no use multiplying the instances of greed and vandalism that the Imperialists let loose on the people of the backward countries.

Of course the Imperialists and their supporters described all the activities as civilising mission of the West ! The following observation of Dr. S. K. Chatterjee on the motto of Western exploitation sums up the entire issue : "They came to make money and to relieve the African of his 'possessions' of gold and ivory and various products of nature which had made Africa self contained and even prosperous ; and their religious men came with a fanatical zeal to save the heathen and benighted Africa by converting them to Christianity, and making them satellites of Europe." (6) This is not only true for

Africa alone, but for peoples of backward regions as a whole. This is then the brazen hypocrisy behind the so-called civilising mission of the West.

Technique of Imperial Rule :

The purpose of political domination by the Imperialist countries was motivated chiefly by the desire of economic exploitation ; and that being the principal aim administrative system were developed commensurate with the main purpose and according to circumstances. In this field also England had shown the highest ability and statesmanship whereas other European Powers developed crude administrative machinery of oppression and exploitation ; sometime they resorted to indirect rule by propping up the unpopular and discredited local ruler ; sometime they set one section of people against another. The British government also adopted all these methods and tactics in Africa, China, Egypt, India etc., but its wisdom lay in the fact that they knew when to give in and when to part with the half rather than losing the whole. Its policy was reasonably flexible. Since the sad experience of American Revolution, towards the white colonies ; but towards India it was rigid to the extreme ; concessions and reforms came about in the wake of bloody repression. From the very outset it pursued a policy of divide and rule to maintain its control over such a vast country like India. It always created a second line of defence right from the time of permanent settlement. Since the sepoy mutiny it began to show favour to the Hindus, a section of which grew to be anglophil after getting English education and being favoured with certain offices of profit. When the country was beginning to be slowly industrialised it created a comprador class that would stand by it in distress. In this way it continued to maintain its autocratic rule right before and

5. An Autobiography—p. 437

6. Africanism. p. 20

after the out-break of the first world war. Of course this process was at times being punctuated by spurious reforms directed towards self-government. The helpless position of India is admirably described by H. G. Wells: "India is an autocracy without an autocrat. Its rule combines the disadvantage of absolute monarchy with the impersonality and irresponsibility of democratic officialdom. The Indian with a complaint to make has no visible monarch to go to; his empire is a golden symbol; he must circulate pamphlets in England or inspire a question in the British House of Commons. The more occupied the parliament is with British affairs, the less attention India will receive, and the more she will be at the mercy of her small group of higher officials." (7) Administrative efficiency, economic improvement or territorial unity, since all these were not the products of deliberate actions of a 'benevolent despotism' rather necessitated by the interest of imperial exploitation and domination, all these seemingly beneficial activities went in exciting and intensifying the nationalist spirit in the minds of the people of colonies, dependencies or protectorates and so on.

Rise of Nationalism :

Power and success have the tendency of engendering a sense of superiority. The Europeans thought of themselves as belonging to a superior race while Asians and Africans belonged to a sub-human stock. Naturally they used to behave very rudely and at times inhumanly towards the people in complete disregard of their sentiment, culture and tradition as they thought that all civilised laws were inapplicable in these countries, "By a strange process of reasoning the Europeans have, throughout their relations with Asians, convinced themselves that the acts of savagery

and inhumanity will increase their prestige in the eyes of Asian people". (8) The Tientsin incident in China in 1870—the French Council opening fire upon the people—had shown how far the arrogance of Europeans could go. The Englishmen who came to India since 1860 were convinced of belonging to a race of masters. They came here carrying a sense of hatred against Indians." "Ignorant and contemptuous of all things Indian, they had a far stronger sense of racial superiority ...and they were in sufficient numbers to develop a communal sense and bring corporate pressure upon the Government. It is impossible to understand the form which Indian nationalism was to take from the eighties onward, or the temper of the Indian press without some knowledge of this period. The lessons which the Indians learnt were that the government could be moved by an agitation if it was sufficiently violent and unscrupulous—that Indians could not expect racial impartiality from the British judges". (9) In India the Europeans could only be tried by European judges for criminal offences. Lord Ripon's effort to abolish this discrimination by passing the famous 'Ilbert Bill' provoked such an opposition and agitation among the Europeans that it had to be abandoned in its original form. "This unhappy dispute served to emphasise" the inferior status of Indians. The point was driven home by a succession of cases where man slaughter of Indians was alleged against British soldiers and civilians. These cases were often treated by the courts in a manner suggesting the half conscious recognition that an Indian life was not so valuable as that of a European". (10) 'The Chinese and Dogs were not allowed in Parks' in China which were visited by the Europeans. Everywhere

8. Asia and Western Dominance, Panikkar

9. Rise and fulfilment of British rule in India, T. Garrat.

10. I—*ibid.* P. 486.

throughout the backward world such was the attitude of the 'Master Race' in a lesser or greater degree. Nationalism, thus, as a counterpoise, began to take shape and was tinged with more or less similar attitude towards the Europeans. "Not only does aggressive Imperialism", writes J. A. Hobson, "defeats the movement towards internationalism by fostering animosities among competing empires: its attack upon the liberties and existence upon the weaker or lower races stimulates in them a corresponding excess of national self consciousness". (11)

The people, naturally, felt the urge for unity to fight against injustice and humiliation born out of common sufferings. Added to this was spoilation of agriculture and village industries and later exploitation by the finance capital, which made national resistance all the more intense for the very survival of the land and its people. In this way economic imperialism with its exploitation and racialism, thereby inculcating a sense of insult and humiliation to the very spirit of man, made both emotional and political integration of the people possible. At the less developed stage these forces found expression through agrarian revolts and racial riots, but with the expansion of Western education and ideas of systematic political struggle projected through well-knit political parties, with plans and programmes, came forward to give well ordered direction to hitherto inarticulate and blind fury.

The Imperialist expansion in its urge for grab and gain, unintentionally brought East and West closer together which made cultural interpenetration possible. The civilisation of the East, though rich in its content, were in a state of stagnation; their social, economic

and political systems were outmoded: they clung to traditions and custom and harped on their past glory while the youthful West was forging ahead resting its faith mainly on science, with an open mind to assimilate everything that was beneficial. Initially the countries of the East refused to accept anything but the Western Rulers had to force through much of their system upon the people, not from any altruistic motive but from practical reasons of administrative convenience and unity essential for the promotion of their basic purpose. Paradoxically the effect was revolutionary: the personality and dignity of the people were re-born; they became conscious of a sense of national humiliation; re-discovered their past glorious heritage, became aware of the causes behind their present decay and degeneration. All these stimulated in them a desire for resurgence of their culture and national liberation from foreign thralldom. Nevertheless it was not a desire for blind copying of the Western system and institutions but assimilation and synthesis between the Eastern and Western culture for the revival of their own vitality with a view to attacking the very source of power that had robbed them of their liberty. "In fact, whole resistance to political domination of Europe", asserts Panikkar, "provided the motive force of new nationalism, its justification and strength lay in a growing appreciation of its own culture to which European Scholarship had also materially contributed". (12) But the appreciation did not lead to the revival of the past but to re-discover the root of a particular civilisation and culture upon which to build the edifice of a new society.

While admitting the great role of the inner forces, it is also essential to discuss the external factors that helped the emergence of Nationalism in the East. Ideas and

experience have an international character. The American Revolution in the 18th Century was the first example of a successful struggle waged by a colonial people and the inspiring ideas of this historic event were always being emulated by other people. Next factor of significance was the rivalry among the Imperialist Powers leading to mutual extermination and in certain cases support extended to the colonial people by rival imperialists. Powers as Germany secretly helped the revolutionaries of India and Japan helping the I. N. A. against the then Government of India. The defeat of Russia by Japan in 1905 was a momentous event of history in that it had shattered the myth of European invulnerability and sent a thrill of hope and aspiration to the Eastern World. Asia was coming to her own, Asians were emotionally coming closer to one another and Asianism professed by Okakura became a great uniting force. Another event of tremendous significance was the Communist Revolution of Russia that arrayed itself against both internal and external exploitation, and Lenin's thesis on Imperialism characterising it as the weakest link of European capitalism and extending his party's support to colonial liberation movement. Thence forward the Nationalist Movement was, by and large, covertly or overtly being inspired by socialist ideas both in its political and economic aspects.

IV

Whither Imperialism :

It is doubtless very difficult to take an impartial attitude towards imperialism by the people of the East who have suffered under the heels of its domination, yet without a scientific attitude the core of the problem as

well as the future shape of things to come will not be understood. For it should not be seen merely as the deliberate action of the politician and capitalist of Europe but as a phase of historical development of economic forces. Volitional elements are there indeed but they are ancillary to the economic and social forces. Imperialism has doubtless perpetrated galling injustice and merciless exploitation upon the backward people, similarly it has also helped modernising the backward countries, stimulated the idea of modern nationalism, united the world whereby paving the way for a universal world order.

To-day with the changed condition imperialism has been losing ground. Political Imperialism and Economic Imperialism though not as dead as mutton, yet both are being abandoned as proclaimed ideals by all big powers even though the Powers still strive to retain their control under various subterfuges. Yet the international forces are developing in a way that will certainly throw it into the dustbin of history. In fact, since the beginning of the modern age economic relations have never been confined within the four corners of a state for less with the development of the forces of capitalism. Rivalry and conflict always proceeded alongside agreements among the Powers. Today with the increase of potentiality of productive forces a new era of plenty is within the range of possibility. And in fact, if this tremendous power is to be released in its fullest capacity modern economy need be organised on an international scale, on the basis of mutual benefit and understanding. It is not merely a question of ideal, but also of actual. Similarly the political ideology and state machineries need also be re-adjusted in consonance with the spirit of the economic evolution so as to release the creative faculty of mankind as a whole.

It is a bold hope towards a brave new world, though may not be considered a realistic one at present. None the less, it is not a utopia either, since the tendency towards such a process is pronounced. With the progress of industrialisation in under-developed and developing countries the distant vision will be drawing near and actually every moment it is drawing nearer. Imperialism still thunders and roars not because it is strong but because it is uncertain of its future destiny despite the attempt of the finance capital to maintain its visible and invisible strongholds over the economy of the backward countries through the compra-

dor class and though various other indirect political pressures. Imperialism, it should be understood, has never and will never part with power voluntarily. It has been decaying unmistakably from within and getting battered from without. But whatever beneficial thing it has contributed to the world at large remains. If our postulate is based on the desirability of the survival of human communities through amity and understanding, Imperialism must make way to better order of things to come not for the benefit of the East alone but for the human community at large.

THE LATER POETRY OF GEORGE MEREDITH

By SARBESWAR DAS

In 1883, more than twenty years after the publication of **Modern Love**, Meredith's second volume of poetry **Poems and Lyrics of the Joy of Earth** appeared. It was followed by **Ballads and Poems of Tragic Life** (1887), **A Reading of Earth** (1888) and **A Reading of Life** (1901). The most significant poems in these volumes are the philosophical nature poems. Besides, there are poems with classical themes, ballads, lyrics, odes and poems on topical subjects.

In the two poems, **Earth and Man** and **The Woods of Westernmain** we find the completest expression of Meredith's philosophy of nature. **Earth and Man** opens with the figure of the Earth Mother suckling at her breast her offspring, 'her great venture' man. She is man's "well of strength" and "home of rest" She is also "fair to scan". The pagan aesthete in Meredith observes the beauty of the Earth, while the philosopher in him, unfettered by conventional religious dogmas and well-conversant with the theory of evolution and other scientific theories, recognises in her the Mother of humanity, the well-spring of life. The Human race survives through the motherly interest of Earth¹. She reveals the purpose of life and death². Man can realise God not through denying her and escaping from her, but through unhesitant acceptance of her aid. She paves the path to perfection for man by soothing "his need, not his desire". Man wrongly "deems her cherishing of her best-endowed" as "a wanton's choice" for thereby only progress is made possible. Man allows his "self" to be obscured by passion that makes of him "a sensitive abhorring dust". Man can achieve

progress not by struggling against the Laws of Earth but by being in constant harmony with them. To realise the Spirit or Divinity man must completely understand Earth and through her, the laws of his own being. Then alone he will be able to draw out the "Stern joy" from nature and no longer view himself as "the child of woe". Unfortunately "the senses still usurp the station of their issue mind" But Mother Earth prays for man so that he may "burst the chrysalis of the blind" The positivist Meredith, with his unclouded optimism and faith in progress, holds that man will ultimately realise the true nature of Mother Earth and love her. He will accept her noble command, "Live in thy offspring as I live in mine". Meredith does not ascribe Divinity to Earth as the pantheists do. But he stresses that it is through understanding her completely that man can realise God who is the "Just Lord" of hers too³.

In **Earth's Secret**⁴, too, Meredith Says, "Earth that gives the milk the spirit gives". Earth's secret is open "for those who hither thither fare, close interthreading nature with our kind". Just as he warns in **The Woods of Westernmain** "should you distrust a tone, then beware," here, too, he warns, "at a thought of life apart from her, solidity and vision lose their state".

In **The Thrush in February**,⁵ Meredith speaks of the "double visage", the "double voice" of the Earth Mother, Pleasure and Pain, Life and Death⁶ which guide man to fight in the service of the good. The discerning mind recognises merely by faith but by reason too, the "good decree" of nature.

and obeys it. The Spirit, i. e., the Divinity served by Earth is seen through the "Law" governing her. "This Law can be apprehended only through love for Earth, "love born of knowledge, love that gains vitality as Earth, it mates" and illuminates "the meaning of the Pleasures, Pains, the Life and the Death".

Store-house of energy, of life-force as she is, Mother Earth imparts strength in hours of weakness to one who through a "perusing love" of Earth recognises her processes. Susan the lonely wife pining for her husband, finds strength from the "gurgling voices" coming from Earth during the rain.¹⁰

Those who live in the woodlands are not disturbed by the sense of mortality.¹¹ They know of life through death; they realise "how each feeds each." Meredith draws his moral law from the Earth Mother, for the woodland seems to say,

"I know not hope or fear
I take whatever may come;
I raise my head to aspects fair,
From foul I turn away."

Earlier in "**The Empty Purse**", Meredith had said,

"By my faith there is feasting to come
Not the less, when our Earth we have seen
Beneath and on surface, her deeds and
designs ;"

Again, in **Outer and Inner** Meredith speaks of reading "the lines dear Earth designs"¹² in various aspects of life. There is "sure reward" to come therefrom, and that is the ability "to see in mould the rose unfold, the soul through blood and tears".¹³

If Nature sends hard weather it is not because she is "her off-spring's executioner" but because she wants the "muscle," in man's

mind to be "renewed".¹⁴ She wants man to rise to his full stature through struggle with the harsher elements, for "contention is the vital force".¹⁵

Recognition of the Law governing the elemental forces of Nature is conducive to the spirit of Man. But that does not mean that man must escape into Nature and live in isolation away from ordinary life.¹⁶ The music of his own inner being can only achieve fullness of development if man makes himself a part of the "waves" of ordinary life. Then alone man can gather about him "a manifold air" with which he can proceed to realise the bliss of the woodland. Besides man must exert his mind to interpret Nature.¹⁷

True felicity, Meredith believes, can be attained through the harmonious union of blood, brain and spirit.¹⁸ Mind is important for "it is the mind, mind that with deep Earth unites."¹⁹ Flesh is not to be derided, for "flesh conjures tempest-flails to thresh good from worthless." Man should not be afraid of change, for change means progress. "Change is on the wing to breed,

Rose in brain from rose in blood."

Hymn to Colour,²⁰ a significant poem of later Meredith, brings out his optimism and his faith in the progress of mankind. Love is like colour, says Meredith, and Life and Death are like light and darkness. Love based on true knowledge indicates that Life and Death are counterparts of each other. Man with his blinding selfishness fails to recognise that they are the servants of love. Even as darkness and light lose themselves in the red glow of the dawn, so also life and death lose their separate identity in the colourful bosom of love. Heroic action and emotion and not any questioning attitude can lead to perfection. It is this love, this "bride-groom of colour" of

the soul that makes her realise that the humblest flower and the highest heaven are one. Guided by love, men shall attain "to stature of the Gods", "not forfeiting the beast with which they are crossed". "They shall uplift their Earth to meet her Lord, themselves the attuning chord."²⁰

In the **Change of Recurrence**²¹ Meredith describes the interminable process of nature heedless of the individual's grief. Birds and animals, pets of the poet's wife, continue with their usual activities though she has died. Meredith faces an ordeal of faith which he describes in **A Faith on Trial**. But he recovers through confidence in Earth's moral order.

He "bowed as a leaf in rain
As a tree when the leaf is shed
To winds in the season at wane."

Thus in Meredith we find a happy acceptance of the theory of evolution, on which he builds up a "Philosophy of Change". No doubt, no painful skepticism troubles him for a moment as it does in the case of Tennyson at times. Meredith feels the "tangle" of the world like Hardy but does not develop a gloomy view of life. He says in the sonnet **The World's Advance**,²²

"Judge mildly the tasked world ; disincline
To brand it, for it bears a heavy pack."

He believes that just as our mind's ascent is "spiral", so also the progress of the world is along a zigzag path. The progress is almost instinctive.

Meredith seems to anticipate D. H. Lawrence in many ways. Even as Meredith recognises a life-force embodied in nature, Lawrence recognises a "life-urge" permeating the cosmos and the humanity. Like Meredith, too, Lawrence believes that man can achieve

happiness by learning the law of his being through learning the law of nature.²³ Lawrence, less virile and more passionate than Meredith, has a poignant sense of the sorrows of life. He has been, he says, "defeated and dragged down by pain", but "still", he says, "I know that life is for delight and for bliss." Meredith's concept that the triad "blood, brain and spirit" must be conjoined in purity finds its echo in Lawrence's philosophy that body is as important as the soul. "The Holy Ghost" says Lawrence, "is with us in the flesh" and also "in the deepest part of our consciousness". But Lawrence seems to over-emphasise the body at the cost of the spirit when he declares, "Body is the soul". Even as Meredith condemns the "Dragon-Ego", Lawrence, too, condemns "a detached and self-activated ego". He condemns "the wheel of the conscious self" spinning "absolute, absolved from the sun, and the earth and the moon", as absolute evil. Meredith says, "Contention is the vital force". Lawrence similarly says --

"...the fight is to burn

At last into blossoms of being, each one his
own flower out flung".

With his exultant consciousness of the Earth Mother, Meredith repeatedly turns to themes relating to nature. He does not like the romantic poets envelop the objects of nature he writes on, in a mystical haze as it were or lose himself in an emotional ecstasy. His method, he describes in the poem, **Outer and Inner** :

"My world I note ere fancy comes,
Minutest hushed observe ;"²⁴

It is in this detailed and careful observation of nature before allowing his imagination to have its play that he is true to the scientific spirit of his time. He, as he says, neighbours "the Invisible", but he perceives the Invisible

through solid contact with individual aspects of the phenomenon which he describes in detail, for he wishes to discern the process of Nature in it.

He begins the poem on **The Lark Ascending**²⁸ with the following lines—

He rises and begins to round
He drops the silver chain of sound
Of many links without a break
In chirrup, whistle, slur and shake
All interwoven and spreading wide,
Like water-dimples down a tide
Where ripple ripple overcurls
And eddy into eddy whirls "

A comparison with the lines of Wordsworth in **The Skylark** as also with those of Shelley's **To The Skylark** would show how much closer to the phenomenal reality Meredith's description is.

He seems to capture the sound of the lark as it were. From this he moves on to a realisation that the lark is the symbol of the joy of life, of the vital principle of joy underlying all nature—

"He sings the sap, the quickened veins,
The wedding song of sun and rains." "

But the lark is always remembered by him as a lark, not as transfigured into something else, and the contrast is seen in average men who "Want the key of his wild note.

Of truth in a tuneful throat." "²⁹
The lark achieves it through a perfect adaptation to the laws of nature. Men must do likewise to achieve similar perfection.

Poems with classical themes form another striking group in Meredith's later poetry. They, too appear chiefly in "A Reading of Life" and illustrate the cult of Meredith.

Melampus³¹ is apparently the story of the legendary Greek physician whose ears were

eaten off by some young snakes saved by him from death and who could understand the language of birds. Meredith presents "the good physician" as the ideal man and artist "with love exceeding a simple love of the things that glide in grasses and rubble of woody wreck."³² He sought "the treasures in herbs and flowers",³³ "the secrets held by the creatures nearer than we"³⁴ and "the link of their life with ours."³⁵ He learnt philosophic equanimity of spirit from their lives—

"Of earth and sun they are wise, they
nourish their broods,

Weave, build, hire, burrow and battle,
take joy and pain

Like swimmers varying billows; never in
woods

Runs white insanity fleeing itself - all sane
The woods resolve." "

His ears were licked off by "the sweet affectionate tongues"³⁷ of the snakes. But he heard "the primitive hymns.

Of earth in woods issue wild of the web of strife."³⁸ He recognised harmony in the midst of discords. "tones of love in a whirl of voluble hates" "³⁹ heard "at the silent medicine-root a song." "⁴⁰ Nature and song he found closely allied. Apollo imparted to him Wisdom and Measure which was no other than Wisdom.

Meredith also states his view of poetry or art in it: "there vitality, there solely in song resides where earth and her uses to men, their needs, their forceful cravings, the themes are." "⁴¹

In **Phoebus and Admetus**,⁴² too, Meredith illustrates how health and happiness, a keen sense of the beautiful as also a true moral

sense develop through a loving acceptance of nature. The shepherds express Meredith's views as they sing "Pleasant ran our thinking that while our work was good"⁴¹ or declare that among them "began the contention to give delight and be excellent in things aimed to make life kind."⁴² For Phoebus, "God, of whom music and song and blood are pure"⁴³ had been with them, had brought prosperity to their farm, taught them arts and crafts, dancing, music and the science of medicine, and had shared their joys during his year of exile.

The Day of the Daughter of Hades is apparently based on the story of Demeter and Persephone but Meredith gives a turn to the story to illustrate his concept of the Earth Mother and the close link between Life and Death which should never be forgotten. Skiagenia, the daughter of Persephone and Hades, finds herself on the beautiful earth on a spring down. She has slipped off from the chariot of Persephone. Her day starts with a song to Helio, the Sun God and ends with a joyous "Song of Days", a fitting climax to her day-long enjoyment of the beauties of nature and life in the Company of Collistes. She sings of "the glory of Light", "the rapture of Breath", of "Furrow and seed", of

"The burial, birth of the grain,
The growth, and the showers that feed
And the green blades waxing mature
For the husbandman's aimful brown"⁴⁷

She teaches Callistes "to feel" "the solemn divinity" even in beasts, and in different aspects of nature and dislikes stories of "Cities and Martial States".⁴⁸

Her "Song of Days" discloses her whereabouts and she is carried away by Hades.

Meredith obviously wants people to develop skiagenia's understanding of the

secrets of Earth and Pan and to share with her the thirst for life undeterred by the terror of the inevitable doom.⁴⁷

The Vital Choice⁴⁹ illustrates the idea of Meredith that men must avoid the extremes of sensuality and asceticism. Artemis in this poem need not be viewed as the Symbol "of our development of body, brain and spirit in purity, in strife with the elements"⁵⁰ as Trevelyan suggests. For in that case, she becomes the true symbol of the Meredithian ideal and she has to be preferred to Aphrodite.

Love in the valley,⁵¹ the modified and enlarged version of the earlier poem of the same name published in 1851 appeared along with other poems in 1883. Meredith introduces new stanzas hardly distinguishable in spirit from the earlier stanzas and remove weaknesses in rhythm and diction so that the poem continues to appear an integrated whole. Love heightened through association with nature has been described in language full of colourful and evocative images. But even in most intensely emotional lines descriptions of aspect of nature are minute. The stanza that closes with the lyric cry.

"Here may life on death or death on life be
painted
Let me clasp her soul to know she
cannot die"⁵²
begins with the description "Large and
smoky red the Sun's cold disk drops,
Clipped by naked hills, on violet shaded
snow ;"

Among the balladic poems, the most striking is **"The Nuptials of Attila"**.⁵³ The language is vigorous. The rhythm has movement and power. The mysterious end of the mighty tyrant is well brought out. But Meredith has a moral to add :

"So the Empire built of scum
Agonised, dissolved and sank",

Meredith, like every outstanding Victorian writer, takes upon himself the mantle of a prophet. As in his novels, so in his poetry, too, he is almost always didactic. But often the charms of his poems issue from the sensuous descriptions of aspects of nature that reflect a pagan delight in them. Poems like **The Thrush in February**, **The Lark Ascending**, **Hard Weather** which effectively illustrate Meredith's philosophy contain also beautiful descriptions of nature which can come only from one who loves beauty for its own sake. The imagery in Meredith's poetry is almost always derived from nature. Birds, beasts, flowers, leaves, tree, air, fire, water, light and darkness all come into his imagery, e.g.

"Flat as to an eagle's eye
Earth hung under Attila"

— **The Nuptials of Attila**

"Shy as the squirrel and wayward 'as
the swallow
Swift as the swallow along the river's
light".

Love in the Valley

"Heartless she is as the shadow in the
meadows"

— **Love in the Valley**

"Or sometimes she will seem
Heavenly, but her blush, soon wearing
white,

Veils like a gorsebush in a web of blight
With gold buds dim".

There are countless examples of such imagery. Usually anything evil is compared by Meredith to vultures, beasts, ghosts and devils :

e.g. "Seen of his dread, she is to his
blank eye

The eyeless Ghost."

— **Earth and Man**

"distempered devil of Self"

— **Earth and Man**

There are memorable lines of beauty in most of his poems ;

e.g. "The living throb in me, the dead
revive

You mantle clothes us ; thee, past the
mortal breath

Life glistens on the river of the death
It folds us flesh and dust"

"Mother of the dews, dark eye-lashed
twilight

Low-lidded twilight, o'er the valleys
brim".

Meredith is a remarkable coiner of phrases ; e.g. "twilight bird of promise", "vermillion wings", "milky Kernal of life" "the dark translucence of the deep-eyed cool", "distempered dust of self"

He employs alliteration, and assonance frequently to achieve musicality ; e.g.

"—the run of river on root and stone

"Helpless in his froth-wrath as green logs
sheathe."

Besides, repetitions of words or phrases or even lines in the manner of refrains, and onomatopoeia are often to be found in Meredith's poetry. The Choric quatrain at the end of each of the stanzas of **Phoebus with Admetus** adds to the musicality of that poem of stately cadence.

Infact, the poems of Meredith illustrate a great variety in mood and rhythm. The serene gravity of spirit underlying **Earth and Man**, the luxuriant pagan emotionalism of **Love in the Valleys**, the restrained philosophic temper of **Hymn to Colour**, the virile tone of **The Nuptials of Attila** find their reflection in their forms and rhythmic patterns.

But these undeniable charms of Meredith

are to a great extent counter-balanced by occasional obscurities of diction, sudden transitions of thought and frequent ellipses, Lines of beauty are at times followed by such ugly lines as the following :

"For Charity was her intent
Devoutly to befriend", "

Beautiful phrases are followed by repellent phrases like "pure-fronted". No where in his later poetry does Meredith achieve any thing like the subtle irony and dramatic intensity of **Modern Love**. Meredith's power as a poet in this period is at times seen at its best in sonnets like **Winter Heavens, The Spirit of Shakespeare** or in small lyrics like **Dirge in Woods** or **Song in the Songless**. The very last poem of his, **Youth in Age** is a charming lyric which shows his ardent devotion to nature even during the fading twilight of his life.

1. "She who urged the start abides the race" *Earth and Man*.

2. "that old task of reading what he is and whence he came, whither to go, finds wilder letters flame, across her mask". *Earth and man*.

3. *The woods of Westermaln* "She being spirit in her clods Footway to the God of Gods."

4. "Selected Poetical Works. P. 39

5. Ibid. P. 43 6. Ibid. P. 132

7. Cf. *Hymn to Colour*. Ibid. 144

8. "The Spirit served by her is seen Through Law" — *The Thrush in February*. *Selected Poetical Works*. P. 136.

9. Cf. "*The Woods of Westermaln* "Fount unresting, Lure divine" Ibid P. 49.

10. *Earth and a Wedded Woman*. Ibid P. 137
4. *Woodlond Peace* Ibid P. 139

11. Ibid. P. 140

12. *Outer and Inner*. Ibid. P. 141

13. *Outer and Inner*. *Selected Poetical Works*. P. 141

14. *Hard Weather*, Ibid. P. 128

15. Ibid. P. 129

16. *Nature and Life*. Ibid P. 142

17. Ibid. P. 142

18. *The Woods of Westermaln*. Ibid. P. 5

19. Ibid. P. 53 3. Ibid. P. 53

20. Ibid. P. 48

21. *Selected Poetical Works*. P. 144

22. *Selected Poetical Works*. P. 146

23. Ibid. P. 146

24. Ibid. P. 143

25. *Selected Poetical Works*. P. 41

26. "You are all these, and on me lies the
duty

To see you all, sordid and radiant-
tissued."

Collected Poems of Lawrence.
P. 73

27. *Selected Poetical Works*. P. 140

28. Ibid. P. 71

29. *Selected Poetical Works*. P. 73

30. Ibid. P. 73

31. *Ibid.* P. 77
32. *Ibid.* P. 77
33. *Ibid.* P. 77
34. *Selected Poetical Works.* P. 77
35. *Ibid.* P. 78
36. *Ibid.* P. 78
37. *Ibid.* P. 78
38. *Ibid.* P. 79
39. *Ibid.* P. 79
40. *Ibid.* P. 79
41. *Ibid.* P. 80
42. *Ibid.* P. 74
43. *Ibid.* P. 75
44. *Ibid.* P. 76
45. *Ibid.* P. 74
46. *Selected Poetical Works.* P. 55
47. *Ibid.* P. 64
48. *Ibid.* P. 64
49. *Ibid.* P. 62
50. *Selected Poetical Works.* P. 189
50. *Ibid.* P. 62
51. *Ibid.* P. 173
52. *Ibid.* P. 85
53. *Ibid.* P. 110
54. *Selected Poetical Works.* P. 147
55. *Ibid.* P. 83
56. *Selected Poetical Works.*
The Young Princess.

PRIMITIVE WARFARE IN N.E.F.A.

(III)

P. THANKAPPAN NAIR

METHODS OF WAR: "The technique of war was", says Shukla (1959 : 83ff), "not a face to face fight, though occasionally, it became unavoidable. But this was never planned, as such a technique is of disadvantage in the hills. Instead, the warriors lay in ambush, taking the most advantageous positions for a surprise attack." The Dafla had no more aim in waging a war against his enemy than the murder or capture of the opponent. "If the circumstances permitted, as for instance, when the enemy houses lay on the outstrips of the village, the warriors even ventured to put fire to them all in a surprise. They slashed and cut, and killed and looted, and run away before anyone got an opportunity to do anything in self-defence."

FATE OF SLAIN: The Daflas cut up the body of the victim at neck and waist into 3 pieces. The corpse is left on the spot where the enemy was killed or thrown away. The warrior who killed the victim, chopped off the left palm and **PODUM** (hair-knot) and a bunch of hair as his trophy. The victorious warriors exhibit the trophies suspended on their shields. The warriors after a successful raid or revenge wear the leaves of **TALAM** and **KRA** on their helmets. If the warriors happen to cross a river or stream the palm is crushed upon a stone and the blood washed off and fastened again to the shield.

The Dafla warriors do not enter any house on their return home, but sit near a ceremonial structure of wood and bamboo called **BASAR YUGING** which is renewed for the occasion with fresh **KRA** leaves. The palm of the enemy is fixed on this ceremonial structure and a little rice-beer is poured over it. A dance is performed round the structure by men, women and children of the village, and the dancers pierce the palm with their **DAOS**.

The palm is then taken to the ceremonial tree called **NILA SENGNE** for the last rites. "Every village has such a ceremonial tree" says Shukla (1959 ; 85-86), and "in remote villages palms may still be seen hanging from the trunks of the trees." A small decorated frame of split bamboo, embellished with **KRA** leaves, is put round the trunk and the palm is then nailed on to it. The priest makes incantations and the warriors once again dance round the tree. Numerous arrows are then shot at the palm and everyone return to the village. The Daflas sacrifice a pet dog for the **SOTUNG WIYU** to avert any subsequent witchcraft. **ROPI TANI**, the spirit, who helped the warriors to gain a victory is propitiated by giving a feast in his honour.

THE GALLONGS

The Gallongs who were classed as the Western Section of the Abors, do not differ in their weapons, tactics and methods of warfare from the Abors. They were probably the

first to use a mixture of aconite and croton for causing instantaneous death. "Guns have now become much more common", writes Srivastava (962 : 38), "and their superiority over bows and arrows has been established and, gradually, they are replacing the latter".

AUGURIES FOR WAR : The Gallong way of taking augury for war is interesting. "The Gallongs say", writes Dumbur (1915 : 80-81), "that they make an image of Peka, their war god, of cane leaves on a bamboo frame. On this a helmet is placed. The MIRU calls upon the Peka to give the warriors power and lust for battle. A fowl is sacrificed to a small image or a pig to a large one and the blood is smeared on its helmet and body. This ceremony takes place before going out to fight. If they are fortunate enough to capture any children they make slaves of them and perhaps sell them; they categorically denied sacrificing their prisoners to Peka".

THE MISHMIS

WEAPONS : "The principal weapons used by the Mishmis", wrote Rowlatt (1845 : 488ff), "are the spear, sword of Lama manufacture, to which if occasionally added a matchlock or cross-bow, from which are projected poisoned arrows. When proceeding on any expedition of danger, a strong coat of sufficient thickness to ward off the force of an arrow is added to their costume, as well as a cap of fur, or split bamboo". Their war coats are made from the fibre of RHEA NIVEA. They were probably the first people on this side of the Himalays to discover the valuable properties of RHEA NIVEA; and many others of the nettle tribe; with the fibre of one of these nettles they weave to a cloth so strong and stiff that, made into jackets, it is used by them-

selves and by the Abors as a sort of armour. Dalton (1872 : 18ff) has further noted that they are the only tribe who always carry poisoned arrows. "They have neatly made oblong shields of buffalo hide, attached to which, inside, is a quiver full of finely-made poisoned PANJIS; with these they invariably garnish the path by which they retreat with their prey". Needham (1900 : 15ff) has noted that the Mishmis used to exchange MISHMI TEETA with the Tibetans for cap-guns, 'as good as our own'. The Mishmis possessed double as well as single barrelled guns and pistols when the Bebejiya Mishmi Expedition visited them in 1900. Needham has said that 'if a man is wounded by a poisonous arrow, the sorcerer is called in, and he proceeds to cut the wound open and suck out the poison, and after several incantations, the patient is left alone'.

THE KHAMPTIS

WEAPONS : The Khamptis had a very good military organisation. They were found using guns, pistols, spears and DAOS when they were conquered by the British. They use bows and arrows, though not often. Their arrows are tipped with aconite, which they used to obtain from the Mishmis. Lubu Bum is the hill, which remains snow-clad in winter, from which the Mishmis obtain their aconite. The Khampti spears are superior even to that of the Nagas.

ARMS AND AMMUNITION : The Khamptis were in possession of a good number of old flint muskets and a few old horse pistols. They are good smiths and their DAOS are superior to the Tibetan ones. The Khampti DAO was one of the traditional items throughout the North-East Frontier which a bridegroom had to present to his prospective father-in-law for the hands of his daughter.

"They (Khamptis) are seldom seen", writes Dalton (1872: 6ff), "without the useful weapon the DAO hanging in its sheath, plain or ornamented according to the condition of the wearer, by a sling made of the split rattan. It is worn somewhat in front, so that the hilt is readily grasped in the right hand; this and the defensive round shield of buffalo hide are sufficient for a Khampti to take the field with, but many of them now carry muskets or fowling-pieces".

STOCKADES : All the Khampti villages had good stockades. The stockades were very strong and high, 16 feet to 20 feet. The stockades are double and upto a height of 4 feet from the ground, the spaces between are filled up with earth and stones. The tops of the stockades had pointed PANJIS ingeniously placed to prevent men from scaling up the sides: Errol Gray (1893: 25) has recorded that the Langnu Raj's palisade was from 12 to 14 feet high made of split trees roughly hewn to the shape of planks and interlaced with bamboo plinths.

The Khamptis often used to construct two stockades, one for the protection of their villages and another one round the house of their Chief. The stockades of the Khamptis were not really strong, and mountain guns could easily knock them to bits. The stockades of the Khamptis are inferior to the similar defences of the Angami Nagas and Abors, as the Khamptis construct them on level grounds. The doors of the stockade are large and strong, being suspended from beams above fixed on strong posts. At dark the doors are always shut, and a little wicket permits of the egress and ingress of people whose affairs take them outside. If war is

going on, a certain number of men keep watch at night.

CONSCRIPTION : All the male members of the Khampti society between the ages of 18 and 40 were liable for war service, i.e., for leaving their village for an expedition; but if the village is attacked, then all the males who can carry arms aid in the defence. The tactics adopted by the Khamptis are surprises, ambuscades, cold-blooded murders and arson.

THE SINGPHOS

WEAPONS ; The Singphos who were the terror of the North-East Frontier towards the end of the 18th and early 19th centuries, are distinguished for their methods of warfare. Their arms are DAOS, spears, cross-bows, bows and arrow, and matchlocks. The Singphos do not throw their spears like the Angami-Nagas. "The national weapons of this tribe are", wrote Dalton (1872: 9ff), "the heavy short sword called DAO or DIA, so well known in Assam, admirably adapted for close quarters in war, and for clearing jungle and preparing the ground in peace—the frontier tribes can dispense with the trouble of converting their swords into ploughshares, they use them as they are -a spear with a short shaft used for thrusting, and a strong cross-bow with bamboo arrows, but they affect the use of the musket whenever they can get one, and are sometimes seen with China matchlocks. They use shields of buffalo hide, four feet long, and helmets sometimes of that material, sometimes of thick plaited rattan-work, varnished black, decorated with boars' tusks etc." The Singpho gun explodes with a great noise, and it is more likely to damage the firer than the person fired at.

GUNPOWDER : Khamptis and Singphos

used to manufacture gunpowder locally. They obtained saltpetre from their cattlehouses; charcoal they make themselves and sulphur from Sadiya and Burma. The Khamptis take in 100 parts, saltpetre 70, sulphur 15, and charcoal 15. The powder is not granulated and very large charges are used. As the ingredients are taken disproportionately, the charge of the powder and slugs reach only one third of the way up the barrel, the recoil, when the weapon is discharged, being proportionately great, and the missiles, as a rule, going very wide of the mark aimed at.

METHODS OF WARFARE: "In warfare", says Dalton (1872:9ff), "their attacks are confined to night surprises, which are speedily abandoned if they meet with steady opposition. They are skilled in fortifying naturally difficult positions, using freely the PANJA, a bamboo stake of different lengths sharpened at both ends and stuck in the ground, with which the sides of the hills and all approaches to their position are rendered difficult and dangerous. If they use muskets on these occasions, the weapons are generally fixed in loopholes of breastworks, ready loaded, and the trigger is pulled when the enemy reaches the point of the road (previously ascertained) covered by them. If they fail by such means to beat the attacks at once, they abandon the position for another behind it".

The Singphos like the Khamptis did not have any recognised war-leader; but sometimes groups of villages united themselves under a chief whom they called SAWBWA. Their villages are defended by strong and high stockades. All males between the ages of 16 and 40 were liable to serve in wars. Though the Singphos are experts in surprises, ambushes and arson, their mode of attack

is peculiar. The warriors generally advance on all fours in single file towards the point to be gained, each man armed alternately with a DAO, and spear. They stop at intervals to ascertain the possibility of any danger and if there is any danger, they throw themselves to the ground, covering their bodies with their shields. On approaching the target, they rush up in single file and cut everyone who offers resistance on the way with their sharp swords. As soon as they accomplish the objective, they disperse.

The Singphos used to undertake night-attacks only when they were sure enough that they will succeed. Small parties who dared to oppose a Singpho horde were usually annihilated.

THE NOCTES AND WANCHOS

The Noctes and Wanchos inhabiting the Patkoi range in the Tirap Frontier Division of NEFA belong to the Naga race and their weapons and warfare are more or less similar to that of the Nagas. These Patkoi Nagas had lost all their martial qualities by the time the British reached Assam due to the influence of the the Vaishnab preachers from the plains of Assam.

WEAPONS: The favourite weapons of the Wanchos and Noctes are spear, DAO and cross-bow. "The universal weapon of the Nagas", says Robinson (1841:391ff), "is a javelin, which is usually adorned with coloured hair, and ornamented with strips of rattan of various colours. The Loohoopas make use of a long spear, and some of the eastern Nagas handle the tomahawk". "The instruments of war", says Owen (1844:10ff), "are the battle-axe, of which there are three kinds; the handles, two feet in length, covered with a jet black varnish, hold the different shaped

blades". The DAO is their constant companion whether asleep or awake. The Noctes and Wanchos use DAO as a hatchet or mace, held by both hands. A single blow of the DAO is enough and they can cut with tremendous force. The DAO is of great practical value as their country is full of thick jungles. Woodthrope (1876:65ff) says that the DAO of the Wanchos "is a most formidable weapon, the blade is generally triangular; about eight inches long, straight at the back, and four inches wide at the top, narrowing gradually with a slightly convex edge towards the handle, which is two feet long and ornamented with tufts of coloured hair; sometimes, instead of being straight all the way up, the back of the blade swells out towards the top in a semi-circular projection".

The Spear of these Patkoi Nagas is of the usual size, ornamented with goat's hair, dyed in Munjeeth and further embellished with narrow strips of rattan of various hues. "The spears", wrote Woodthrope (1876:65), "are not by any means handsome or formidable weapons as those used further west, and this is due, I fancy, to the fact that with the eastern tribes the DAO, and not spear, is the principal weapon of offence. The spearheads are small and resemble very similarly in shape and ornamental workings those found at Thatchumi and Primi, in shaft, though short and slender, is strongly made of bamboo and decorated with red black hair in various fashions". The Noctes use their spear for close attack, usually from ambushes, and their favourite method is never to attack in the open.

Their shields are small, about 4 feet long by two feet wide, and are made of buffalo hide, decorated along the upper edge with a

fringe of red hair, and on the face with two or four tassels of grass. Peal (1872:25ff) says that the Noctes "have a shield, or PHOR, made of buffalo or boar skin, and often ornamented by goat's hair dyed scarlet, or by cowries. It figures in their war dance, but I suspect is not much used elsewhere, unless in a premeditated onslaught. Woodthrope (1876) and Peal (1872) have confirmed the use of cross-bow by these Patkoi Nagas.

The use of Panjis to retard the progress of the enemy is practised like the rest of the tribes of NEFA. "These (Panjis)", says Woodthrope, are carried in a horn suspended at the back, or in a small basket to which is attached a long tail of beerskin; sometimes this Panji-holder is the skin of a bear's foot with the claws remaining, the skin sewn up to form a large bag, a little figure of a sitting man, dressed and painted after life, being affixed to the upper part. Some men wear a skin of defensive armour in the way of a leather corset which overlaps on the chest, and is kept up by means of straps which pass over the shoulders". The Noctes and Wanchos are colourful in their war dress.

"The war dress of the Nagas consists", says Robinson (1841:391), "in a number of odd contrivances, to give themselves a fierce appearance. They bind up their legs and broques of particoloured rattans, and adorn their heads and necks with bands of the same. On their heads they wear bunches of feathers intermingled with plates of brass, and the horns and teeth of wild animals; and as though their appearance were not sufficiently fantastic, they affix a bunch of hair to supply the deficiency of a tail".

The villages of the Noctes and Wanchos

are exceedingly well placed, occupying the higher points of the ridges on which they stand, and commanding all the approaches to them. They construct double stockades interlaced with bamboo and cane. A ditch sown with Panjis is dug around the stockades.

METHODS OF WARFARE : The methods of warfare of the Noces and Wanchos are arson, surprise and ambush. "They (the Nagas)", wrote Robinson (1841:391ff), "never take the field in numerous bodies, since such a measure would require a greater afford of foresight and industry than is usual among them. On approaching the enemy's territories, they collect their troops and advance with great caution. Even in their hottest and most active wars, they proceed wholly by stratagem and ambushes. They place not their glory in attacking their enemies with open force. To surprise and destroy is the great merit of a commander, and the highest pride of his followers. If no straggling parties can be intercepted, they advance towards the villages and if so fortunate as to remain unobserved, they set on fire the enemy's huts in the dead of night, and massacre the inhabitants as they fly naked and defenceless from the flames. When the enemy is caught unprepared, they rush upon them with utmost ferocity, and tearing off the scalps of all those who fall victims to their rage, and they carry home these strange trophies of their triumph. These they preserve as monuments not only of their prowess, but of the vengeance which their arm has inflicted upon the people who were objects of public resentment".

The Noces and Wanchos, like the rest of the Naga tribes, possess fortitude of mind superior to the sense of danger or the fear of death. They stick the poisoned Panjis, if

they expect any attack, on all the approaches to the villages and passes. Owen (1844:10ff) says that the "more timid, and inhabitants of less populated villages, in anticipation of danger, to prevent the enemy's approach, knock down all the trees on each side of the pathway, leading from the main one to the village—so as effectually to block up all chance of ingress; and so cunningly is it executed, that in many cases, although the enemy may be well acquainted with the neighbourhood, they become so perplexed by the delay, as to find the day dawn, when they fly to the forest, and often superstitiously fear to renew the attack".

SYMBOLS OF WARFARE OF THE TRIBES

Before we conclude this article, it would be profitable to mention the symbols the hill-tribes use in their primitive methods of war and peace. "A stone signifies" writes Hamilton (1912:264-65), "the gravity of any matter; a chili means anger; a piece of coal or burnt clay implies extreme urgency; a piece of burnt wood indicates incendiarism if the opportunity should occur; a sharpened dhao reveals the intentions of the sender; a dhao with blunted edge shows that the quarrel has been made up and peace restored; an unsharpened dhao and a piece of aconite carries the warning that the sender's feelings are very much upset; anything pretty such as a white flower or a piece of white cotton denotes good-will. Messages are usually sent in very diminutive cane baskets; if a native should find in his field or in his house a basket containing a scrap of aconite, a chili, and a bit of burnt stick, it is usually wise for him to prepare for trouble". The Abor Expedition of 1911-12 noticed a miniature

stockade with a small trench in front of it across a path. Two broken arrows and a gateway made of the boughs of a particular tree were in the stockade. The significance of this symbol may be explained in the following way. The trench represented the frontier line of the village in regard to the men of the hostile village. The broken arrows showed that the village did not desire war, while the leaves on the bough of the tree, indicated peace. The placing of a dismembered pig across the path by which the enemy is likely to traverse must be taken as that

the invaders will be cut into pieces if they dared to attack.

The traditional weapons and warfare of the tribesmen of NEFA have changed radically with their subjugation by the British Government. The tribes have lost their martial qualities. The villages are no more defended by building stockades as there is, at present, no fear of internecine and inter-village raids, with the establishment of effective administration. No new measures of defence are adopted by the tribesmen. Guns have practically ousted their bows and arrows.

SWORD OF DAMOCLES HANGS OVER SPORT IN INDIA

—“LEGER”

It is a paradox, indeed, when a country claims to be for the people; and denies the people the incentive to develop healthy bodies and healthy minds by not extending to them adequate financial assistance for the promotion and development of sport. This is exactly the case concerning India at the current juncture. Other nations, both big and small, accept sport as the best means to obtain citizens of character and discipline, but it appears not so with India.

Elsewhere participation in International sports competitions is encouraged wholeheartedly because it is realised that through them a nation's representatives do not only fill the role of ambassadors for further cementing the bonds of friendship between countries, but also derive cultural benefits. Here the subject is taken to the bargaining point.

It appears that unless a farce is enacted between the Ministry of Education, Government of India, and the Indian Olympic Association extending to the eleventh hour our contingent is not sent abroad, bewitched and bewildered.

According to the Olympic Charter, a National Olympic Organisation is the sole authority on amateur sportsman's bone fides, making the selections and approving the standards. But the Indian government's Ministry concerned unjustifiably thinks otherwise. It interferes in all these matters and finally holds the sword of Damocles over the heads of the I.O.A. with regard to recommending the release of foreign exchange for the project. Is it necessary for much emphasis to be laid on the availability of foreign exchange when India earns annu-

ally approximately Rs. 1,000 crores on this account? Conversely, the same government does not seem to pay as much heed to such considerations when despatching other persons abroad on unfruitful tours.

The impasse on the Olympic Games created by the Indian Government and I.O.A. will continue unless the words of Baron Pierre de Couberton, founder of the Modern Games, are imbibed: "The most important thing in the Olympic Games is not to win but to take part. The most important thing in life is not the triumph but the struggle. The essential thing is not to have conquered but to have fought well." Contrary to the fine sentiments expressed in the preceding lines the Indian Olympic Association evinced weakness by accepting the Government's mercy, as it were, to defray full expenses of the hockey team before the settlement of the dispute which concerns also the other bran-

ches of sport. Why should the greed for winning a gold medal be allowed to bring about disparity in the realm of sport in the country?

Undeniably, the Indian Olympic Association would have received the plaudits of the sportsmen and their well-wishers in India if it had adopted the correct and dignified stand of brooking no unnecessary interference by the Government and conveying to it emphatically that unless it discontinues the pursuit of its interference and offers adequate financial assistance no Indian contingent will participate in the XIX Olympiad, which is due to be held in Mexico City in coming October. The Olympic Charter comes in here again. The International Olympic Committee will pay no notice to entries submitted for the Games by a National government.



Current Affairs

WHY U. N. ATTITUDE INFURIATES THE GIBRALTARIANS

Joseph Garcia of the Gibraltar Post writing for British Information Service says :

Whatever the politicians may say, the Gibraltar issue is basically a human problem.

It boils down to this simple question : Does Gibraltar remain British, and thus satisfy the wishes of Gibraltarians or should it revert to Spain, and thus satisfy her territorial claim ?

In the General Assembly Resolution of December 1967 the United Nations have gone far towards endorsing the Spanish positions and this has infuriated Gibraltar as a whole. The Gibraltarians simply cannot understand how the United Nations, on which they had pinned so much hope, could have possibly denied them the basic human right of choosing their own future.

The attitude prevailing at the United Nations has logically spurred Spain to intensify her claim, while at the same time it has made the Gibraltarians more resolute than ever to stand by their freely determined wishes and resist the mounting Spanish pressures.

The result has been that the problem, instead of getting nearer a solution, has become more intractable.

HOSTILE SPAIN

Some sectors of world opinion probably do not understand why more than 20,000

Gibraltarians, who are geographically connected to Spain should have so emphatically rejected the Spanish proposals of May 1966.

Spain had called her proposals "generous" and indeed they were—from a Spanish point of view. But the Gibraltarians were already enjoying the freedoms Spain was offering them. Not only that, but under Britain the people of this proud Mediterranean City had made democracy work.

How could they possibly wish to exchange this working arrangement for one which, however sincere, could well prove a practical impossibility ?

Besides, the Spanish attitude to the Gibraltarians had been hostile. The many restrictions Spain imposed at the Gibraltar frontier served to generate feelings of intense distrust.

The average Gibraltarian still does not understand how he could be offered a bright future with one hand and be hammered on the head with the other.

SIMPLE PSYCHOLOGY

As the referendum of about a year ago showed, there are just a handful of Gibraltarians who would welcome a change of sovereignty. The vast majority, the recent constitutional discussions have shown, are in favour of retaining the link with Britain.

The British Government have said they would be happy to achieve a solution to the

dispute satisfactory to the Spanish Government as well as to themselves, and one which was acceptable also to the Gibraltarians.

But the present Spanish policy, which has succeeded in virtually isolating Gibraltar from the Mainland, has not helped to create a favourable climate for constructive dialogue.

For the moment Gibraltar is actively engaged in reorientating its economy to make it less susceptible to external pressure. If Gibraltar is not allowed to live with Spain, it will live without her—this is the simple psychology of the Gibraltarians.

THE CRUX

Gibraltar's Chief Minister, Sir Joshua Hassan, has been elected to lead Gibraltar since the end of the World War II when elections were first held on the Rock. To quote his own words: "The key to the problem of Gibraltar will ultimately be found in the heart, the mind and the will of the people of Gibraltar."

And he added: "The sooner this is recognised the sooner will the present crisis resolve itself into a solution which is just and honourable to all parties."

This, then, is the crux of the matter. But Gibraltarians now fear that the United Nations may again support the Spanish claim which would have the inevitable consequence of making matters even worse.

So far trade has been hit and if more Spanish pressure is applied in the future it may do Gibraltar and its people greater harm. But at the same time it will make this same people even more determined to cling to what they think is right and proper.

We thus have an instance in which the United Nations, perhaps unintentionally, have helped to aggravate a delicate and already complex human problem.

INDIAN SCIENTISTS TOUR BRITAIN

LONDON, September 12—Three Indian science writers arrived in London on Wednesday to begin a month's tour as guests of the Government during which they will gain a view in depth of Britain's scientific organisation and achievement.

They are Dr. Sanat Biswas, Science Editor, "Amrita Bazar Patrika", Calcutta, and Divisional Engineer of the Electricity Board of Calcutta (nuclear and thermal power specialist); Mr. Harish Agrawal, staff science writer of Nav Bharat Times, Delhi, and Secretary of the Science Writers' Association of India; and Mr. Surender Jha, Editor, "Science Today", Bombay.

The early part of the tour will be spent in London with discussions at the Ministry of Technology, the National Research Development Council—which provides financial and other support for technological developments of potential commercial importance. The Royal Society which was founded in 1660 and is the oldest scientific society in Britain, and the British Association for the Advancement of Science, which promotes more general understanding of the subject. There will also be visits to institutions like the Tropical Products Institute, which helps developing countries derive greater benefit from the plant and animal products and the Centre for Education Television Overseas, which aims to serve the interests of education in the developing countries particularly.

On 18 September, the visitors will spend a day at the Farnborough Air Show which, this year, will stage one of the most spectacular flying displays ever seen in Britain and have on show aircraft of nine overseas

countries as well as advanced equipment from more than 300 British aircraft firms.

During the second week of their stay the scientists will visit the University town of Cambridge where they will tour the factories of the Pye Group, the world wide electronics and telecommunications firm, and call at the Cavendish Laboratory and Mullard Radio Astronomy Observatory where many important discoveries like the electron and the science of x-rays have been made,

The third week will be spent in the North of England, centred upon the City of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, prominent in the Shipbuilding and engineering industries. The visitors will tour industrial estates, research centres and industrial manufacturers, including Imperial Chemical Industries at Billingham. The company's agricultural division is the world's largest single ammonia producer with an ammonia equivalent capacity of 1.5 million tons and its products include fertilisers, plant protection products and a wide range of industrial chemicals.

The visitors return to London on 29 September to visit further science laboratories and the British Broadcasting Corporation.

Their last few days will be spent viewing the U. K. Atomic Energy Authority development establishment at Winfrith and a nuclear power station at Dungeness in the South of England.

BRAVERY AWARD FOR INDIAN SEAMAN

LONDON, September 12—A 40-year old Indian seaman, Abdul Karim Dawood, 208 Nishampada Road, Bombay—9, was on Wednesday presented with a gold watch in recognition of the bravery he displayed when

an explosion took place in the oil tanker in which he was serving.

The presentation was made on behalf of the President of the Board of Trade by Mr. T. W. Liddell, Principal Officer, Marine Survey Office, Board of Trade Glasgow.

Donkeyman Dawood was on duty in the engine room of the B. P. tanker, the British Crown, which had nearly completed loading her cargo of crude oil in the Persian Gulf, when a violent explosion occurred aft of the centre-castle causing extensive fires.

After a short time, Mr. Dawood went on deck to see what the position was, and on seeing the fire caused by the explosion, immediately returned to the boiler room and turned off the fires and forced draught fans to reduce the risk of the boilers exploding. He waited for about 15 minutes until the dimming light indicated that the boiler pressures were down and it was safe to leave them. He then went on deck using a portable fire extinguisher to clear a passage.

Mr. Dawood went to his cabin for his life jacket and met an elderly Indian seaman, Abbas Husein of Ratnagiri, who could not swim, so he led him to the stern of the vessel where they clambered down a mooring rope into the water. The seaman was assisted to safety and Mr. Dawood swam to a nearby mooring buoy from which he was picked up by a rescue launch.

The award citation states: "In returning to the boiler room and closing the valves, Mr. Dawood averted the possibility of the boilers exploding adding to the holocaust. He was instrumental in saving the life of the elderly seaman, and throughout the incident he completely disregarded all thoughts of personal safety and is worthy of the highest praise."

Mr. Dawood is at present serving on the B. P. tanker British Envoy, now in dock at Greenock.

The gold watch awarded to him bears the inscription: "Presented by Her Majesty's Government to Abdul Karim Dawood in recognition of his services on the occasion of the disaster to the S. S. British Crown on 20th August, 1966."

Science and Humanities

John Cross writing in the *Guardian* weekly points out that Students in Great Britain are progressively giving up science studies. It is expected that by 1984 science and technology classes will be empty in that country. The reaction against science studies may have been engendered by many forces. The speculation is that

"Many persons see science as a dehumanising force. They foresee a computer-run world in which individual identity is lost. And they consider science to be the enemy of culture, a destroyer of aesthetic values. Yet scientific knowledge is as much a part of 'culture' as the traditional elements of music, drama and the arts. And outstanding scientists are just as 'creative' as composers, writers and artists. "But the pursuit of culture is not mere fact-hunting, it involves the appreciation of beauty too. And although science, as a whole, has intellectual beauty scientific facts are not, in themselves, particularly interesting or beautiful. How then can science be integrated with culture. The answer in my view, is to let science interact freely with the arts. The offshoots of science and technology sometimes have inherent aesthetic qualities. If the senses are stimulated, interest may be aroused."

But apparently the students no longer feel much interested in the study of science in spite of all the aesthetic and humanising cultural values that one can discover in scientific research and studies. There is no doubt

that the study of science intensifies knowledge of particular bits and pieces of the facts of material creation. But it leaves wide gaps where most things that one encounters in life are found fully expressed materially or in abstract conception. If these gaps are filled by providing general knowledge to science students their apathy towards science may be overcome.

Soviet Assurances to Britain about Czechs

The *Guardian* informs that, "the Soviet Ambassador called on the Foreign secretary in London.....apparently to assure him that Czechoslovakia need have no effect on the relations between East and West." The *Guardian* opines, "If this is the Soviet view it takes the spheres of influence doctrine to an unacceptable extreme. Spheres of influence are a useful notion, especially in the nuclear age, to define a Great Power's immediate interests so that other powers do not trespass upon them and risk a collision which could have dangerous results. But the thesis which the Russians appear to be asserting goes farther than this. It implies that a Power can behave without any restraint in its own sphere and that what it does is no concern of the world outside. The doctrine as generally accepted means that the United States shall not attempt to subvert, say, Bulgaria (nor Russia put missiles in, say, Cuba); it does not mean that Russia can invade Czechoslovakia (or the United States a disobedient Central American republic) without criticism from outside. And there is more to it than simple criticism. The politics of detente implies that each side trusts the other to do nothing to outrage the general rules of political morality and of sovereignty in international law. If one side does outrage these rules it cannot expect to be trusted and the spirit of detente must therefore suffer."

CHINESE CLAIM OF SUZERAINTY OVER NEPAL

ASHOK KUMAR NIGAM

(II)

De facto Status of Nepal

An examination of the actual political status which Nepal has been enjoying further strengthens the above conclusion. Suzerainty was originally an institution of feudal law and was used to describe the particular relationship between the feudal lord and his vassal. The latter owed allegiance to the suzerain ruler, he had to pay his tribute, had to give him his military support and, in return, was entitled to his protection. Further,

"The Vassal State of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is...Deprived of external sovereignty, the vassal State had no position of its own in the family of nations. It is essential to remember that it remains a portion of the suzerain state, which represents it entirely in relation with other nations. In principle all treaties concluded by the suzerain state are ipso facto binding on the vassal; the latter is automatically a party to war in which the suzerain is engaged, and suzerain state is externally responsible for all actions of the vassal. These are some of the main common features of Vassal States in Modern International Law."⁵⁵

The Indian Princely States were, for instance, until the independence of India, vassals of the British Crown which exercised the rights of paramountcy over them. Sino-Nepal relations have been devoid of all such attributes. As to the paying of any tribute, the Chinese on their part have

tried to interpret the wordings of article 6 of the treaty of 1792 and the sending of Nepalese Missions to China as an arrangement for paying tribute to her, but that can not be accepted as the said article provides only for an exchange of presents between the two Courts. A detailed discussion on the point is given under the head "quinquennial Mission". Nepal further, never gave any military support to China. Gorkha soldiers, on the contrary, were sent with the consent of the Nepal Darbar to fight for the British against the Chinese in 1900-01.⁵⁶ Again, Nepal gave all out help to the British expedition against Tibet, which was claimed by China to be her "vassal" and as such a part of her territory. These instances negate the very idea of any 'allegiance' on the part of Nepal towards China. As to whether Nepal was a portion of China, even China never claimed it. China never tried to represent Nepal in her relations to other nations though she had tried to do so in case of Tibet (See Anglo-Chinese Convention on Tibet-1890). Nepal neither fought any war ~~by~~ the side of China nor any treaty concluded by China was ever deemed binding on Nepal. In fact Nepal was more inclined to side with the British Indian Government in the International sphere and sometimes even fought wars side by side with the British Government.

Besides, Nepal has been declaring wars and concluding all types of treaties. This in itself is a

sufficient proof of Nepal's sovereignty as observed by Lord McNair :

"The making of treaties is one of the oldest and most characteristic exercise of independence of sovereignty on the part of States."⁵⁷

The Permanent Court of International Justice also has stated in the Wimbledon case that,

"The right of entering into International Engagements is an attribute of State Sovereignty."⁵⁸

The Supreme Court of United States of America in *Perry vs. United States*, in 1934, used language which resembles the Wimbledon judgement :

"But the right to make binding obligations is a competence attaching to sovereignty... When a State admits or excludes aliens or classes of aliens, when it surrenders or declines to surrender to another State persons alleged to be criminals or political refugees, when it imposes a tariff on certain foreign imports and so-forth, it is exercising rights of sovereignty..."⁵⁹

To put it the other way :

"A dependent State, in which term is comprised both protected and Vassal States, by the term of its protector or Suzerain either may have surrendered any treaty-making capacity which it may at one time have had, or may have only be allowed to contact International Engagements of certain limited kinds."⁶⁰

As pointed out before, Nepal always signed bi-lateral and multi-lateral political, commercial and other types of International treaties in her independent capacity, sometimes even prejudicial to the Chinese interests. Gorkha-East India Company Commerce Treaty—1792, Gorkha-East India Company Boundary Treaty—1801, Treaty of Sugauli-1816, Gorkha-Sikh Pagri Exchange Treaty-1838-39, Engagement to promote business between the Company and Nepal-1839, Gorkh-East

India Company-Extradition Treaty-1855, Gorkha-Great Britain Land Restoration Treaty-1860, Treaty between Great Britain and Nepal 1923, Gorkha-Great-Britain Arms Purchasing Treaty-1923 and a number of other treaties can be cited in proof of this. Moreover, China, though having full knowledge of affairs, never interfered with or objected to these actions of Nepal. This unfettered exercise throughout the history well establishes her external independence or sovereignty.

It may also be noted here that Nepal's position was quite different from that of Tibet, though the Chinese contention purports to treat both the countries almost equally under her suzerainty. In the case of Tibet, the position was quite different. Matters like appointment of a permanent Chinese Amban in Tibet and his repeated efforts to interfere with the external and internal affairs of the State, and Chinese insistence not to allow any treaty with Tibet to operate when it was neither concluded nor approved by her, etc., made Tibet's independent status controversial, nothing of the sort is to be found in her relations with Nepal. What to say of a resident, no Chinese official was ever allowed or invited to visit Nepal in those days. The Chinese Amban in Tibet at the time of any need acted only as an 'Ambassador' (and not a resident) between the two Governments of China and Nepal. Besides, Nepal was keeping its representative with the status of an ambassador at Lhasa, which was not possible had she been tributary to China and China had been an overlord of Tibet.

Therefore, either the Chinese version of the Treaty of 1856—that the Emperor of China "shall be obeyed" in the preamble and that Nepal had been regarding him "with borne allegiance" in its article 2 (see foot note 46 and 47), or the Nepalese version of it that the Emperor of China shall continue to be regarded with respect as heretofore" in the preamble and that Nepal has been regarding him "with respect" in its second

article, be taken to be correct, the position created by actual practice of the two governments is not materially affected.

Thus, ascertained in the light of actual status enjoyed by Nepal, none of the two treaties of 1792 and 1856 can provide any substance for a claim of suzerainty of China over Nepal as claimed by the former.

Quinquennial Mission

The other basis of Chinese claims was the custom of sending five yearly delegation or quinquennial mission by Nepal to China, which continued upto 1856. Chinese claimed it to be a tribute-carrying mission to China under Article 4 of the Treaty of 1792 and inferred therefrom the continued vassalage of Nepal to her since that date (1792) onwards. Nepal on the other hand denied any such motive behind it and claimed that it was merely in nature of diplomatic mission from one sovereign government to another, carrying friendly gifts (and not tribute) from Nepal and bringing back similar presents from Chinese Emperor.

We have to remember, however, that this custom was first started in the year 1789, soon after the end of Gorkha-Rhot war to which we have referred earlier.

Chinese and Nepalese scholars differ in their versions of the nature of the custom and how and why it started. Various Chinese records bear reference to this matter. We may, for example, quote from the fifth chapter of the account of the "Expedition against the Gurkha in Chun Lung Reign" as given by *Wei-Yuan* (T.MO-Shin) an ex-Imperial Magistrate :

"In the third month of the fifth year of the Ch'ien-Lung Reign, the Gurkhas... sent troops and invaded the frontier area. The Tangut (Tibetan) soldiers were not able to make any resistance. As for the officials, whom the government appointed in order to help in the extermination of invaders,... they tried to settle the matter amicably and to get peace through bribery.

So they secretly gave advice to the Tibetan abbots (i.e., K'rupu) and other ecclesiastics privately to pay Gurkhas yearly subsidy of Rs.51,000 in gold in order to stop the military operation.

"...Nevertheless, Pa-Chung (the Chinese General) ventured to deceive the Emperor by presenting a memorial to the effect that the rebels had surrendered."⁶¹

Rockhill quotes one Chinese source as saying :

"The Chinese General then reported to the Emperor of China, that there was no trouble but that Gurkha Chief only wished to send a tribute mission to China and that he had settled the little frontier incident without the loss of a single soldier or the spending of a single tael (Chinese Coin). The Gurkha mission was thereupon allowed to proceed to Peking and the Emperor, in his blissful ignorance of the attack on the Tibetan frontier, sent the Gurkha Raja, on dismissing it, a patent of King (a decree in which the title of the King was bestowed)."⁶²

It appears from the language of this decree that the Chinese Emperor was quite misled by his General's Report regarding the nature of Nepalese mission. He, therefore, notwithstanding the fact of Gorkha victory, assumed the mission to be the token of Nepal's desire to be included among the tributories of the Chinese Empire'.⁶³ But Nepalese version of the event is quite different. According to one Nepalese Scholar, the mission, carrying 'Saugat' with it, was sent only to "establish contacts" with distant China.⁶⁴ According to another scholar its purpose was to have "cordial relation" with China⁶⁵, according to yet another, it was sent to obtain sympathetic reactions from China towards the 1790 treaty⁶⁶; but all agree that it was in the nature of a "diplomatic mission" sent from one court to another" in order to cultivate

goodwill of the Chinese throne⁶⁷. "Another factor behind this diplomatic move might have been the fear of any possible encroachment upon their political freedom and territorial integrity by the mighty British in India. Nepalese Rulers might have visualised a safeguard against such possibility in establishing some link with the Chinese Court. The British Resident in Nepal has thus observed :

"...there is also a feeling in Nepal that the vague connection with China is valuable to the Durbar as being a bar to the British Government obtaining too close a political hold over Nepal."⁶⁸

Niranjan Bhattarai has made similar observation at page 170 of his book.

The said make-believe of the Chinese Emperor referred to above was, however, spoiled by the refusal of the Lhasa Government to pay tribute to Nepal according to the terms of the 1789-90 Treaty. The Gurkhas thereupon again invaded Tibet in 1791. This time China came to the rescue of Tibet and as described earlier, the combined Tibeto-Chinese force pursued the Gorkhas into Nepal and defeated them at Nawakot. This was culminated in the Gorkha-Bhot treaty of 1792, referred to earlier.

The Chinese claimed that Nepal had by this treaty accepted Chinese overlordship and agreed to send a tribute mission every five years to Peking as a symbol of their vassalage. This construction of the Treaty in general and article 6 in particular is quite unacceptable to the Nepalese authorities. As far as the wordings of article 6 read together with those of article 7 of the treaty are concerned, they do not support the Chinese contention at all. Article 6 provides that the two States (Nepal and Tibet) would send to China "some produce of their land every five years as a token of their filial love"; while article 7 envisaged "that the Chinese Government in return would send to Nepal a friendly present and would make every arrangement for the comfort of the mission to and from Peking".

The Chinese argue that the text should be construed in the context of the peculiar circumstances in which the treaty was concluded. They contend that Nepal was defeated in the war and that treaty of 1792 was a dictated treaty under which Nepal accepted Chinese suzerainty and that it was in that context that article 6 was inserted in it.

But this argument also is not sound. Firstly, because no such meaning can be attached to any part or to the whole of the text of the treaty. We have examined this matter earlier in both respects and have come to the conclusion that no such meaning can be adduced from it. Secondly, also because this argument can well be used to prove the correctness of the Nepalese version. It may be remembered that the custom of sending missions to China was not started after article 6 of the treaty of 1792 came into existence. The first mission from Nepal to China was sent in the year 1789-90, after Nepal had inflicted defeat on Tibet and had come out victorious in that war.⁶⁹ We can not, therefore, concur with Chinese version or with those scholars who have, after pursuing the traditional line, drawn their inferences about the nature of the missions solely on the basis of the provisions of the said treaty. Whether or not the nature of the mission was misrepresented to the Chinese Emperor by his General, Pa Chung, the fact remains that it was first sent by the Gorkhas in the hour of their victory and from the mere fact that such a mission was sent, no vassalage can necessarily be inferred. Thus if the true nature of the custom is to be interpreted in the light of prevailing circumstances, it could not have been anything else than a diplomatic mission or Nepal's delegation to Peking for establishing normal ties between the two nations.⁷⁰

Besides, the mission had got a commercial aspect also. Chandra Shumsher, the Nepalese Prime Minister, had referred to this aspect also while detailing the British Resident about the true nature of the missions in the following words :

"They (the presents which the missions carried with it) are merely a means for the party to gain access, and to dispose of with very great profit the large quantity of goods which they take with them. It may be known to you that all goods belonging to the party are carried free from our frontier to Peking and back by the transport, provided by the Chinese Government, which also provides our men, free with all necessities on the road. It has very little political significance. I wonder, therefore, to find in the said enclosures, the presents described as a tribute from Nepal."⁷¹

In 1908, when the last Nepalese Mission reached Peking, its leader had also a meeting with Jordan, the British Minister there. While discussing the advantages and experience of the missions, the Nepalese Envoy remarked :

"...Former missions had been in the nature of commercial speculations and had proved very successful in this respect."⁷²

Records of the U.N. Security Council documents also bear the following reference to it :

"The five yearly mission continued until 1812 ; they were in fact, regarded as a privilege of some value, both on account of China and on account of the opportunities for trade thereby made available to the mission."⁷³

Even if we, for argument's sake, accept China's view that sending of the mission by Nepalese was a token of "their desire to be included amongst" their (the Chinese Emperor's) "tributories", how shall we look at the case of Tibet, which had agreed to pay rupees fifty thousand as an annual tribute to Nepal in accordance with the Gorkha-Bhot-Minting-Treaty concluded with the consent of the Chinese authorities in 1790. Later, Tibet, sent annual 'tribute' to Nepal regularly until as late as 1953 in accordance with the treaty of 1856 between her and Nepal.⁷⁴ Was then Tibet to be considered as a tributary or feudatory to Nepal ?

Nepalese scholars emphasise one more

point—that the presents, which the mission carried for Chinese Court, were always described in the accompanying letter as 'Saugat' which is quite different from the term 'Tribute'.⁷⁵ Nepalese Prime Minister, when asked about it, emphasised that in the letter to the Chinese Emperor, word "Saugat" was used, which meant presents, and added :

"Moreover our relations with, and trade and other facilities which we enjoy in, Tibet makes it incumbent upon us to keep this harmless and friendly practice, as this country has considerable interest as well as various rights and privileges in the said country, commercial and otherwise."

It may also be added that this term 'Saugat' stands in contrast to the term 'tribute' used in the Gorkha-Bhot-Treaty of 1856.⁷⁷

There is one more forceful argument on Nepalese side. The present, in order to be a tribute, must be fixed in cash or kind, as we find in the case of Tibet paying Rs.10,000 as annual tribute to Nepal. The Treaty of 1792, on the other hand, stipulates only "some produce of land" which, in value, varied from one mission to another. In fact, return gifts from China were always of much more value.

It will also be relevant here to point out that when the mission was received by the Emperor and Empress Dowager, the ceremony of 'K'ow-tow was not performed, nor did the Chinese insist its observance, as far as these missions were concerned.⁷⁸ The treatment is significant, for, we find that the Chinese always jealously insisted on the performance of the ceremony as it would indicate on the part of those who performed it that their countries were tributaries to China. The embassies from Russia, France and England had to return back without seeing the Emperor as they were not prepared to perform it in the 17th and 18th century.⁷⁹

Language of the Nepalese Letters

Another argument given to establish Chinese overlordship over Nepal is that the language of the Nepalese communications to the Chinese Court had the style and diction of a subordinate Court. In 1895, the language of the letter presented by the Nepalese mission was brought to the notice of British Government by its Minister at Peking, Sir O. Conor. He pointed out that the language of the letter is submissive and while it was merely a courteous way of writing for the Nepalese Court, Chinese, are likely to interpret it otherwise. He further added that :

"the uncertainty at present attaching to the political condition of China appears to me to render it of importance that the relations between Nepal and China should be clearly defined."⁸⁰

Lord Salisbury also shared this view, and after it had been ascertained from the Government of India that the language used was traditional and was believed to be in vogue since the end of the eighteenth century, the then British Minister at Peking, Beauclerk, was instructed to explain this to the Chinese Government.⁸¹ He, accordingly visited the Tsung-li-Yamens⁸² on the 20th December 1895, "and took an opportunity of informing Prince Ching and the other Ministers present that the submissive expressions in the letters from Nepal... are not regarded by her Majesty's Government as an acknowledgement of vassalage, or, indeed, as anything more than a purely formal and complimentary style of address. Weng Tajen⁸³ observed to his colleagues that Nepal had for many years past been a tributary to China, and the ministers exchanged some remarks upon the subject among themselves;" Beauclerk, "considered it advisable to allow the subject to drop without further discussion."⁸⁴

As already mentioned, no Nepalese mission was sent to China in 1900. In 1905, it was reported

that the Amban at Lhasa had, in a memorial to the throne on behalf of Nepal, asked the Chinese Emperor, for permission to send the Nepalese mission to Peking.

This memorial appeared in the Imperial Chinese Gazette-1905, Peking. Nepal was spoken of in this memorial as a—"dependency beyond the border of China, whose tribes have always displayed a loyal devotion to the throne."⁸⁵ M. Smith, while communicating English translation of the memorial, enquired from Maharaja Chandra Shumsher, the Prime Minister of Nepal, as to what such submissive language meant. The Maharaja wrote back in his letter, dated 19th April, 1906, that he :

"need not say that the language of the so called memorial does not correctly represent the actual, but rather undefined, relations existing between this country and China. It is couched in highflown language peculiar to Chinese official documents."

The correct Nepalese stand is further elaborated in this letter thus

"...The few presents which the mission carries to Peking, are not of much value, and certainly not in the nature of tribute. The customary letter which is sent on the occasion is written in the truly oriental style of exuberant but meaningless politeness and follows a stereotyped rule..."⁸⁶

Reality Behind Politeness

It will be helpful to recollect the story of Lord Macartney's visit to Peking, carrying with him, as a matter of courtesy, a large number of presents from George III in token of King of England's goodwill towards the Emperor of China. Lord Macartney was received with much honour, but the vessel upon which he was conveyed to Tientsin contained on its flag the inscription,

"A tribute bearer of the country of England".⁸⁷ Nepalese Denial.

Still more instructive it will be to read here wordings of the two decrees of the Chinese Emperor to King George the third of England in 1793 and 1796 respectively. The decree of 1793 was issued on the occasion of receiving the gifts from George III. In it, the Chinese Emperor replied to him thus :

"It behoves you, O King, to respect my sentiments and to display even greater devotion and loyalty in future, so that by perpetual submission to our throne, you may secure peace and prosperity for your country hereafter."

"Tremblingly obey and show no negligence."⁸⁸

The occasion for the second decree arose on receipt of the return gifts from King George again on 4th Feb. 1796. The Emperor in this latter decree, while not regarding the gift as a "tribute" as such, spoke vividly of :

"the humble spirit which offers it" and added,

"...While commending your humble loyalty to our celestial Dynasty, we now present you with further gifts and command you to display continued energy and dutiful loyalty so as to deserve our perpetual favour."⁸⁹

So if Nepal could be treated as a tributary to China on the basis of the language of Chinese decrees, England must also be treated as tributary to China, which could possibly be not admitted as fact by any sane person.

It would also be no less interesting to find the Chinese Emperor claiming himself to be the master not only of Nepal, but of the whole universe in another letter written to the Nepalese. It said,

"...Even so the Emperor of China is the master of whole world. There are so many like you running after me (for help) and all of them are equal for me."⁹⁰

We can now well appreciate the British objections to China's imperialistic design on Nepal under the heading "British India Warning" given earlier. The reaction of the Nepalese Government was conveyed to Nepalese Prime Minister through the British Resident in Nepal. The Prime Minister replied thus :

"I have read with great concern and astonishment the statement of Wai-wa-pu regarding the relations of China with Nepal contained in the note accompanying the letter and hasten to contradict the said statement and repudiate the claim of suzerainty that the Chinese Government have tried to fasten upon Nepal with all the emphasis and stress that I can command. This claim so lightly made by the Chinese Government is not an unwarranted fiction but is also a damaging reflection on our national honour and independence. Our relation with China, though of long standing, has always been regarded by us of a friendly nature. The mission that proceeded from this country to China is of the nature of embassies from one court to another, having invariably been treated with honour and consideration due to foreign guests and their expenses entirely borne by the Chinese Government. The presents that they carry for the Emperor can never be regarded as tribute, as they are merely the channels by which we try to keep our friendly connections with distant China, expressing our high regard and respect for the Celestial Emperor, and cultivate the good-will and friendly feelings of the Chinese Government especially on account of our heavy stakes in Tibet.

"This matter being of the gravest importance, I consulted the Darbar who were startled to hear this surprise so unexpected.

dly sprung upon Nepal by the Chinese note are such as call in the Earl of Crew's opinion Government, and agreed with me about for an equally specific and clear statement."⁹⁵ the necessity of promptly disavowing the So, in reply, Max Muller informed Wai-Wa-pu claim so derogatory to their status as that : free people. "⁹¹

British Indian Support

The Indian foreign office considered the letter of the Prime Minister and other facts and found the Nepalese stand to be correct. The Viceroy then wrote to the Secretary of State at London, "we do not consider that the Chinese claims possess any validity and trust that they will be resisted." This decision found its way in the following warning to China through Max Muller, Britain's Minister at Peking,

His Majesty's Government can not allow any administrative changes in Tibet to affect or prejudice the integrity of Nepal in common with those of Bhutan and Sikkim."⁹²

The Chinese foreign office (Wai-Wu-pu) replied to it in the following words :

"...We have the honour to observe that Nepal has forwarded tribute to Peking for years past and has long submitted to vassalage to China..."⁹³

Transmitting the same to the Secretary of State and Viceroy of India, Max Muller observed :

"...it will be seen that this note goes far further than Ching's note of 18th April 1910, and directly claims both Bhutan and Nepal as vassal states of China...and is altogether couched in so unconciliatory and aggressive a tone that I have thought it better to confine myself to merely forwarding to you and the Government of India, this, 'specific and clear statement.'⁹⁴

The Secretary of State at London then replied to the Secretary, Foreign Department, India, on 16th December, 1910 :

"Although too much importance need not be attached to the Chinese claim so long as no attempt is made to enforce them, the terms of the Wai-wa-pu's

"...no attempt of the Chinese Government to exercise influence over states too remote from the sphere of direct Chinese interests and in such close relations with the Government of India can possibly be tolerated."⁹⁶

And the same draft was sent to Prince Ching, Peking, by Jordan, Britain's Minister; there, in 1911.

Chinese Attempts

Chinese Government also, on the other hand, tried to exert her best on diplomatic front to support any how her claim so put forth. She tried to seduce Nepal to her side by misstating in a secret communication to Nepalese Premier. Max Muller's above referred warning to China in the following words :

"...A written communication saying that Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim were theirs, that is of the British, was addressed by the British to Wai-wa-pu, Jhorkhan Home Office at Peking, and the said Wai-wa-pu having written to me (the Amban) to enquire as to how matters stood...I have written back to say that Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim are ours and not of the British..."⁹⁷

Obviously the Chinese attempt here was to create fear in the minds of Nepalese about the possibility (Sub-Encl. to Encl. No.1, Pro.No.19, *Opp.cit.*, F.N.66) of subversion of their political freedom by the British. The attempt, however, failed when Nepalese Premier chose to ascertain its truth directly from the British Indian Government.

An extract from "Englishman" of 29th March, 1911, will further give a clue to their efforts in this direction : "It is said that Chinese Government had protested against conclusion of a Treaty between

Great Britain and Nepal, prior to negotiating her...

"The Wai-wu-pu is now negotiating with the British Minister on the question of Nepal's autonomy which is disputed by China. It has asked the Ministry of Dependencies for any charts, records and other documentary evidence, which may establish clearly China's suzerainty over the State."⁹⁸

The latest British warning against any Chinese attempt to exercise her influence too does not seem to have deterred the Chinese from pursuing the same line. As we find Wai-wu-pu so replying to Jordon on 31st March, 1911 :

"...Now both Nepal and Bhutan are vassal states of China as has been clearly proved... The Chinese Government therefore still adheres to previous notes and the position as set forth in their previous notes."⁹⁹

In view of this, Jordon was forced to reply to Prince Ching in the following words : "I am now directed by His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to inform Your Highness in reply that His Majesty's Government are unable to recognise the claim of Chinese Government to the suzerainty over Nepal and Bhutan and that they will be bound to resist any attempt on the part of the Chinese Government to impose their authority on or in any way to interfere in either of these two States."¹⁰⁰

Nepalese Stand Vindicated

And thus the centuries old 'undefined' relations between China and Nepal were clearly defined. This was also the final rejection by both the Nepalese and the Indian Governments of China's 'shadowy claims' over Nepal. It is to be noted that two Governments were almost in constant consultation with each other all along and the Nepal Government approved Indian Governments' move in this direction. The Nepalese

Premier at first was wonder-struck to note these developments as he could not understand,

"how the mission could be taken in an altogether different light than what we take it to be".¹⁰¹ 1911 was the year for sending of the quinquennial mission to China according to the old tradition and though the British Government attached no political significance to it, she advised the Nepalese Government to postpone it in the face of particular meaning attached to it by China."¹⁰²

The Nepal Government readily accepted the advice. The practice of sending missions has since then been discontinued. The Prime Minister, on behalf of himself and the Nepal Darbar, conveyed his thanks to the Government of India through the British Resident for "friendly interests which the Government of India have taken in the recent negotiations with China regarding the status of Nepal."

Meanwhile China witnessed internal revolution, which resulted in the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty and the establishment of the Republic of China under Sun yat Sen. Once again the then newly elected President of the Republic sought to take Nepal into China's grip by asking Nepalese Prime Minister to join the "Republic of five affiliated races", and even offered to name China as "Nepalese—China".¹⁰³ But Nepal was not to fall in this trap and Chandra Shamshe Bahadur Rana, with concurrence of the Indian Government, rejected the idea altogether.¹⁰⁴ Nepal was thus at last able to free herself from the grip of the "Chinese dragon". Though Manchu Dynasty fell in 1911 the official Chinese view-point did not change with regard to Nepal even thereafter. Thus we find Sun Yet Sen, the founder of Chinese Republic, citing a long list of so called lost territories, which he would reclaim :

"We lost Korea, Formosa and Pen Fu to Japan after Sino-Japanese war, Annam to France and to Britain. ...the Ryukyu Islands, Siam, Borneo, Sarawak, Jawa, Ceylon; Nepal and Bhutan were once contributory states to China."¹⁰⁵

In 1924, however, Perceval Landon enquired of years. Of this agreement the Nepalese Government Dr. Wellington Kao, the Chinese Foreign Minister, knew nothing as in fact no such agreement had about the then attitude of China towards this ever existed. visionary tie. Dr. Kao's Secretary wrote back on

7th March 1924, that :

"the last tribute from Nepal was in the 3rd note No.1) tried to revive the Chinese claim again month (April 1908). No tribute has come in 1939 in his brochure "Chinese Revolution and the under the Republic. In the early days of Chinese Communist Party," it has not been Manchu dynasty tribute came once in five repeated since then as it does not seem possible for years but on account of the distance between China in the present international context, and Nepal and Peking it was agreed that they specially due to her confrontation with India, to should come once in twelve years in- assert these territorial claims as she once did. stead."¹⁰⁶

It will thus be seen that the Chinese, true to have also been regularised through various treaties their policy of surrendering no territory, over which concluded between the two during the last twelve they had even a transitory influence, have invented years. Nevertheless the Chinese, with their a story of mutual agreement to enlarge the expansionist designs, can at any time inflict a interval between the mission from five to twelve surprise and reaffirm their claim to those states.

Abbreviations

N.A.I -- National Archives of India.

For. -- Foreign Department, Government of India.

Sec. E -- Secret Consultation.

Nos. -- Document numbers contained in the particular file.

Pro.No. -- Proceeding number.

F.N. -- Reference to Foot Number, used earlier.

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55. Alexandrowicz-Alexander, *Opp.cit*, F. N. 2,p. 266,
56. For., Sec. E., Aug. 1900, Nos.208-215, p.380.
- Pro. No. 391-N.A.I.
57. McNair, *Opp.Cit*.p. 35.
58. P.C.I.J. Publication, Ser. A.1, at Appd. "A".
59. 294, U.S. 330,353,354, per Chief Justice Hughes, cited by F.A. Mann in 21 *British Year Book of International Law* (1944) at P.13.
60. McNair, *Opp.cit.*, F.N.28,p.42, See also Hall, *International Law* (8th edition), 1924,
61. See Descriptive Account of the Military Operation of the Sacred (Manchu) Dynasty (She-wu-chi), literally translated by Mr. H.S. Brunnert-1926.
62. Rockhill, *Dali Lamas*, p.51, from Chinese Records (Tunghawa-luh).

63. Patent of 5th March, 1790, by the Chinese Emperor to the Nepalese King, translated and sent by G. Backhouse, dt. Peking, the 23rd February 1911 (N.A.I.).

64. Sharina Balchandra, *Nepal ko Itihasik Roop Rekha*, page. 237-38; "The Nepal Government, in order to establish its contacts with China, sent Saugat (gifts) to the Chinese Emperor on this occasion (In 1789) through Hari Khawas, Balbhadra Khawas and other men. The Chinese Emperor sent Chinese titles, valuable robes and similar other Saugat for the Nepalese Court. The Nepalese delegation reached back Nepal in the fourth month of its departure from Nepal hearing these gifts with it." (Translated in English by the author).

65. Nirajan Bhattarai (*Opp.cit.* p. 161-62).

66. Dr. Regmi, D.R., *Modern Nepal*, page 173, Kathmandu.

67. Letter from Prime Minister of Nepal to the British Resident, dt. the 19th November, 1910. (For., Sec.E., Jan. 1911, Nos. 124/207-N.A.I.).

68. Letter from President to the Secretary, Foreign Department, Government of India, No. 115, dated 11/12 August, 1910. For., Sec.E, November 1910, Nos. 16-17, proceeding No.15-N.A.I.).

69. The story of Nepal sending a mission to China at the close of earlier and successful war of 1788 is also confirmed by a Nepalese Memorial addressed to Lord Cornwallis. Translation of this memorial is printed in Kirkpatrick's "*Embassy to Nepal*".

70. Mr. Landon (*Opp.cit.* F.N.15, p. 102), observed "The mission sent by Nepal to Peking was in no sense one implying vassalage. Presents were indeed exchanged—a nominal offering of money presented to the Imperial Court. But this is no more than prevails in the relation of other oriental countries."

71. For., Sec.E, June 1906, Nos.241-245 (Pro. No. 241)-N.A.I.

72. Sir Jordan's dispatch (No.260) to

Viceroy, India, and the Secretary of States, London. For., Sec.E., July 1911, No.248-80, N.A.I.

73. At page 8.

74. Karan, P., and Jankins, M, *The Himalayan Kingdoms*, 1963, p.86.

75. Saugat means present, from equal to equal, while Tribute denotes something due to a superior court from the subordinate one. (Vrihat Hindi Kosh (Dictionary), Gyan Mandal, Varanasi, V.S.2013, and Bhargav's English-Hindi dictionary).

76. Letter from Maharaja Chandra Shamsher to Mr. Smith, dt. 18th April, 1906. For., Sec.E, June 1906, Nos.241-245, Pro.243-N.A.I.).

77. Article 1 reads—"the Tibetan Government shall pay a sum of Rs. ten thousand annually to the Gorkha Government as tribute"

78. Grant Jones memorandum of 5th July, 1908, enclosed with Jordan's despatch to Secy., For. Deptt., Govt. of India, No.260 of 5th June, 1908. (For. Sec. E., July 1911, Nos.248/280-N.A.I)

79. Hawks-Pott, F.L., A Sketch of Chinese History, 20th Ed., Shanghai, Kelly and M. Walash Ltd., 1923, p.100. It is not clear what this actual ceremony was, but it is quite clear that it was some kind of ceremony which was regarded as derogatory by independent nations as will appear from the historical accounts. E.R. Hughes writes, for instance, "A Dutch mission in 1795, a Russian in 1806 and a second British mission under Lord Amherst in 1816, all failed to achieve their end. One difficulty was the Chinese insistence on the performance of K'ow-tow by any one admitted to the imperial presence, a ceremony which the Europeans considered wholly beneath their dignity. On the Chinese side the position was that from time immemorial foreign envoys had been received in the Colonial Office; there was no Foreign Office. Whatever other countries their might be in the world, they must all acknowledge the supremacy of the Son of Heaven, and the status of their envoys could not be that of tribute bearers." (*The Invasion of China by the*

Western World, Adam and Charles Black,) Soho Square, London, Wi, 1937, p.15).

80. No.164, 30th April, 1895. For., Sec. E., July 1911, Nos. 248-280, Pro.No. 250 (Encl.5)—N.A.I.

81. Lord G. Hamilton's Secret Dispatch -12 July, 1895 ; Govt. of India's secret letter of the 10th September, 1895, *ibid*.

82. A department of the Foreign Affairs, Government of China, established by the Government in 1861 to facilitate communication with foreign countries. After Boxer-War, it was replaced by the Wai-Wu-pu. To Chinese, it was more or less the Colonial Office.

83. Weng 'Ta-jen—'the Celestial Statesman'—ER. Scidmore, China, *the Long lived Empire*, 1900, The Century Comp., New York, P.251.

84. British Minister at Peking's despatch No.508, 22nd Dec. 1889 to the Secretary, Foreign Department (For., Sec.E., July 1911, Nos.248/280 Pro.250 (Encl.5)—N.A.I.

85. Herbert Cofee, acting British Consulate-General, Che'ngtu, to Secretary, Foreign Department, Government of India, dated 6th Jan., 1906 (For., Sec., E., June 1906 Nos. 241-245. Proceeding No.24-N.A.I.).

86. Prime Minister of Nepal to Maj. Manner Smith, 19th April, 1906 (For., Sec. E., June 1906, Nos. 241-245 (Prov. No.243, N.A.I.).

87. Hawks-Pott., (*Opp.cit.*, F.N.79, p.113).

88. Nehru, Jawahar Lal, *Glimpses of World History*, p.343.

89. Confidential letter from J.N.Jordan, British Minister at Peking, to Viceroy, India, dt. Peking, the 7th March 1911 (For., Sec. E., July 1911, Nos.148-80, Pro.No.250 (sub-encl.)-N.A.I.)

90. The author has seen this letter in the Nepalese Foreign Office Records, Kathmandu, personally. See also F.N.79.

91. Prime Minister to British Resident, dt. November. 1910. (For., Sec., Jan. 1911, Nos, 207, pro.178 (note 2) N.A.I.)

92. For., Sec.E., Aug. 1910, Nos.58-246, pro. No.366-N.A.I.

93. For., Sec.E., Jan.1911, Nos.124-207, Pro.204 (Encl.1)-N.A.I.,

94. Received on Jan.1, 1911 (For., Sec.E., July 1911, No.248-280 N.A.I.

95. Letter from Secretary of States to Secretary, Foreign Deptt. Govt. of India, No.50, dated December, 1910, received on 1st January 1911 (*ibid*) Pro.250.

96. *ibid*.

97. Sub-Encl. to Encl. Pro. No.266, dt. Peking, 31st March, 1911 (For., Sec.E., July 1911, —N.A.I.).

98. English Man, a newspaper published from China. 24th March 1911's issue. (For., Sec. E., July 1911, Nos. 248-280, Pro.261-N.A.I.).

99. Letter from Jordan to Prince Ching, dt. Peking, the 10th May 1911. (Sub-encl. to Encl. Pro.No.279-*ibid*).

100. Letter from Prime Minister, Nepal, to the British resident dt. 17th Dec. 1911. (For., Sec. E., May 1911, Nos.102-106, Pro. 102-N.A.I.).

101 A letter from Resident to Prime Minister of Nepal, dated 1st December, 1911. For., Sec. E., Feb. 1912, Nos.60-71—N.A.I.

102. Letter from the Resident to Secretary, Foreign Department, Govt. of India, No.37; dated 5th April, 1912 (*ibid*).

103. "...if a Union of Nepal with five affiliated Races of China could be effected, China may be regarded as Nepalese—China, the need of one part will be felt and responded to by the rest of the nation, and the powers of China thus united may be so multiplied that it will be difficult to draw a parallel..."—Letter from General Chung, Chinese Resident in Tibet, to Maharaja Chandra Shumsher, dt. Yatung, the Feb. 1913. (For., Sec. E., Aug.1913, 240-250, Encl.1 to Pro. No.240—N.A.I.).

104. With regard to the question of Union with the five affiliated races of China, I am sorry that as Nepal is an ancient Hindu Kingdom, desirous of preserving her independence and

separate existence, she cannot entertain the idea of such a Union with the affiliated races said to constitute the Republic of China".

From Chandra Shumsher to Chung, camp Yatung, dt. 16th March 1913 (For., Sec., E., Aug. 1913, Nos.240-250, Encl. to Pro.No.248-N.A.I).

105. Moraes, F., *The Revolt in Tibet*, Macmillan Company, N.Y.1960.

106. Landon, *Opp.cit.* Nos.p.103. He also

gave the following observation after his discussion with the Chinese authorities at page 114 of the same book, "It was admitted by the Chinese Government that their intention was to reduce Tibet to the position of a mere province of China and Nepal stood next in the line." He also cited Dalai Lama, at page 140, as expressing his firm belief about the future Chinese encroachment upon Nepal after subjugation of Tibet.

Foreign Periodicals

A very interesting booklet has been published by the Travellers Insurance Companies of Hansford, Connecticut describing with illustrations the fortyfive Presidential elections from 1789 to 1961. The following excerpts from it give a summary account of the various elections.

Although the newly adopted Constitution made it possible for thirteen states, with a total of 81 electoral votes, to participate in the first national election, only ten states did so and but 69 votes were cast. Under the terms of the Constitution, each elector voted for two candidates for President without specifying a first and second choice. Twice as many votes as there were electors were therefore cast, and the candidate who received the greatest number became President, and the second highest became Vice President. While there were no organized political parties, there were the "Federalists," who advocated a strong Federal government, and the "Anti-Federalists," who opposed a strong Federal government. Both factions were represented among the electors.

Congress issued the call for the first electors to vote for a President in their respective states in February, with provision for the counting of the vote and the commencement of the operations of the new government to take place on March 4, 1789.

Due to impassable roads, tardy elections and some apathy, Congress was unable to muster a quorum until more than a month later. On April 6, 1789, the counting took place and it was determined that George Washington had received a vote from every elector and thus was unanimously chosen the first President. Adams had received a vote from thirty-four electors and thus became the first Vice President.

Before the end of Washington's second administration, party spirit had reached heights as yet unequalled.

Tennessee having joined the Union in 1796, sixteen states participated in the election. As Vice President, Adams presided. He opened and read the voting certificates. It was disclosed that a Pennsylvanian who had been chosen an Adams elector by popular vote had cast his vote for Jefferson. After counting four Vermont votes which had been questioned for himself, Adams declared himself elected President by one vote more than the necessary majority.

The fourth election of 1800 A.D. is described as given below

When the electoral votes were counted, a new dilemma was created. Jefferson and Burr had each received 73 votes. Thus, no candidate had a major-

rity. For the first time the election was thrown to the House of Representatives as provided by the Constitution. Largely through personal hostility to Jefferson, the Federalists formed an alliance with Burr to elect him President over Jefferson. 56 ballots were taken before a result could be reached. After much violent debate, Jefferson received the votes of ten states and Burr of four states. Several electors had become so incensed that they refused to vote on the deciding ballot. Jefferson was declared President and Burr, Vice President, and a grave peril to the election machinery of the young nation was averted.

The fifth election took place in 1804.

The tie vote of 1800 demonstrated clearly the need for a constitutional change in the method of electoral voting. In 1803 Congress passed and thirteen states ratified an amendment which provided that electors vote separately for President and Vice President. The new method went into effect for the first time in the election of 1804.

Seventeen states took part in the election, Ohio having been admitted in 1802. Jefferson and Democratic-Republicans swept the country. The Federalists carried only Connecticut and Delaware and received two votes from Maryland.

The greatest excitement of the campaign occurred on July 11, 1804, when Vice President Burr shot and killed Alexander Hamilton, the arch-Federalist, in a duel at Weehawken, New Jersey.

The next election of 1808 is described

Jefferson refused to run for a third term, and the Democratic-Republican caucus nominated James Madison for President and George Clinton for Vice President.

During the campaign, the Embargo Act and the Democratic-Republicans were the subject of much bitter editorial and cartoon comment in the newspapers of the northern commercial cities.

Madison and Clinton won handily, however. Shy little "Jimmy" Madison was inaugurated with unheard of ceremony and festivities, as for the first time an inaugural ball was held under the

direction of the vivacious new mistress of the White House, Dolly Madison.

The seventh election was the first conducted when the country was at war. President Madison yielded to the pressure of the "War-Hawks" of Congress to engage in armed conflict with Great Britain. At the party caucus held in May, after he had acquiesced the war policy but before Congress had declared war, Madison received a unanimous vote renominating him for the presidency. Elbridge Gerry was nominated Vice President.

In the eighth election James Monroe, Democratic—Republican was elected President.

The electoral votes of nineteen states were counted in the election after considerable debate in Congress concerning the propriety of including the vote of Indiana which had been admitted to the Union in December, 1815. The election was a landslide for the Democratic-Republicans who carried all but Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Delaware.

The election of 1820 was not even a contest. At no time since the formation of political parties was there such a dearth of party feeling. The Federalist party was practically extinct. The period has been characterized as the "Era of Good Feelings."

Despite a secret abortive attempt to supersede Monroe, his re-election was conceded on all sides by election time.

With no opposition to the Democratic-Republican party, the tenth election developed into a scramble of "native sons" for the presidency. At one time, seventeen avowed candidates were in the field.

As the campaign progressed, the field was reduced to four leading contenders, of whom one represented the East, one the South, and two the West. It became apparent that no candidate would receive a majority and that the election would be decided in the House of Representatives between the three candidates receiving the highest number of votes.

Crawford had suffered a paralytic stroke and

was incapacitated, and Clay had not been one of the Democracy," while Adams did little to help three qualifying candidates. However, when Clay himself.

threw his support to Adams, it was all over. On the first ballot Adams received the votes of thirteen states, Jackson seven states, and Crawford four. Adams made Clay his Secretary of State, and Jackson, the infuriated, shouted "bargain and corruption" as long as he lived.

In the eleventh election Andrew Jackson was elected President

The eleventh election might well be termed the first appeal for the popular vote.

The animosities developed in the ranks of the Democratic-Republicans during the 1824 campaign made reconciliation impossible. As a result, Jackson faction of the party now called themselves "Democrats," and the Adams faction, supported by Clay, retained the formal name of "Republicans," although they commonly referred to themselves as "National Republicans."

It was a bitter campaign of personal vilification and abuse. Jackson was on the warpath to avenge the "fraud" practiced on him in 1824 by Adams and Clay. Adams remained aloof, but Henry Clay, infuriated by the "bargain" charges made by Jackson, managed Adams' campaign. Jackson's matrimonial affairs, his profanity, his gamecocks and race horses, his duels and brawls, were the subject of merciless campaign propaganda. Handbills with pictures of coffins of soldiers executed by Jackson were distributed by Clay. Pamphlets attacking Mrs. Adams were distributed freely in New England by Jackson adherents. Jackson editors attacked Adams as a "Monarchist-John, the Second." If he were re-elected, "the next Congress will be the last," they charged. It was whispered that while Minister to Russia, he had sold an American servant girl to the Czar. Campaign literature proclaimed that he had installed at the White House a piece of "gambling furniture"—a billiard table. Posters were distributed labelling Jackson as the "Protector and Defender of Beauty." Household trinkets to serve as thread boxes were distributed on behalf of each candidate. Jackson wrote and spoke his slogan of "Frontier

In 1832

Jackson was endorsed wholeheartedly for the presidency, but a national convention of Democrats met and nominated Van Buren for Vice President. This convention made political history by adopting the so-called "two thirds" rule which was followed by the Democratic party in the selection of its candidates for the next hundred years.

Nullificationsits nominated John Floyd of Massachusetts for Vice President on an "Independent" ticket.

Political cartoons resembling handbills, glass flasks bearing portraits of the candidates, tin lanterns, transparencies, hickory poles for Jacksonians and ash poles for Clay-men were used during the campaign. Clay's managers issued a great deal of campaign literature which was largely financed by the United States Bank.

Clay carried his native Kentucky and five eastern states; Wirt carried Vermont; Floyd carried South Carolina; Jackson carried the remainder and was elected.

In 1836

Jackson earnestly desired that Van Buren be his successor. When formal opposition to his choice developed in the legislatures of his home state of Tennessee and in Alabama, a national convention was held in May, 1835, in Baltimore. While the voting was limited by states, it is said that over half of the delegates at the convention were from Maryland. Van Buren was unanimously nominated. The Whigs ran several favorite sons, hoping to prevent a Van Buren majority and thus throw the election into the House of Representatives.

Twenty-six states participated in the election with the admission of Arkansas and Michigan. Van Buren carried fifteen; Harrison, seven; White, two; Webster carried Massachusetts; and Mangum carried South Carolina. Richard Johnson, the Democratic candidate for Vice President, did not

receive a majority so, for only time in history, a Vice President was chosen by the Senate.

One month after his inauguration, President Harrison died of "bilious pleurisy" (pneumonia) and was succeeded by John Tyler, the first "accidental President" of the United States.

Probably no more exciting presidential campaign ever occurred in this country than in 1840. The Whigs were now united behind the ticket of William H. Harrison and John Tyler, their convention nominees. They adopted no platform—they did not need any. Everyone knew they were opposed to Van Buren's policies.

In 1844 James K. Polk, Democrat, was elected President. This came about as described below

In 1844, John Tyler was in the "President's House." He had been at odds with Whigs during his entire administration. So great was their indignation at his "unWhiggery," that in several eastern cities the Whigs held enormous mass meetings at which Tyler was burned in effigy.

A deadlock developed in the Democratic convention between pro-and anti-Van Buren forces with the result that James Polk was nominated for President on the basis that he was "the bosom friend of General Jackson and a pure, whole-hogged Democrat." A political unknown, he was the first "dark horse."

The election was marred by manifestations of religious bigotry. Riots and the burning of Catholic churches occurred in Pennsylvania and New York during celebrations of the "Native Americans," whose endorsement of Clay and Frelinghuysen drove large blocs of urban voters to the Democratic ticket.

The election of Zachary Taylor in 1848 was a surprise. He was a "whig"

The annexation of Texas led to war with Mexico—"a Democratic sponsored war," charged the Whigs. Yet the Whigs chose one of the leading Mexican War Generals as their candidate for President in 1848. At Philadelphia in June, with every state represented but Texas, the Whigs chose General Zachary Taylor, "Old Rough and

Ready," with Millard Fillmore of New York as his running mate.

Probably no man was ever more thoroughly shocked at the proposal that he be a candidate for President of the United States than Zachary Taylor. "Stop your nonsense and drink your whiskey," he is said to have exclaimed when a visitor to his tent on the Mexican War battlefield toasted him as the next President. By his own admission he "had never yet exercised the privilege of voting." But the magic of the presidency had its effect on "Old Rough and Ready," and he yielded to the pressure of his adherents.

The contest of 1852 was a campaign of compromise. Congress had enacted a series of Compromise Acts sponsored by Henry Clay in an effort to settle the slavery question. As the parties went to national convention, it was evident that great differences of opinion cutting across party lines were to create troubles for the party managers. After fifty-three ballots, the Whigs chose another Mexican War General, Winfield Scott, over President Fillmore and Daniel Webster, on a platform dictated by the Southern wing of the party. The Democrats nominated a "dark horse," Franklin Pierce, on the forty-ninth ballot, over Lewis Cass, James Buchanan and Stephen Douglas, on a platform declaring against further "agitation" of the slavery question.

Franklin Pierce was elected. In 1856 James Buchanan was elected President as a Democratic candidate

The eighteenth election has been properly called the "Kansas-Nebraska" contest.

The Democrats met in Cincinnati in June, amid great excitement. Contesting delegations knocked down doorkeepers and engaged in fist fights. Eventually, James Buchanan of the crucial state of Pennsylvania and John Breckinridge of Kentucky were nominated to lead the ticket.

Buchanan carried the South, the border states, two Middle-Western states, his home state of Pennsylvania and Fremont's home state of California and was elected.

The country was on the verge of a Civil war before the election of 1860. Four parties contested

and Abraham Lincoln, Republican, won with 180 electoral votes against 72 obtained by John C. Breckenridge Democratic (Southern). Lincoln's popular votes numbered 1,866,492 against Breckenridge's 849,781.

With the announcement of the election of Abraham Lincoln as President, the legislatures of the Southern states began to vote Ordinances of Secession. Conventions of the seceding states elected Deputies to attend a Congress meeting at Montgomery, Alabama, to organize the Confederate States of America. On February 4, 1861, the Deputies of the six seceded states of South Carolina, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Georgia and Louisiana met and adopted a provisional constitution patterned after the Constitution of the United States. Each state was entitled to one vote for Provisional President and Provisional Vice President. On February 9, 1861, Jefferson Davis and Alexander Stephens were elected by the vote of every state. On February 18, they were inaugurated. The Deputies of the seceded state of Texas did not participate in the election inasmuch as secession formalities had not yet been completed. In November, at an election under the permanent constitution, Davis and Stephens were again chosen by a unanimous electoral vote. Under the permanent constitution, a President could only serve one term of six years.

Due to the circumstances, it is improbable that many objects of a political nature were issued in the South to commemorate this event. When the news of the Confederate election reached the North, Jefferson Davis was hanged in effigy, and children and grown-ups sang :

"We'll hang Jeff Davis from a sour apple tree."

A few tokens were issued depicting such an event and warning, "Death to Traitors" and listing Confederate Cabinet as a "Gallery of American Traitors."

The twentieth election took place while the country was engaged in a Civil War. There seemed to be no cheering prospect for a speedy

termination of hostilities as the election approached. Lincoln and the administration were beset with many criticisms. The Democrats charged "dictatorship" and absolute disregard for the Constitution.

Lincoln received all votes on the first ballot except those of Missouri which were pledged to General Ulysses S. Grant.

Despite a high popular vote, McClellan received electoral votes only from his native New Jersey, Kentucky and Delaware. Lincoln received the remainder but lost his home country in Illinois by 400 votes.

In April, 1865, Lincoln was assassinated by the actor, John Wilkes Booth.

In the Twenty-first election in 1868 Ulysses S. Grant was elected President. Horatio Seymour ran second.

It was a short but spirited campaign. While the electoral vote for Grant greatly outnumbered that for Seymour, the popular vote was close. Many states were decided by a few hundred or a few thousand votes.

Ulysses S. Grant was reelected President.

The contest of the twenty-second election centered about "Anybody to beat Grant." Dissatisfaction with his administration led to the formation of a new party, the Liberal Republicans. It was composed of Reform Republicans, civil service reformers and a good many influential newspaper editors.

The "Centennial Election," occurring one hundred years after the signing of the Declaration of Independence, ended as the most disputed election in presidential history.

Rutherford B. Hayes, Republican won the election with 185 electoral and 4,033,768 popular votes. Samuel S. Tilden got 184 electoral and 4,285,992 popular votes. Hayes had only 165 electoral votes but an Electoral Commission awarded 25 disputed votes to him and he won by a single vote. Tilden took his defeat very sportingly.

The election of 1880 was a contest of men rather than issues.

The election was unexciting but close. Garfield

won by a small majority of 9,464 out of 9,000,000 popular votes.

On July 2, 1881, while on his way to a class reunion at Williams College, Garfield was mortally wounded by a disappointed office seeker.

The politicians substituted the "dirty shirt" for the "bloody shirt" in 1884. Inasmuch as no major difference in political issues separated the two parties, the contestants were prime targets for the mud-slingers of both sides.

The Democrats, faced with an opportunity for the first victory since the Civil War, nominated the "Reform Governor" of New York, Grover Cleveland, despite the bitter opposition of Tammany Hall. The bolting Republicans who called themselves "Mugwumps," after the Indian name meaning Chief, soon endorsed Cleveland as the better moral risk.

Without New York, Cleveland received 183 electoral votes and Blaine 132. Due to the closeness of the New York vote, the returns were held up for several days.

Great excitement prevailed—mobs marched to and fro in front of the Western Union office in New York City shouting "Hang Jay Gould," the owner. When the returns were released, Cleveland had captured New York by a majority of 1,119 votes and the Republican rule of almost a quarter of a century had been broken.

In 1888

The Democratic convention renominated Cleveland by acclamation.

Blaine, traveling in Europe, declined to be a candidate and instead endorsed Benjamin Harrison of Indiana, the grandson of the former President, William Henry Harrison. With Blaine's support Harrison ultimately won the nomination.

When the ballots were counted, the Democrats had polled the largest popular vote, but the Republicans carried the key states of New York and Indiana and were again restored to power. Harrison's inaugural was hailed as the centennial of the first inaugural of Washington.

Grover Cleveland was elected in 1892

Cleveland again did not campaign. Suffering from the gout, he remained home but much publicity was given to his vivacious young wife. Harrison, saddened by the illness and death of his wife, preferred seclusion. General James Weaver, the Populist candidate, however, stumped the west, rallying the farmers with the cry to "raise less corn and more hell."

One of the most exciting elections in American history occurred in 1896. Not only were there dynamic personalities involved, but a clear cut issue divided the parties. The issue of silver versus gold had its roots in the economic upheaval the country was undergoing. Industrial and commercial interests largely centered in the East favored a strict gold-based currency while the farmers and silver state representatives demanded silver coinage in the ratio of 16 to 1 with gold. They argued that such a program would permit the circulation of more money and thus ease the financial plight of great segments of the economy.

Almost 11,000,000 Americans voted, the greatest number ever. McKinley received a large majority of the electoral votes, and Bryan turned to new issues in pursuit of the presidency.

The Twenty-Ninth election of 1900 is described:

Good times returned to the United States soon after McKinley became President. This was due to a combination of fortunate circumstances, not the least of which was the discovery of new gold mines and the development of new refining methods which more than doubled gold production. Since gold was abundant the cry for free silver died down. Other issues rose to the fore. The most important of these was the Cuban insurrection. In 1895 the Cubans had begun their revolt against Spain. The fires of anti-Spanish sentiment were fanned in the American press. In 1898 the Maine was blown up in Havana Harbor with a loss of 268 lives. The public demanded intervention. War was inevitable. At the end of hostilities, America gained possession of its first foreign outposts. This presented Bryan with another ready-made issue as election

time drew near. The issue was imperialism.

McKinley, as was expected, won by a large majority over his Democratic rival. However, on September 6, 1901, he was shot by an anarchist and died eight days later.

Theodore Roosevelt's first term of office was characterized by his trust-busting economic theories and his foreign policy of "speak softly and carry a big stick." Despite the attacks he made upon monopolies, he retained the support of most industrialists and was the leading contender for the nomination in 1904. His greatest ambition was to win the presidency in his own right, and he got off to a good start at the Republican Convention by being nominated by unanimous vote on the first ballot.

The campaign was a Roosevelt natural. Running on the Republican platform, his own war record, the Ten Commandments, the "Square Deal," the creed of a "strenuous life," riding a bucking bronco, and waving aloft the famous Rough Rider hat, Roosevelt galloped to victory. Even *The New York Sun*, most conservative of newspapers, backed T.R. with a one-line editorial, "Theodore! With all thy faults!"

In 1903

Towards the end of Roosevelt's four years the most important issue he faced was that of his successor. When he took office, Roosevelt had stated that he would not seek another nomination. He favored the candidacy of Elihu Root but knew that Root could not be elected. And so he swung his support to his old and dear friend William Howard Taft, who was at that time Secretary of War.

At the Democratic convention, meeting in Denver, there was equal harmony.

Bryan was again the man of the hour, and at the very mention of his name, there was a demonstration of cheering which lasted for 37 minutes.

Bryan gained some support over that of his predecessor in the last election, but Taft won. After the inaugural, Teddy Roosevelt prepared to go to Africa for some big game shooting, and

William Howard Taft faced the next four years as President.

The 1912 election :

It was a bitter three-cornered fight. Taft supporters argued, "We are prosperous—why change?" The Democrats urged, "Win with Wilson." Speaking in Milwaukee, Teddy Roosevelt was shot by an anti-third-term fanatic. With bullet still in his body he continued his speech. Fortunately, an eye-glass case deflected the bullet, and his injury was not serious.

As anticipated, the Republican division assured Democratic success. Wilson won with T.R. a not too close second and Taft a distant third. And Woodrow Wilson entered the White House in the troubled year of 1913.

In 1916

The Democrats hailed Woodrow Wilson as the man who "kept us out of war" and as the advocate of the "8 hour day." The delegates to the convention cheered pacifist speeches, but Wilson did not declare himself as a pacifist. He preferred a position of "fight if we have to." The Democrats also adopted a platform of votes for women.

When the ballots were counted, Hughes was the loser by the margin of California's electoral votes. He had gone to bed thinking himself the victor, but California had gone to Wilson by 4,000 votes, and this was the pivot upon which the election turned. It was said that if he had only paid a visit to Governor Hiram Johnson during his campaign he would have won. The man who "kept us out of war" returned to the White House.

In 1920

The Republicans, with anti-Wilsonism as their main issue, were faced with a wide choice of candidates. However, such a complete deadlock developed between the forces of General Leonard Wood and Governor Frank Lowden of Illinois, that no decision could be reached on the early ballots. Finally, after a recess and discussion in a "smoke filled room," Warren Harding, a senator from Ohio, was chosen as a compromise candidate.

Calvin Coolidge was selected as his running mate.

The Democrats chose to stand on Wilson's record. However, the Democratic Convention, too, was dealocked until, on the 44th ballot, Governor James M. Cox of Ohio received the nomination.

The election itself was as colorless and weary as the campaign. A light vote was cast with Harding the winner by a large majority. A symptom of unrest beneath the veneer of "normalcy" was the 9919,779 votes polled for Eugene V. Debs, the Socialist, who ran from a prison cell. Another interesting aspect of the election was the fact that American women cast their votes for the first time. They had won the franchise in 1919.

The election of 1921 is described as follows:

Harding began his term of office on the crest of the release of wartime controls and the return to peace time economy. However, he was soon beset with troubles. There were rumors of corruption within the ranks of his cabinet. Returning from a trip to Alaska in July of 1923, Harding received a long coded message from Washington. He collapsed and died five days later on August 2. The nation greatly mourned his passing. Soon after, the Teapot Dome scandal broke. Other scandals were made public. Calvin Coolidge assumed the presidency. He was said to be honest, reserved, conservative. And his popularity was enhanced by the fact that the country was riding on the crest of economic prosperity.

As might have been anticipated, the Republicans won by a landslide. The country voted to keep cool and keep Coolidge.

In 1928

The Republican convention met in an atmosphere of triumph. The party had a fine record of prosperity to stand on. Despite the fact that there were several candidates for the nomination, Herbert Hoover, Coolidge's Secretary of Commerce, won on the first ballot. Charles Curtis was his Vice President. In their platform, the Republicans came out for high tariffs and endorsed the 18th Amendment.

It was a Republican landslide, Hoover carrying Smith's home state, New York, and breaking into the solid south. Prosperity seemed here to stay forever as Herbert Hoover entered the White House in the fateful year of 1929.

In 1932 things happened in a big way.

The Republican campaign was based upon "Don't swap horses" and "Be safe—Re-elect Hoover," while the Democrats promised aid to the "forgotten man," urged nullification of the 18th Amendment and cried, "America calls another Roosevelt." And the American people, restless and seeking a change, listened.

On election day almost 40 million people went to the polls. 23 million voted for Roosevelt; 16 million for Hoover; and a million for Norman Thomas, the Socialist candidate. In his inauguration speech, the new President said, "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself." And a new era in American politics was ushered in.

Franklin D. Roosevelt was reelected President.

At the Democratic convention only one name was mentioned seriously. It was "On with Roosevelt." Fifty-seven nominating speeches were made in his behalf. He was nominated by acclamation as was Garner, his running mate. The convention made Democratic history by abolishing the century-old "two-thirds" rule. It was estimated that more than a hundred thousand people heard Roosevelt's acceptance speech at Franklin Field, Philadelphia, when he said "This generation has a rendezvous with destiny."

In 1940

During a bitter and exhausting campaign, Willkie traveled through 34 states and delivered 350 speeches in 51 days. Starting out on a bipartisan note, he switched in the later days to a violent attack on Roosevelt and the New Deal. FDR, in turn, who had been quiet for most of the campaign, battled back in the last two weeks before election day. Feelings ran high. Campaign buttons flourished as never before. 21 million were manufactured for Roosevelt; 33 million for Willkie. Although many bore rather coarse

allusions to the candidates, their wives and families, the principal theme was "Two good terms deserve another," vs. "No third term."

Willkie received the largest popular vote ever given a Republican candidate but carried only ten states. Roosevelt carried the remainder, and America had its first third-term President.

All other events during Franklin Roosevelt's third term were overshadowed by the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. The remaining years of his tenure were war years. Party differences were largely forgotten as America girded for war and fought back against the common foe. 1912, 1913, 1944...these years were filled with heroic deeds and heroic sacrifices. Victory seemed close indeed as the conventions met in the summer 1944. The continent had been breached, and the Allies were striking towards Berlin. MacArthur had returned to the Philippines.

Democrats clamored, "Victory with Roosevelt." And FDR said, "If the people elect me, I will serve." He was nominated on the first ballot by a large majority.

The campaign was a bitter one. The Republicans attacked both man and party. Roosevelt, who at first remained aloof from campaigning, joined in the pitched battle. It seemed at first as if the election would be a close one, but FDR won another resounding victory. President again shattered, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt took office for a fourth term.

On April 12, 1945, the President died, and Harry S. Truman took the oath of office. It was he who would preside over the peace negotiations of the soon-to-be victorious Allies.

In 1948 Harry S. Truman was nominated by the Democrats. Thomas E. Dewey was the Republican challenger. It was believed that Dewey would win.

But when the ballots were counted, Harry S. Truman had won the presidency in his own right.

In 1952 Dwight D. Eisenhower won a resounding victory.

Eisenhower's great personal prestige and his campaign pledge to visit Korea to help about a

"Peace with Honor" were to prove unbeatable. Stevenson's eloquence and intellectual discussion of issues attracted many independent voters, but the American people, weary of "mink coat" and "deep freeze" scandals and the bitter Korean conflict, decided it was "Time for a Change."

The Eisenhower crusade swept to power, gaining 55.1% of the popular vote and cracking the "Solid South" by winning four states. Eisenhower's inaugural was witnessed by millions of Americans on television and the first Republican administration in 24 years began on the solemn tone of what has become famous as the "Eisenhower Prayer."

"Peace and Prosperity" was the Republican slogan heard as the Grand Old Party gathered in San Francisco for its 1955 convention. There had been worry and concern that the President, plagued by illness, would not be able to run. But as the summer approached, it seemed evident that he had made a striking recovery, and in a dramatic address Eisenhower announced that he had been assured by his physicians that he could endure the rigors of the presidency for another term.

The Eisenhower victory was a personal triumph. For the Republican Party it was in one sense an unprecedented loss. The Democrats won a majority in the House, and retained control of the Senate. Not since 1848 had a president's victory failed to win for his party at least one house of Congress.

As convention time drew near, the Democrats looked hopefully to 43-year-old Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts. The youthful senator had been campaigning since the 1956 convention when he narrowly missed winning the Vice Presidential nomination. His success in a series of key primaries convinced the pollsters and politicians that he would be the party's strongest candidate.

In the ensuing campaign, jet aircraft and nationwide television gave the American public a closer look at the candidates than had ever occurred in our history. Jets enabled Nixon to make and carry out a promise to campaign in

all fifty states. Television brought the two major candidates together in a series of four debates viewed by more than 110,000,000 people.

As the election returns first began to stream in, it looked like a Kennedy landslide in the making. But as the hours wore on, the Nixon vote piled up and relentlessly cut away at Kennedy's lead. The election turned into a real cliff hanger; not until the dawn hours of the next day did it finally become a certainty that Kennedy had squeaked out a victory. His margin of popular votes was the narrowest in U.S. presidential history: less than 120,000 votes—barely one-sixth of one per cent of the nearly 69 million votes cast.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy, the first Catholic and, at 43, the youngest man ever elected to the office, became the 35th President of the United States.

1960 : 1964

Kennedy's most dramatic achievement was his electrifying defiance of the Russian effort to establish missile bases in Cuba. Under a blunt Kennedy demand—backed up by naval, air and

ground action—that they dismantle the partially constructed bases and take their rockets home, the Russians backed down. Kennedy's image as a leader of courage soared.

The suddenly, unbelievably, at 12:30 p.m. on November 22, 1963, while the President was riding through the streets of Dallas, Texas, in an open limousine, his life was snuffed out by an assassin's bullet fired into his head from a high powered rifle with a telescopic sight.

The Vice President who succeeded John Kennedy was a vastly different man. The contrast in personalities was so marked that many wondered at first how Lyndon B. Johnson could possibly fill the vacant Presidential chair.

Johnson, however, proceeded with a swiftness and certainty that surprised none who recalled his virtuoso performances as Senate majority leader during the latter years of the Eisenhower Administration. By Convention time Johnson had achieved in Congress what Kennedy had found impossible. He got an eleven billion dollar tax cut and a civil rights bill passed, and his foreign aid request met less resistance in the lower House.



Book Review

KHAJURAHO, 48 plates, 66 pages, with articles by M. R. Anand, Charles Fabri, Stella Kramrisch and A. Cunningham. Price : Rs-15/-Third Edition, Marg Publication.

We welcome this well printed, and very well produced Homage to the Monuments of KHAJURAHO. Naturally in this illustrated monograph emphasis is laid on the sculptures rather than the Architecture of the Temples—though the Kandarya Mahadeo Temple is adequately illustrated by several plates, the other temples have not received adequate attention. Of the several articles published—they are needlessly erudite and difficult to understand—the European “Baroque” style can not be applied to any phase of Indian Art—Cunningham’s description cited on this volume is very useful, and the earliest comment on the monument. Dr. Anand in his homage has been unfair to his readers as he has not explained the reason of introduction of erotic sculptures on the monument, although he has emphasized on the beauty of its plastic quality. They cannot be explained and justified by reference to the KAULIA-KAPALIKA CULTS suggested by Promad Chandra. The real basis of the erotic sculptures on Temple was illustrated in an authoritative article : THE MITHUNA IN INDIAN ART—long ago published in Rupam and which should be reprinted. Of the figures illustrated—“Apsara” (3), Playing with a Ball (7), and so-called AGNI (45) and Siva-Parvati (48) deserve special men-

tion. In a panel (15) the portrait of a working Silpi is a very interesting record (many of them are known). The volume is moderately priced, and will inspire further studies by competent scholars.

—AGASTYA

TREASURES OF INDIAN MUSEUMS, (Marg Publications, Bombay) 44 pages with Addenda. Numerous Plates (4 in Colour) Price. Rs. 32 -

After the scholarly Survey, and Directory of Indian Museums published in 1936, this is a creditable and attractive volume, profusely illustrated—for popular education—in the valuable Treasures of our Museums.

About 13 Museums are covered—alphabetically listed, beginning with Ashutosh Museum—each museum is described by its Curator. Unfortunately, all of them are not adequately described. e.g., the Bharat Kala Museum, of which the outstanding master-pieces have not been cited. The National Museum (Delhi) is well represented with a citation of a Hindola Raga (Colour). The Prince of Wales Museum is represented by two Jaina Items including a new BAHUVALLI. But the Salar Jung is not attractive. The Teen Murti House dedicated to Nehru is a new treasure-house. We congratulate the Publisher. The price is a little too high. Nevertheless all schools and colleges should have this attractive volume on their bookshelves.

—O. C. Gangoly

The Publications Division biography entitled "Dewan Rangacharlu" by N. S. Chandrasekhara (Price Rs. 2.50) is one of a series published as "Builders of Modern India". This volume describes the contributions to the development of Modern India by Chettipaniama Veeravalli Rangacharlu, who was the first Dewan of Mysore State, following the restoration to the throne of Chamarajendra Wodeyar, the adopted son of the old deposed King Krishnaraja Wodeyar in 1881.

Bereft of his father in early youth, Rangacharlu rose in service through sheer intellectual brilliance and administrative ability to high positions in the Madras Government, and was subsequently deputed to Mysore administration where he executed with great efficiency his successive posts as Controller of the Palace, Assistant Guardian to the Maharaja, Revenue Secretary, and finally as the Dewan in 1881.

From the records available it is evident that his administrative reforms were vast and varied during these years, comprising as they did numerous governmental departments, eg, the Judiciary, Police, Revenue Administration, Excise duties, Tax on Liquors, Education, Forest Department, Medical Service, and Agriculture.

Rangacharlu was Dewan for less than two years. But before his untimely death he had rebuilt the fortunes of the State,

and set it on the road to enlightened and progressive administration. During this time, all the high posts in the Government were reserved for the Europeans. It is to the lasting credit of Rangacharlu that he invariably appointed able Indians to the highest positions in the State Services. Among the men who were encouraged by him to qualify themselves were Sir M. Visvesvaraya, and Sir Sheshadri Iyer.

The author discusses in great detail all these contributions made by Rangacharlu. The greatest achievement of his, however, was the creation of the Representative Assembly in 1881. This was the first in the country and it was an attempt to bring the people into immediate communication with the government so as to remove from their minds any misapprehension regarding the actions of Government and thus convince them that the interests of the Government are identical with those of the people. The smooth progress of the Post-Restoration Government of Mysore can largely be traced to this.

Rangacharlu's ideas were later incorporated in many other parts of India and thus the author concludes that his claims as one of the Builders of Modern India rests upon these contributions as a great administrator, a patriot and the founder of the first representative institution in the country.

—L. Chatterji

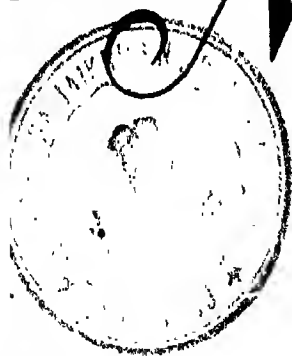
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CHARACTER STUDY
By
Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury

THE MODERN REVIEW



OCTOBER

1968



Soviet Arms Supply to Pakistan :
Motives and Implications

—A. M. Rajasekhariah and V. T. Patil

Kanthal or Jackfruit in India

—P. Thankappan Nair

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—S. D. Naik

Essence of Democracy

—M. K. Gandhi

When M. K. Gandhi Visited Mauritius

—B. Bissoondoyal

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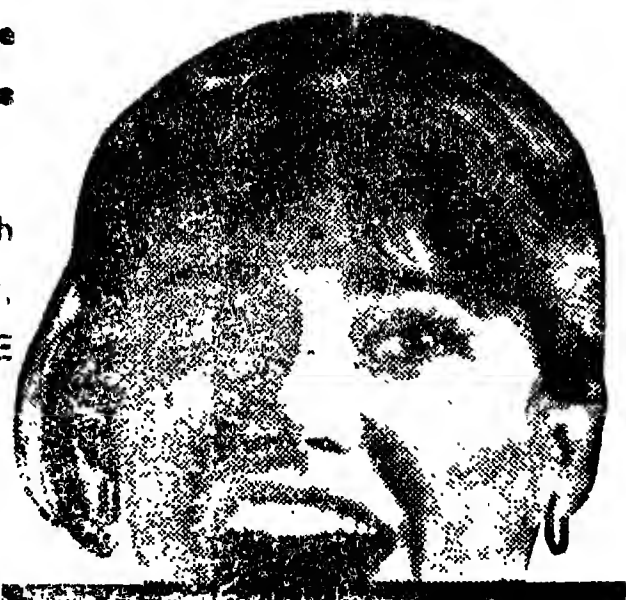
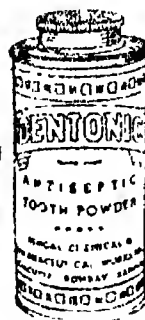
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THE MODERN REVIEW

OCTOBER



1968

VOL. CXXIII, No. 10

WHOLE No. 742

NOTES

THE GREATNESS OF GANDHIJI

Gandhiji was admired by Indians as well as by the people of other countries for his straight-forward simplicity, his total attachment to truth, his selfless love for the poor, the defenceless and the oppressed; and his fearless championship of the victims of imperialism. He was perhaps the world's only politician who put politics in a secondary position vis-a-vis his moral and religious ideals. In fact his success in the field of politics was due entirely to his ethical preferences. His image before the masses of India was that of a self denying ascetic who fought for the rights of the lowly and the ordinary people against the mighty armies which usurped humanity's rights and freedoms. He used no weapons which killed but his non-violent method of opposing military

might rendered the sword and the rifle useless. The ideas of non-violent non-cooperation and of satyagraha were Gandhiji's contribution to the armoury of political weapons with which more and more battles would be fought as time passes and the world realises the futility and suicidal nature of the use of conventional weapons of warfare. The leaders of the Indian National Congress consider Gandhiji to be particularly and exclusively, their own leader, though, in fact, the Indian National Congress has developed programs which are totally against the doctrines that Gandhiji preached. His idea of strengthening the economy of the villages by use of the spinning wheel, as against the idea of industrialising India, was discarded by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. His ideas of self-denial and sacrifice by political leaders have vanished al-

together from the Indian political field. The Gandhi Centenary year which will commence on the 1st of October 1968 will of course be made full use of by the Congress Party for its own advertisement. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India has already declared Mahatma Gandhi as the greatest Indian after Buddha, intending thereby to glorify Gandhiji in a suitable manner. But there being no established standards of absolute greatness nor any acceptable methods of measuring human superiority, we shall satisfy ourselves by referring to Gandhiji as one of the greatest of Indians and a very great man. There have been many great Indians since Prince Siddhartha became the Buddha. We may mention the names of the Emperor Asoka ; the speculative philosopher Shankara ; the religious reformers Sri Chaitanya, Guru Nanak, Sri Ramkrishna and Kabir ; the poets Kalidas and Rabindranath ; leaders Chattrapati Shivaji, Guru Gobind Singh and and Netaji Subhas Chandra ; social reformers Raja Rammohun Roy and Swami Vivekananda, to name only some. We cannot make any invidious comparisons to decide who was greater than whom. Each one was the greatest in his own time and place.

Gandhiji always referred to the poet Rabindranath Tagore as gurudev and considered him to be world's greatest poet. The numerous references Gandhiji had made to the poet's genius in his letters, notes and speeches make it quite clear that he considered the poet's greatness as unique and unrivalled. Gandhiji was very intimately associated with Rabindranath and there was no loss of mutual admiration between them

inspite of strong differences of opinion. The leaders of the Congress reduced the ideology of the Mahatma to mere words and symbols and the way Indian politics developed, after Gandhiji left the political field, showed the total failure of the leaders of India to realise the ideals that Gandhiji had preached.

The world to-day has more destructive weapons and the means to use them for the total extinction of mankind, than it ever possessed before. The U. N. organisation is no doubt inspired by the moral principles that Mahatma Gandhi expounded, but the nations of the world are steeped in duplicity and mutual hatred. There are some nations which harbour thoughts of world conquest by the use of force and others which engage constantly in unfriendly acts of warlike dimensions. One has to take into account various other factors which stand in the way of building a world united in friendly relations and without any thoughts of mutual aggression. The colour question comes right on top and thereafter came the antipathies existing between nations avowing totalitarian communistic ideals as against those of an individualistic democratic nature. Among evil forces with a history behind them there still exists a kind of Pan-Islamism among certain muslim Majority nations. There are other animosities and expansionist urges which can flare up into wars. The world atmosphere, therefore, is not congenial for the establishment of peace among nations.

Gandhiji was intensely religious and believed wholeheartedly in the power of friendship, love and AHIMSA. This idea of non-violence was carried to its logical extreme in

his own life and he devoted himself to the protection of all animals symbolised by the cow, and preached the adoption of pure vegetarianism. He believed in human freedom to think or act in any manner that one liked, but held that one had to acknowledge an overall obligation to work for the greatest benefit of mankind and all living animals. This rather restricted the enjoyment of one's possessions and power in a selfish manner and imposed a limited asceticism on all his followers. It is difficult to clearly define Gandhism or GANDHIBAD as a clearcut religious creed or a cult ; but he certainly held in high esteem all the supremely ethical tenets of the great religions of the world. He had a powerful strain of mysticism as the foundation of his own religious life, but that was very personal to him and he did not exhort others to accept his intimate feelings about God as a religious faith.

There are thousands of men and women in India who belong to the Congress Party and who engage on occasions in spinning with the Charkha as a ritual. These members of the Congress do not mostly have any deep attachment to the ideals that Gandhiji cherished and for which he symbolised the Charkha as a national emblem of self-reliance and of the peoples' determination to solve all problems of life through sincere effort and honest labour. The Congress members who spin in order to show regard to Gandhiji, do not believe in the purpose of that spinning. They are now believers in industrialisation and they want the economy of India to follow the set Western pattern of development. Mechanisation and mass production ; creation and exploitation of markets ; trade, commerce and improvement of the

standard of living of the masses are now the guiding principles of national well being and progress. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born in a poor country and he showed to the world what the indomitable will of extremely poor but morally strong people can achieve. The British had reduced Indians to a very low economic level by their intensive exploitation of nearly two hundred years. They kept India poor and weak so that Indians could never dare oppose the mighty British whose wealth and power had no limits. But Gandhiji showed the British how armies could march in loin cloth ; barefooted and without any weapons ; and face well equipped soldiers to decide political issues by exercising moral strength and the power that men acquired by a total dependence on truth and justice. The British used force at times but their ability to shoot down unarmed men, women and children recoiled back on them as total defeat. They imprisoned thousands in dungeons ; but the prisoners came out of their cells stronger than ever, and, the British discovered how futile it was to send weaklings to jail in order to convert them into mighty heroes. The British felt how impossible a position they were getting into when everyday the forces of non-violence were expanding and covering the face of India in vaster numbers. They also had to reorientate their mind about the loyalty of their well trained and disciplined soldiers of the Indian Army ; when Netaji Subhas won over large numbers of them to form the Indian National Army. British morale reached its lowest ever level during the forties and Gandhiji's non-violent war against the imperial British was a great blow which the

mighty British could not stand up to without showing distinct signs of weakening. The Second World War reduced British might and economic stability to a bare minimum. The British Empire could no longer be maintained by force of arms. The demand for independence came from all colonies, dependencies and dominions. Gandhiji showed a way of fighting the imperial power which even the poorest and weakest could adopt. The British therefore decided to slowly disperse her forces of imperial suzerainty from the entire area of the Empire and keep only those connections which required no show of strength. They replaced military might by diplomatic cunning and created divisions everywhere in order to assure that the lands and the peoples which had been bound together for a long time by remaining in the British Empire did not succeed in forming any great political unity and becoming a challenge to the mighty States of the West. India was divided into two States and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru accepted the partition in spite of the warning given by Mahatma Gandhi. Pandit Jawaharlal also acted contrary to the Mahatma's teaching by adopting a vast program of industrialisation and by depending on foreign countries for achieving his objectives. Gandhiji believed in self-reliance and depended on personal work to achieve an objective. The ideal of the Charkha could never tally with the creation of a vast national debt or with the importation of large masses of foreign machinery and numerous foreign technicians. The utter dependence on foreigners that Pandit Jawaharlal inaugurated has weakened India greatly and shaken her foundation of self respect and national freedom ; thus proving

the truth of Gandhiji's faith and self-reliance even at the cost of discarding all trappings of modern progress. Gandhiji's theory of value took into account only the basic usefulness of articles of consumption. He did not go by market values, which were mostly created by the individual's illusions about the desirability of things. In this Gandhi Centenary Year, we hope Indians will go back to the path of self reliance and dependence on purely their own national effort as symbolised by the Charkha. Efforts should also be made to stop further borrowings and to pay back the debts that have been incurred. The State should take steps to prevent exploitation of the peoples of India both by the State as well as by powerful and clever individuals. Large scale industries unless required for national defence or general well being, should be kept at a minimum level and all efforts should be directed towards the development of agriculture, horticulture, pisciculture, poultry farming, dairies and dairy products, weaving, spinning and other cottage industries. Hand work should be encouraged as against mass production of machine made articles. The arts and crafts that are dying out due to the competition of cheap machine made substitutes should be revived and every effort made to give employment to all workers even if their earnings do not come up to any accepted minimum standard.

MAKE POLITICS UNPROFITABLE

The Indian Government has a dual front. The real and the sovereign political power in India rests in the Central Government which controls Defence ; Foreign Relations ; In-

ternational Trade and Sea Customs ; Coinage and Currency ; Posts, Telegraphs, Telephone and Wireless communications ; Railways ; Major Arterial Roads ; Rivers, Mines and Minerals ; Major Public Sector Industries ; Taxes on Income and Wealth ; Border Police ; Maintaining Enforcing and Amending the Constitution ; Legislation Affecting the Whole of India ; and many other things which affect the nation in its entirety. The states are really administrative zones with no real independence of any importance. But there is a show of Parliamentary freedom by setting up legislatures with no real powers excepting collection of revenues, maintenance of law and order, managing the police forces, the jails, the law courts and matters connected with the operation of small scale Public Sector industries, education, irrigation, public health and similar matters which grant to the states the rights of local self-government. The appearances of autonomy that are presented to the people of the states have not much reality behind them and the various ministries in the states can collect and spend money within the limits set by the constitution which gives them powers which one usually associates with the managing directors of big corporations. In short the ministries are good jobs and enable the ministers to grant gainful 'occupation to persons of their choice and profitable commissions to private parties whose ability and integrity are judged by the ministers and their associates. The handling of 4000 million rupees under numerous heads of expenditure is nothing to be sniffed at. It is more than what all the steel factories of India handle in one year. It involves jobs, contracts, licences, permits

and commissions of a highly profitable nature and enables the authorities concerned great opportunities for distributing what are derisively referred to as the loaves and fishes of public service. The competition and scramble for power that one notices in State politics are entirely caused by the profit yielding capacity of state administration. If the leaders are free from corruption, those that hang round them and try to induce them to distribute favours are fully corrupt and immoral and they exhort and excite people to howl for elections, apparently TO SAVE DEMOCRACY, but in fact to create opportunities for immoral persons to make improper and illicit gains. As not many individuals are free from complicity in corrupt practices, no serious efforts are ever made to clean up politics and the administration and to make public service and the management of the State honest and fully above board. The municipalities of India have been full of corrupt persons for a long time and the State political organisations after independence imitated the ways of those public bodies and developed their own patterns of illicit practices which have now made public life hot beds of pretensions, falsehood and unlawful profit making. Unless politics is made free from these acts of cheating the nation and making profit in a sinful manner, India can never progress, no matter how much foreign aid is received by her and how heavy the tax structure is made by our inefficient and incapable idealists at the top.

In a manner of speaking the private sector is more capable of conserving the nation's savings and wealth, in so far as the private owners of capital do not permit indiscriminate cheating and profit making by dishonest in-

cumbents in the manner the public sector authorities allow such illicit activities. The public sector too can assure greater control over their receipts and expenses by arranging for management by contract with clauses securing the interests of the nation against unjustifiable losses. The existing methods of managing by I.C.S., I.A.S. or specially recruited paid officers have not succeeded at all and should be discarded. The nation cannot afford to hand over charge of its resources and assets to the tender mercies of an ineffective bureaucracy.

SHOWING RESPECT TO VIOLENCE

The activities of the Government of India in the field of States reorganisation show that the leaders of the nation have more respect for those who can start agitation and make demands for separatism in a violent manner than for persons who depend on logic, reason, facts and justice to prove the validity of their demands. A good example is found in the inclusion of predominantly Bengali speaking areas in the States of Assam and Bihar. The Assamese even tried to chase out the Bengalis from their home land by force. They also allowed Pakistani Muslim infiltrators to come into Assam with a view to dispossess and drive out Bengalis and tribals who did not pull on well with the Assamese. The Bihar People were more subtle and their discriminations against the Bengalis in the Bengali speaking areas had the nature of a policy of squeeze and pin prick. But they have tried to interfere with the freedom of Bengalis in Bihar to retain their own way of life and culture. The Government of India admitted all this in a theoretical manner by returning to Bengal some areas of the district of Man-

bhum. But the major portion of Manbhum Singbhum, Santhal Parganas and Purnea were left attached to Bihar. In the case of Bengalis in Assam, no action was taken either to save the Bengalis from Assamese "BANGAL KHEDA" atrocities and nothing much was done to punish the perpetrators of the atrocities who were protected by the ministers of the State of Assam. Had the Bengalis procured arms and fought the government in the manner of the Nagas and Mizos, a different story might have been written. The Bengalis did not do so for patriotic reasons, but that was not appreciated by the leaders at the top who were mainly Gandhites and believers in non-violence. The Bengalis also did not go to China or Pakistan for military assistance which the Nagas and Mizos did in an undoubtedly treacherous and treasonable manner. But the Government of India granted a separate state to the Nagas, who continued to fight for full freedom from Indian Suzerainty with Chinese and Pakistani assistance. The Mizos, Kukis and other disloyal tribesmen have been shown great consideration by the Government of India and they will all eventually gain total freedom from Assamese overlordship, as far as one can judge by symptoms. The injustice of keeping parts of Bengal attached to Bihar and Assam has not been remedied for reasons of gain to the Hindi speaking peoples of Bihar and to save Assam from total disintegration after the tribal people had been fully appeased. The whole idea of creating States was wrong to begin with in so far as it admitted racialism as a recognisable factor of determining the location of various states. The Government of India under Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru tried to create a hegemony of

Hindi speaking States which it failed to achieve. Hindi speaking peoples being the most backward intellectually as well as economically, could not really expect to rule India. The idea therefore had to be given up and the facts of demography were allowed to function with greater freedom. But that pointed in the direction of disintegration of India into numerous racial, linguistic and cultural zones, which negated the ideals of true nationalism. It is not clear what the political parties of India really want. If it is their intention to break up India, then they can do so wholeheartedly and create 144 states on a demographical basis. If on the other hand they wish to keep all Indians as one nation with a fundamental unity in culture and civilisation and a lot of variety in details of minor characteristics, they should then give up all secret desires of an irrational kind and proceed to build a powerful and integrated national state with only administrative zones. All ideas of creating linguistic or cultural superiorities should be given up and the resources of the nation made use of in a full and rational manner. In this the cult of personalities built on what the leaders of the past have advocated has to be forgotten. Only three dimensional ideals and not vague idiosyncracies can guide a large nation to success.

HOW FAR CAN EXTREMES GO ?

There was a time when the peoples of different races and geographical areas were ruled by absolutely autocratic kings whose will was the law. There was no appeal against the orders of an absolute monarch. People could be deprived of their property, put in jail or executed by order of the king with-

out any trial or even any proper accusation. That was one extreme of political existence in which the people had no rights and a single individual decided the fate of millions in an irresponsible and self willed manner. Then one began to move towards more rights for the people and less free play for the royal whims. Eventually kings were replaced by political parties and such parties as could command the support of the largest number of people could lay down the law and rule the people. In the beginning political parties held views which were conservative and did not go to any extremes of thought or action. But very soon the situation changed and political opinion assumed shapes and forms which often contradicted all established political proprieties. In the days of the absolute monarchs people had to stop all work and stand bowing to the king's carriage as it passed. Now, all work stops and so do all traffic on the highways when processions of aggrieved workers or students pass. Aggrieved members or the community have now acquired a sort of divine right by which they can shower bricks on those who allegedly cause them grief or on anybody who happen to be in the trajectory of their bricks. Being aggrieved has now become a specialised art and those who can formulate new kinds of complaint or grief for their clients can command very high fees. Demands also have attained hitherto unreached heights. The point to be noticed is that the idea of the majority ruling the minorities has now vanished. The aggrieved persons are usually much less in number than those who are the targets of their grief. For instance, recently all people who used the Posts and Telegraphs or Telephone services were refused

any service by the employees of those organisations. As a result many millions had to suffer and were left stranded because some thousands of aggrieved employees of those departments stopped work. Users of electric power, banks or railways can at any time discover that a few aggrieved workers have switched off the power or closed down the banks and railways. These are the less dangerous type of coercion exercised by minorities upon majorities. There are some minorities which often carry on war on the entire nation by negotiating with the foreign enemies of the nation in a blatant manner. These minorities are guilty of high treason, but they are tolerated on the ground that they are aggrieved. In fact the more tolerant peoples of the Earth are now ruled by their grief-stricken minorities. The grief has to be expressed very persistently, loudly and without reference to facts, arguments or proof. Rowdiness, cracker throwing and arson helps to prove the grief. In such a state of anarchy, majorities are as helpless as they had been under the absolute monarchies. The idea behind forming political parties was, to begin with, an attempt to form large groups of persons with similar socio-political outlook and it was thought that a party system of democratic government will assure government by the group or groups having the largest number of enfranchised persons. But this has not worked out that way. Political parties seldom have large enough membership to claim a majority within the nation. In ordinary democracies the parties carry on elec-

tion campaigns and try to secure the votes of the people who lend support to this party or that for reasons which have little to do with the political creeds of the parties. Votes are obtained quite often by illicit means and the elected candidates exploit their membership of the legislatures for the advantage of small numbers of persons and not for the greatest good of the greatest number. In single party communist countries the membership of the party is usually closely limited. The workers of organised industries, large bodies of organised peasantry and the members of the armed forces usually supply the members to the party which is formed by ideological cliques of intellectuals. The total number of workers, peasants and soldiers together with the intellectuals at the top could never exceed 10% of the total population. The Communist States therefore are ruled by minorities. The ruling parties in democracies and the single party in a Communist State are both in the habit of claiming the support of the majority of the people inhabiting the countries they rule. Such claims only mean that the people tolerate the governments that are set up by these minorities. It does not in any sense mean that the majority of the people participate in the governments set up by the ruling parties. The party system therefore means government by oligarchical bodies of close minorities. This extreme of government by the people has then turned out to be as much a minority rule as the ancient extreme of autocracy of the king and his courtiers was. A few rule and the rest obey.

UNITY IN DIVERSITY

M. K. GANDHI

In nature, there is a fundamental unity running through all the diversity we see about us. Religions are no exception to the natural law. They are given to mankind so as to accelerate the process of realization of fundamental unity.

As I was studying Christianity; Hinduism and other great faiths of the world, I saw that there was a fundamental unity moving amidst the endless variety that we see in all religions, viz., truth and innocence.

Religions are not for separating men from one another, they are meant to bind them. It is a misfortune that, today, they are so distorted that they have become a potent cause of strife

I have come to the conclusion that, if it is proper and necessary to discover an underlying unity among all religions, a master-key is needed. That master key is that of truth and non-violence.

When I unlock the chest of a religion with this master-key, I do not find it difficult to discover its likeness with other religions. When you look at these religions as so many leaves of a tree, they seem so different, but at the trunk, they are one. Unless and until we realize this fundamental unity, wars in the name of religion will not cease.

If there is only one God, should there not be only one religion? This is a strange question. Just as a tree has a million leaves, similarly, though God is one, there are as many religions as there are men and women, though they are rooted in one God. We do not see this plain truth because we are followers of different prophets and claim as many religions as there are prophets. As a matter of fact, whilst I believe myself to be to be a Hindu, I know that I do not worship God in the same manner as any one or all of them.

EQUALITY OF RELIGIONS

I remind you of the folly of looking upon one religion as better than another.

. . . . For God-fearing men, all religions are good and equal, only the followers of different religions quarrel with one another and thereby deny their respective religions.

Hindu-Muslim unity requires the Muslims to tolerate, not as a virtue of necessity, not as a policy, but as part of their religion, the religion of others so long as they, the latter, believe it to be true. Even so is it expected of the Hindus to extend the same tolerance as a matter of faith and religion to the religions of others, no matter how repugnant they may appear to their (the Hindus) sense of religion.

The need of the moment is not one religion, but mutual respect and tolerance of the devotees of the different religions. We want to reach not the dead level, but unity in diversity. Any attempt to root out traditions, effects of heredity, climate and other surroundings is not only bound to fail, but is a sacrilege. The soul of religions is one but it is encased in a multitude of forms. The latter will persist to the end of time. Wise men will ignore the outward crust and see the same soul living under a variety of crusts.

India is a big country, a big nation composed of different cultures, which are tending to blend with one another, each complementing the rest. If I must wait for the completion of the process, I must wait. It may not be completed in my day. I should love to die in the faith that it must come in the fullness of time. I should be happy to think that I had done nothing to hamper the process.

SOVIET ARMS SUPPLY TO PAKISTAN : MOTIVES AND IMPLICATIONS

By A. M. RAJASEKHARIAH and V. T. PATIL.

The Soviet decision to supply arms to Pakistan has introduced an element of controversy in the field of Indo-Soviet relations. The issue has been debated in the Indian Parliament and also in the press. One can understand the anxiety on the part of a nation when her neighbour is going to be militarily strengthened by means of supplies from outside. Indians have every reason to be agitated over such supplies to a country whose intransigence is well-known. But one cannot afford to be emotional on such issues. It is an universally accepted fact that a sovereign state, by virtue of her independence, reserves for itself the right to decide either to give or receive such supplies. Moreover, we cannot also isolate such decisions from the factors of international politics. Indo-Soviet relations need to be examined afresh at this juncture when some policy decisions have been made with some definite motives and consequent implications.

Before analysing the Soviet decision, it may be necessary to be familiar with the type of weapons usually supplied by Russia to developing countries. The inventory is reported to contain the following military hardware. Air weapons : Old models of light and medium bombers, MIG's of 15, 17, 19 and 21 models, AN-12 transports helicopters, SA-2 Surface-to-Air missiles.

Naval Weapons : Small types of submarines, cruisers, destroyers, patrol boats, torpedo-boats. Army weapons : T-54/34 and PT tanks (Medium and light) : Armoured cars, standard Soviet artillery, anti-aircraft guns.

In addition, there are radar, rockets, armaments, spares and training facilities. Some of these weapons are more powerful than others to which Pakistan is not eligible at present, including the medium bomber, MIG-21 and submarine. But even without them the list is formidable.

The present decision of the Soviet Union will have to be analysed not only from the Indian point of view, nor even from the Pakistani angle alone, but primarily in the light of the basic tenets of Soviet foreign policy.

We shall therefore, appreciate the decision in the light of the Soviet foreign policy first, in its historical perspective. The general pattern of international relations as envisaged by the Soviet Union is one of total adherence to Marxist—Leninist ideology. Stalin declared as early as 1921 that, "the basis of our (Soviet) relations with capitalist countries consists in admitting the co-existence of two opposed systems."¹ Communists seem to believe that conflict is the normal pattern of relationship between the two orders. Conflict may not always mean an all out global war, it may also involve manoeuvring openly if possible, and clandestinely if necessary, to cause the collapse of the non-socialist order. They are possibly prepared for adjustment without swerving from their ultimate goal. This naturally permits a frequent shift in strategy and tactics. Depending upon the

1. "Historicus" : "Stalin on Revolution," *Foreign Affairs*, XXVII, January, 1949, pp. 175-214.

SOVIET ARMS SUPPLY TO PAKISTAN: MOTIVES AND IMPLICATIONS

situation there will frequently be a shift from limited co-operation to an attitude of sharp rivalry. Of course, one can understand that every country is keen in promoting its vital national interests. And Russian policy towards India is a reflection of this basic pattern of behaviour among nations. We shall confine our observations in this respect to Soviet foreign policy vis-a-vis India.

The Stalin era generally witnessed a policy of friendship with India, though not so spectacular as in the post-Stalin period. Khrushchev appreciated the policy of non-alignment of India and he came out with full political and economic support which was the basis of Indo-Soviet friendship. Russian support to India on Kashmir was unequivocal. Khrushchev declared that Kashmir was an integral part of India. During the trying days of Chinese aggression on India in October, 1962, Russia exhibited her solid friendship towards India by cutting off oil supplies to China and also by supplying defence equipment to India.²

Trade between the two countries increased by leaps and bounds and economic assistance flowed in significant quantities.

But soon after Khrushchev's removal there was a qualitative change in Russia's attitude towards India. In 1965, Brezhnev, in his report to the Congress of the CPSU said that the "Soviet Union was paying attention to improving relations with such major Asian countries like India and Pakistan which can be virtually considered as our neighbours as well".³ This was the first indication that Russia had begun to treat India and Pakistan on the same footing. The new Soviet leaders

also put a new interpretation on *non-alignment*. Thus Russia could make no distinction between India and Pakistan as both of these fall under the category of "neighbours."

Since Khrushchev's eclipse, not one word of criticism of Pakistan has been allowed to appear in the Soviet press. It was not surprising that with this background, Russia declined to condemn Pakistan for its aggression in Kutch. Non-aligned India and aligned Pakistan were put on the same footing.

The Soviet decision to supply arms, coming as it does at this juncture of Indo-Soviet relations, needs to be probed deeply as to the probable *motives* and *implications* behind such a decision.

The Sino-Soviet rift has its own impact on this politically sensitive and militarily strategic region. In reality, this region has become a battle-ground among two super-powers of the world and China—an aggressive aspirant for leadership of Asia and ultimately for world power status. To be more specific, Russia is anxious to contain Chinese ambitions and to vindicate her own position. On the other hand, the U.S.A. has been striving to contain both Russian and Chinese influence. In this calculus of power politics, India and Pakistan in particular, and Asian countries in general, have become mere pawns. Any consideration of policy decisions of these powers is to be based on this stark reality. Geopolitically speaking, Russia would like to improve relations with countries around her periphery to enable her to do away with what it calls *capitalist encirclement*. Therefore, the question arises whether the Soviet decision to supply arms to Pakistan was to wean the latter away from both China and U.S.A.? But it would surely be naive on the part of the Soviet Union if it had expected Pakistan to give up its close friendship with China. To Pakistan the arch

2. K. Rangaswamy : "New Context of Indo-Soviet Relations," *The Hindu*, July 22, 1968.

3. Quoted in *Ibid*.

enemy is India, and it knows that China is the only country which can contain India geographically and militarily. Perhaps China considers its enemy's enemy as its natural friend. As far as the United States is concerned, it has a military alliance with Pakistan. One wonders whether Moscow has discarded its policy of restraint and subordinated it to its twin objective of supplanting both Chinese and American influence in the Sub-continent. On the other hand, it is reported that the Chinese disapprove of Pakistan's recent overtures to Moscow for military assistance.⁴ Obviously, Peking would not favour an increase in Soviet influence in an area which it considers part of its own sphere of influence. With the involvement of the sub-continent in the Sino-Soviet cold war, this area has become a dangerous new theatre for the strategy of 'proxy war' which Moscow and Peking both pursue relentlessly.

One diplomatic report says that Pakistan might have served a virtual ultimatum on the Soviet Union that unless it supplied lethal weapons to Pakistan also it would not be in a position to regard the Soviet Union as really neutral in considering Indo-Pak problems. Therefore, what has happened now is a logical development of that attitude of neutrality of Russia towards India and Pakistan.

Some observers believe that the Pakistani's gave the United States notice to vacate the U-2 base near Peshawar. Hence the Soviet Union thinks that it is in its interest to give military supplies to Pakistan. However, it is highly unlikely that the U-2 base would no longer be made available by Pakistan to United States. What Pakistan is trying to do

is to avoid entering into a long-term arrangement with the U. S. so that it can keep its decisions under constant review.

One may pose another question : Was provision of military supplies to Pakistan meant to force India to settle the Kashmir issue or was it to "blackmail" India into abject dependence on it ?

Instead of looking at the problem all the time from India's angle, it may be useful to view it from the point of view of Soviet interests. Then what are the Soviet interests ?

One answer which immediately suggests itself is that by treating India and Pakistan alike, Russia is trying to register its presence in the sub-continent as well as in Southeast Asia as a big power friendly to all and hostile to none. At Tashkent Russia adopted an attitude of neutrality on the Kashmir issue. Thus "Moscow...wanted more flexibility in the complicated sub-continent situation than its close alignment with India had heretofore permitted. If the Soviet Union could reach an equilibrium in its relations with India and Pakistan the latter could perhaps be less dependent on Red China and the threat of growing Chinese influence to its south could be averted."⁵ Thus "with economic and military aid, Russia seeks to win over Pakistan to strengthen its Southern flank, to neutralise the presence of the U.S.A. and China, to build itself up in the highly strategic area of the Near East, and, in general, to pursue its strategic claim."⁶

4. K. V. Narain, "Peking shows displeasure over Pak-Soviet Arms Deal," *The Hindu*, August 7, 1968.

5. John Roland : *A History of Sino-Indian Relations : Hostile Co-existence*, D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc ; Princeton, 1967, pp. 197-8.

6. M. K. Chopra : "Soviet Strategy and aid to Pakistan," *Indian Express*, —(Bangalore Edition), 21st August. 1968.

To the Soviet Government, friendship with China is of crucial significance. If Russia could convince the Chinese that it is not particularly close to India, would it not improve the chances of rapprochement with China? India's displeasure towards the Soviet Union may well provoke a reaction favourable to Russians in China. Or, perhaps, Russia is preparing for a change of leadership in China and for new and realistic policies to emerge from Peking. This is perfectly logical and sensible from the long range national interests of the Russians.

Another reason advanced by some experts is that all the big powers, for reasons of their own, do not want India to be too strong so as to dominate the affairs of South-east Asia in general and the Sub-continent in particular. For this reason the Russians feel that with the drying up of massive military supplies from the U.S. to Pakistan since the Indo-Pak conflict of 1965, there has been a sizeable power vacuum in the sub-continent. To preserve the balance of power in this region they hope to "fill the gap" by providing military supplies to Pakistan. Interestingly enough, the Americans are exerting pressure on the Indians to desist from manufacturing nuclear weapons.

Now let us analyse the implications of the Soviet decision to supply arms to Pakistan.

The Home Minister of India speaking in Parliament observed succinctly: "From our own enlightened self-interest we cannot forget" that the Soviet decision has created a "certain psychology in Pakistan...that is creating concern and anxiety in our minds and we are expressing it...It will certainly heighten the intransigence of Pakistan. The Cold-war atmosphere will further be strengthened. That

is the unfortunate position."⁷ There is the possibility that the supply of arms by Soviet Russia might possibly create a feeling in some other country also to supply more arms to Pakistan. Apart from promoting a sense of insecurity and tension between the two countries, a massive infusion of lethal weapons poses a threat to India's security and sovereignty and consequently the chances of an Indo-Pakistan detente—which Moscow is never tired of urging—have been lessened.

The Soviet decision may aggravate the arms race by creating a military imbalance in this region. Scarce foreign exchange and much needed capital, instead of alleviating poverty, hunger and disease may have to be diverted to purchase military weapons. Economic development of these countries will thus be slow, painful and tortuous.

There is a possibility that the increasing Soviet influence over Pakistan would see the latter break away from military alignments like SEATO and CENTO.

If we analyse carefully the various moves and counter-moves by the nations involved in this drama, the inevitable conclusion that emerges is that the problems of this region are all manifestations of a conflict of interests bred out of physical proximity.

Indians have made the traumatic discovery that Palmerston's dictum—foreign policy is bound neither by permanent friends nor permanent enemies, but by permanent interests—also holds good in Moscow. The Pakistanis should understand that anyone who walks on a tightrope is apt sooner or later, to lose balance and fall. Russia believing, as it does in the Marxist-Leninist dogma, can have "fraternal" relations with "Socialist"

7. Indian Express, (Bangalore edition) 24th July, 1978.

States, and can, at best, have "friendly" relations with non-Communist States. "Now that the Soviet Union has found for itself opportunities in Pakistan which were not previously available, it has no compunction in jeopardising Indian interests to a point where Moscow considers its own long-term interests in India will not unduly suffer".⁸ Russia knows that its decision would cause annoyance to India, but the latter is pretty weak and in need of Soviet aid and hence its annoyance cannot come to much.

With India's disillusionment with Moscow, is it probable that she will swing to the other extreme? Or, in other words, will she try to improve and consolidate her relations with the United States? Is it also likely that India by sheer force of circumstances may think of making up its quarrel with China, so as to forestall a move on the part of the Russians to improve their own relations with China? Needless to say, there is nothing that prevents

the right of India retaining the policy option to improve its relations with China in case there is change in power relationships in the Asian continent. Nevertheless, one can only surmise as to what is to happen in the future. Depending upon the power equations and permutations and combinations, a set of relations between nations involved in this region shall prevail in the future. India will have to adopt a less starry-eyed approach towards the Soviet Union and this may have potential long range benefits for India herself. Therefore, a realistic and practical foreign policy must have the necessary flexibility to deal with the changed and changing situation. In this context a rigid and doctrinaire approach to the policy of non-alignment should be given up. After all, non-alignment is not an end in itself. It must serve the vital interests of the nation. It is a well-known maxim that the conduct of foreign relations ought not to be conceived as an end in itself, but rather as one of the means through which a higher purpose is served. India's foreign policy hitherto founded largely on ideology and hope must be linked more effectively with the existing military and geopolitical realities.

8. T. V. Parasuram: "Interest in Indo-Soviet Relations," *Indian Express*. (Bangalore Edition), 6th Aug., 1968.

LEST WE FORGET SARDAR PATEL

CHANDIKAPRASAD BANERJI

The contribution of Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel to the integration and consolidation of independent India is a fact that is universally recognised and appreciated. But the Sardarji's other contribution namely the creation of a legacy of toughness vis a vis Pakistan's arrogance and intransigence has not been sufficiently adverted and so not sufficiently understood. The object of this article is to apprise the reading public of the indomitable power Sardar the Iron Man of India manifested in his statements and speeches on the eve of independence and immediately after.

Sardar Patel was Deputy Prime Minister of independent India only for a little more than three years (August 1947 to December, 1950). But during this brief period he rendered a conspicuous service to his country. No greater testimony to this can be formed than in the statement of our departed leader, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru which runs as follows :—

“The greatest achievement of Sardar Patel is the metamorphosis he has wrought of the Indian States. These petty principalities disfigured the face of India and were the strongholds of British reaction. Within two years the Sardar has broken the century old barrier between Indian India and rest of the country”.

It is earnestly hoped that a study of these speeches would give us necessary inspiration at a time when the country's frontiers are still threatened by foreign aggressors.

Sardar Patel was a sincere follower of Mahatma Gandhi—the apostle of non-violence

and like him he too believed in nonviolence but he was not averse to use of violence in sheer self defence during communal riots, which were let loose by the Muslim League :—

“Put an end to all rioting, restrain yourselves and if trouble breaks out again, we shall discover the culprits and deal with them suitably. But in no case should you run away if the so called goonda attacks you. Train yourselves for self defence and do not always look to the police for help. Meet the goonda non-violently if you can as taught by Mahatma Gandhi or with complete violence if necessary”.

Patel was one of those leaders whose heart simply ached for those sons and daughters of India whom the cruel hand of fate left on the wrongside of the frontier drawn after the Partition. The following extract from the message given on the eve of the transfer of power rings with sincerity.

“We cannot fully enjoy the freedom that we have got until and unless we can share it with the Hindus of North and East Bengal. How can one forget the sufferings and sacrifices which they cheerfully endured for freeing our mother land from foreign domination? Their future welfare must engage the most careful and serious attention of the Government and the people of the Indian Union in the light of developments that may take hereafter “(2.8.47)”.

The Sardar could easily foresee that the minorities in East Bengal would have to suffer untold misery from the provocatively communal

policy of the Pakistan authorities.

Future generations of Indians will always remember with gratitude and admiration the efficient and forthright manner in which he handled such delicate problems as posed by Pakistani conspiracy in Junagadh, Hyderabad and Kashmir, prior to and after their accession. Here is the first of the series of his forceful statements by which he nailed to the counter Pakistan's lying propaganda and her mischievous activities :

"Pakistan had no business to meddle in the Junagadh. We did not attempt to seduce any of their states into our own fold.

But it was they who made it a business to create difficulties as much and as often as possible...

It is Pakistan's practice to use all sorts of devices in order to call into question anything that the Indian Dominion did.. In Kashmir Pakistan had intervened in the crudest and worst form that any foreign power could have done. But the future of Kashmir like that of Hyderabad rests with the people". (13.11.47)

The plain speaking Sardar never minced matters. Speaking in Lucknow on 7.1.48, he said—

"It is said today that plans for sabotaging Pakistan are being hatched in Hindusthan. If any such plan is being hatched, it is being hatched in Pakistan. It is the situation in Pakistan that will ruin Pakistan. Sometimes they accuse the Hindus. I tell you that if Pakistan falls, it will not fall on account of us but on account of its own enemies within. The Muslim Leaguers call me their greatest enemy. Formerly they used to call Mahatma Gandhi as their enemy number one. Now they think Gandhiji is their friend and have substituted me in his place because I speak out the truth".

Ballabhbhai had no patience with those die hard British imperialists who have always thwarted the just aspirations of the Indian people. Even the redoubtable Churchill was not spared. Listen to what he said on 29th June, 1948.

"It seems Mr. Churchill is siezed by his favourite disease of Hindu phobia and is determined to wreck all good work by his most unwise disregard of the proverbial virtue of silence. While he refers to Kashmir as being four fifths Muslim he has omitted to mention that Hyderabad if four fifths Hindu and a creation of the eighteenth century is transformed into an ancient state...I am glad to know that H.M.G. have refused to treat the Hyderabad question otherwise than as one of domestic concerns of the Indian Dominion. I would like to tell H.M.G. that if they wish India to maintain friendly relations with Great Britain they must see that India is in no way subjected to malicious and venomous attacks of this kind."

The last sentence sounds prophetic in the light of the attitude displayed by the British Govt. and British press during Pakistan's second invasion of Kashmir in August, 1965.

Here is another memorable speech of the Sardar in which he condemned Pakistan's policy of obstruction with his usual frankness.

"Pakistan intervened in Junagadh... In this matter as well as in the matter of Kashmir, Pakistan behaved like a bunch of c
ut in Kashmir too we shall keep what we have for Kashmir rightfully belongs to us by virtue of the will of the people of the State... We shall not betray the Muslims who have put their trust in us. We shall defend them as strongly as we shall defend the four crores of Muslims who became the

nationals of this country after the partition... Pakistan had nothing to do with Hyderabad either from the geographical point of view or from the view point of culture and population. Yet here too she set about harrasing India... Pakistan and the die hard Tories in Britain were arranging for the Hyderabad issue to be placed before Security Council. They with the connivance of their henchmen in Hyderabad were negotiating with the Portuguese Govt. the sale of Goa to the State and were buying arms and ammunition. But we shall not allow her to intervene in our affairs... We shall defend our freedom to the last drop of our blood.. We shall certainly remain within the Commonwealth if it is advantageous to India to do so. But I would remind Mr. Churchill that whether we stay within the Commonwealth or not we are certainly capable of defending ourselves without the help of the British" (30.11.48).

It is good to turn to his memorable speech delivered on 12th March, 1950 at a time when organised massacres of Hindus were taking place in East Bengal. It was couched in language which Pakistan could well understand.

"In its issue of 23rd February that confirmed prevaricator of truth and fabricator of untruth (i. e. Dawn) came out with a master piece of loot, arson and murder in the implementation of which I am reported to have played a part somewhat similar to that of Mark Antony after the death of Julius Caesar.... To my amazement the first victim of this journalistic legerdemain was no less exalted a person then the Pakistan Prime Minister...It is obvious that the masterplan of the Prime Minister of Pakistan was hatched sometime after 13th February and its paternity can probably be traced to the Dawn's correspondent at Dacca. All that I can say is that the plan constitutes a signal triumph

of untruth and fabrication unequalled in the short but sustained record of falsehood and lies which Pakistan has to its credit. It is therefore clear that instead of feeling ashamed of what has happened in East Bengal the central and provincial Govts. of Pakistan are engineering excuses by tracing an ingenious origin of these atrocities".

As independent India's first Home Minister the Sardar had to deal with subversive and fissiparous activities of groups of people working secretly against country's integrity. Thanks to his able stewardship these elements were effectively kept in check. The Sardar could therefore say as he did---

"Countries adjoining India have an object lesson from us. Starting from small beginnings, the subversive agitations have burrowed big holes into social and administrative structures and have constituted themselves in some as established authorities and in others as a substantial threat to authority. In India fortunately we have, by our vigilance and the effective counter measures taken from time to time, succeeded in strictly localising these activities...Success in this enterprise can obviously be secured only by rousing public consciousness to the dangers which threaten its existence by securing their cooperation and by maintaining the efficiency and intelligence of the police...In order to hit back we have to hit harder and in order to hit harder we must have superiority in arms and equipment" (13.1.50).

The significance of the last sentence will be patent to every one in the light of India's military success against Pakistan in the Three Weeks' Indo-Pak war of September, 1965.

The life of the illustrious son of India—this paragon of Statesmen and patriots—abruptly terminated after a short illness on 15th December, 1950. His death created a vacuum in the leadership of independent India which is really difficult to fill up.

WHY DOES VINOVA ASK FOR GRAMDAN ?

By SURESH RAM)

India lives in her villages. While the former attained her freedom more than twenty-one years ago, the latter are yet in chains. Our millions of brethren have never known what a full meal is. Nor do they own any means to eke out their living. The burden on their back is mounting up.

For the last fifteen years and more, attempts have been in progress to usher in socio-economic prosperity. True that total wealth and production have thereby increased, yet the plight of the rural areas has very much deteriorated. According to Rural Debt and Investment Survey, 1961-62, conducted by the Reserve Bank of India, gross capital formation of rural families declined by no less than 46.46 per cent, as evident from the table below :—

Item	1951-52 (in crores of Rupees)	1961-62 (in crores of Rupees)
Farm Business	300	167
Non-farm Business	100	150
Residential housing	250	31
Total	650	348

During this period the rise in agricultural population was about 22 per cent. Accordingly, the increase in gross capital formation ought to have been in the same proportion. On the contrary, it went down by about a half, and the fall in the domain of residential housing amounts to no less than 87.6 per cent, which is very staggering indeed. Little wonder that the villages are being reduced to the verge of devastation and the country has to

beg for food and money. Worse still, the aid coming from without is largely absorbed by the upper strata leaving little for the masses. This is borne out by the fact that while the share in income of the top five per cent of the Indian households went up from 14 per cent in 1952-53 to 24.4 per cent in 1962-63, that of the bottom twenty per cent declined from 7.5 per cent to 6.4 per cent. Thus our planning has been of such a peculiar variety as has further ruined our villages and aggravated the disparities in society.

OUR POVERTY

The poverty of India beggars all description. About seventy per cent of our people, or a population as big as that of Europe, live on less than a rupee per day as shown in the

Percentage of population	Percentage share in income	Per capita daily expenditure (paise)
Bottom ten per cent	2.4	24.8
Next ten	3.4	27.0
Next ten	4.3	46.3
Next ten	4.8	55.0
Next ten	6.3	64.5
Next ten	7.8	71.0
Next ten	9.2	88.8
Next ten	10.6	104.7
Next ten	14.5	130.7
Top ten per cent	36.6	207.1

The third column is very revealing indeed. No less than ten per cent our people, or about five crores of men, women and children live

on less than four annas a day. Excluding the upper thirty per cent, the rest of the population always lives in misery and squalor.

per capita is hardly one hundred rupees or about twentyseven paise per day. Here lies the main challenge of India's land trouble.

INEQUITY IN LAND-DISTRIBUTION

A question poses itself. What is this poverty due to? The simple and straight answer is—for want of work or occupation for the masses. Sturdy in body and mind, full of enthusiasm at heart, ready to take any risk, theirs is the singular misfortune of being denied all means of livelihood. Most of them have little or no land to toil upon. The distribution of holdings is as under :—

Size in Acres	Percentage number of holdings (1960-61)	Percentage area occupied
Upto 0.49	10.92	0.39
„ 1.00	19.42	1.32
„ 2.50	40.70	6.71
„ 5.00	62.96	18.88
Above 5.00	37.04	81.12
Upto 7.50	74.81	29.76
„ 10.00	91.81	38.83
„ 15.00	89.42	52.68
„ 20.00	93.02	62.10
„ 25.00	95.26	69.30
„ 30.00	96.61	74.83
„ 50.00	98.92	87.82
Above 50.00	1.08	12.18

This clearly illustrates the uneven distribution of land. What a pity that 63 percent of agricultural families own hardly 19 percent of land and about one percent at the top should have about twelve percent. This accounts for the vast landless population, more than thirty millions, whose annual income

THE GREAT PROBLEM

The Government has tried to meet it through introducing all sorts of land reform legislations and tenancy regulations. But transfers of land resorted to by land-holders all over the country have, as pointed out by the Planning Commission's Committee on Implementation of Land Reforms, at its meeting held in New Delhi on October 12, 1966, tended to defeat the very purpose of legislation and the Committee has, therefore, reiterated the need of "utmost speed in carrying out land reforms to ensure that the benefits of proposed large scale investment on agriculture in the Fourth Plan are available to the poor sections of the rural population and production programmes are executed with vigour." But the tragedy is that land problem has become more acute and complex with the growth of a new class of farmers, called as "agricultural capitalists" by the well-known economist Prof. Daniel Thorner, Director of Studies at the Sorbonne. He has given the warning that "unless the capitalists now spreading from the cities to the countryside manage their labour relations more skilfully, the last thing they will find in rural India is peace and quiet." Growing inequalities in land and rising land hunger are responsible for violent uprisings in different parts of India.

WHAT IS GRAMDAN?

This is India's biggest problem today. How to solve it?

The answer to this question has been placed before the nation by Vinobaji in the form of Gramdan. He began with Bhoodan. On April 18, 1951, when he got a gift of one

hundred acres of land for the untouchable landless of a village in Andhra, he refused to regard it as an isolated event and interpreted it as an expression of the operation of the power of non-violence. With firm faith and unflinching courage he covered the country on foot, asking for land for the landless and for turning land into a non-marketable commodity. For about fourteen years, he walked throughout the length and breadth of India, created a nationwide movement and obtained no less 42,64,096 acres, of which 11,90,718 acres have been distributed to the landless peasantry and the rest are in the process of distribution. What the Government could not do by all its resources and agencies has been offered to the poor through Bhoodan.

In course of the growth of Bhoodan, all landowners in some villages came forward to surrender the ownership of their entire land. This gave birth to the idea of Gramdan. Vinoba regarded it as a natural fulfilment of Bhoodan and the master-key to total agrarian revolution. Accordingly, he began urging the people to join Gramdan in large numbers.

The four basic tenets of Gramdan are as follows :

(i) All the landholders of the village transfer the ownership of their entire land to the village community or *Gram-Sabha* ;

(ii) All the landholders donate one-twentieth of their land to the *Gram-Sabha* for the sake of the landless of the village ;

(iii) The village sets up its *Gram-Sabha* (village assembly) of which every adult, male or female, is a member ;

(iv) They set up a *Gram-Kosh* (village fund) in which the landholders annually

offer one-fortieth of their produce and the salaried people or wage-earners contribute one day's earning every month (or one-thirtieth of their income).

THE GROWING RESPONSE

Gramdan has evoked eloquent response throughout the country. No less than 65,181 villages have joined Gramdan. Of them 25,379 are in Bihar where Vinobaji has been concentrating for the last three years. Two important and big districts of Bihar, viz., Darbhanga and Purnea, have been offered in ZILADAN, almost all the villages therein having accepted Gramdan. Besides, four more districts have announced their Zila-Dan—Tirunelveli in Tamilnad, Uttarkashi and Ballia in U. P. and Tikamgarh in Madhya Pradesh. Vigorous attempts are afoot by workers in Bihar, Orissa, Tamilnad, U. P., Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra to obtain the Gramdan of all the villages of their States and thus to have their State Dan by the Gandhi Centenary, October 2, 1969.

POTENTIALITIES OF GRAMDAN

One may ask : What's the use of Gramdan and Ziladan ? The reply is hidden in the womb of time. But a few points are crystal clear.

Firstly, if individual ownership of land is voluntarily surrendered in favour of village ownership it will put an end to most of the disputes and conflicts as also to rivalry and bloodshed ravaging our villages today. It will also stop mis-appropriation of land by outsiders and free the village people of most of their anxieties and quarrels. Besides, it will convert the village into a well-knit community and remove the age old tensions between the land-holder, the money-lender and the landless labourer.

Secondly, if one-twentieth of land is offered by the landholders as desired in Gramdan it means that at least one and a half crores of acres of land will come to the landless families whose number is also one and a half crore. If a family gets even one acre of land it can earn about a thousand rupees. The total wealth in the country will begin to increase by fifteen hundred crores of rupees every year. Further, if a family's income goes up by thousand rupees it amounts to rupees two hundred per capita. Just think of a man whose income is raised by his own efforts from rupees one hundred to three hundred : This will infuse new life and energy into him and he will then come forward to join the task of nation building with unprecedented zeal and vigour.

Thirdly, the village assembly of the Gramdani village will alter the very complexion of the village. Today the village exists only in name and is torn by the conflicting interests of its residents. This is why the village is not able to face the onslaught of the administrator, the banker, the trader and all others who exploit it as much as they can. All this will change after Gramdan.

Fourthly, the village fund will open a new avenue altogether. The village of today is like an orphaned home which is falling day by day. The poorer a man is the more he finds the door closed for him. Those with influence and resources carry the day and absorb all the aid coming from outside. Gramdan will seal this nefarious business and all help will be channelised by the village fund and those at the bottom will receive top priority.

VINOBA'S CALL

The concept of Gramdan is both new and revolutionary. In democratic countries land is under the ownership of individual and in the communistic countries under that of the State. And in all of them it is treated as a

marketable commodity. Thus the rape of the Mother Earth is the order of the day. Gramdan seeks to set up village ownership, turn land into non-marketable commodity and place the Mother Earth on the high pedestal which is her due. There will be neither any landlord nor any landless. All of us will serve Mother Earth as her children. This is bound to transform mutual relationships, release new outlets of action and generate in people a tremendous power to build up their future with their own initiative. Thus Gramdan will pave the way for India's socio-economic freedom and the dawn of true Swaraj.

The world is sick, says the Pope. India is awfully so. Dark clouds of reaction, coercion and violence are hovering over the sky. Vinoba is keen to see India and her villages come into their own so that they may be able to face any situation. He is, therefore, anxious that people of every village should join Gramdan of their own accord. There is no time to loose, otherwise both our freedom and democracy are in jeopardy. Vinoba makes the prophetic appeal :

"We are sitting on the edge of a volcano, Unrest prevails all over the world. None can be sure that the things will remain peaceful for a year or two. At the moment there is hot peace between India and Pakistan. China may combine with the latter and launch a united offensive. In that case fighting will not be confined to the border and any village or town can be the target. I submit that Gramdan is not only an effective defence measure but also a major defence itself.

"With all emphasis at my command, I must declare that India is very insecure today from within and that there is no other way for us except Gram Swaraj through Gramdan. You have to accomplish this mission in the shortest possible time.....Any further delay is bound to prove fatal."

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA AND THE RAMAKRISHNA ORDER

SATINDRA MOHAN CHATTERJEE

THE ENVIRONMENT

Swami Vivekananda was born in Calcutta on 12th January, 1863, six years after the Indian Mutiny. But the Mutiny touched Bengal only slightly, and there was no scent of rebellion in the air when Swamiji was born. On the contrary, the period that preceded and followed the rising was generally lifeless. It bore clear signs of servility to and imitation of the West.

But there was an inner conflict in the age itself. It was a conflict between abject surrender and a growing sense of dignity in a fallen nation. It was a challenge of the Indian cultural heritage to the currents of European thought which was rushing in. This challenge and the resultant conflict produced sparks which accounted for a galaxy of great men who were born in Bengal in the nineteenth century. Swamiji was a perfect representative of his age and, if we want to understand him, we must have an insight into his environment.

Sister Nivedita has analysed the influences which moulded Swamiji's character. She said :

"The formative influence in his life was three-fold,

First, his education in English, and Sanskrit-literature :

Second, the great personality of his Guru, illustrating and authenticating that life which formed the theme of all sacred writings :

And thirdly his personal knowledge of India and Indian people."

These observations are correct as far as they go, but they are not adequate. They need some supplements. Primarily, Swami Vivekananda was a revivalist of the mid-nineteenth century which ushered in a new era in Bengal or rather in India. Like others of his clan, he was at once sturdy, patriotic and masculine but initially torn between the horns of a dilemma. Secondly, Sree Ramakrishna's influence on him was no doubt great but perhaps greater was his individual rationalism : thirdly, a wide personal knowledge of India did definitely influence his views, but no less a formative factor was his close study of the West and his realization of the failure of his own mission there.

The history of nineteenth-century Bengal is a story of turmoil, struggle and advancement. Half a century earlier the battle of Plassey in 1757 recorded a verdict of the exasperated Hindus of Bengal against the imbecile and tyrannical Muslim rule. The bulwark erected against it with the help of the English merchants ultimately recoiled on the originators, not quite unexpectedly. Things moved very rapidly after this event. Once for all it decided the supremacy of the English over the Dutch in India. Other European adventurers had by then disappeared from the scene. In its wake came the English East India Company's commercial exploitation and political misrule. This paved the way for a rising known as the Indian Mutiny in 1857. Its declared purpose was restoration of the dead and rotten Muslim rule. Bengal refused to join this retrograde movement.

Queen Victoria's proclamation in 1858 foisted a sense of relief into the country.

Actual transfer of Indian Empire from Company to Crown in November that year did not involve any basic change. Indian Empire, like Canada, won at the smallest cost ever conceivable, remained to the English a profitable hunting ground.

And what a hunting ground it was! Manchester was built on the ruins of Cassimbazar in Bengal. As R. C. Dutt, a renowned Bengali Civilian had put it "The English industry was born from the sacrifice of Indian industry."

However, that was only one side of the picture. They did not only take from India, they also gave something to the country. Indian tea cured the English of their national vice of drunkenness in the eighteenth century. Burdened with a deep sense of gratitude, they sent shiploads of wine in India. It resulted in a sudden influx of drunkenness in Bengal, in fact, all over India, in the nineteenth century. It was said that the English liquor merchants sent men throughout the country "for the express purpose of educating the natives to drink intoxicating liquors."

Bengal's national character was at a low ebb when the European soldiers of fortune first arrived here. Such degradation was only normal. It was born of long subjection of the Hindus under a rotten and despotic Muslim rule. Sycophancy, hypocrisy, and treachery were the price the Hindus paid for their precarious living. They copied, with a sense of pride and prestige, from the Muslim book of purdah and multi-marriage. Lewdness was the order of the day. At this phase of what is known as Hindu mediaevalism, Ram Mohan Roy appeared in the scene. He died thirty years before the Swami was born.

Ram Mohan, who was born seventeen years after the battle of Plassey, came from a

well-to-do family. His education began with Persian and Arabic which languages then carried more commercial value than Sanskrit. But he learnt Sanskrit later in the traditional way. Like other Hindu young men of his time, he imbibed both the spirit and form of Muslim culture as a matter of course. In the background of the gloomy Hindu mediaevalism it looked stupendous, but he was not dazed by its glow. In fact, Ram Mohan was the first spark of a conflict between the alien and native culture and religion.

What exactly was this Hindu mediaevalism? Its principal symptoms were overall weakness and a profound sense of frustration. They pervaded the entire Hindu community. The Vedas and the Upanishads which have always been the community's perennial source of strength were completely forgotten. On the one hand, their study was forbidden to many by the priests and, on the other, their texts were misinterpreted by them. This they did partly out of ignorance and partly to suit their own selfish ends of establishing hold over the laity. It resulted in imbecility of thought, intellectual bankruptcy, moribund socio-religious doctrines, and suicidal unworldliness. Ceremonialism reigned supreme and it was multiplied everyday. It was, in fact, a chaotic and a dark age.

Standing at the juncture of the Muslim decadence and British ascent, Ram Mohan fought against the Hindu mediaevalism. It was a tenacious fight of a gigantic personality. If resistance to and, emergence from, this dark age that enveloped India can be called a Renaissance in miniature, Ram Mohan was its father. He threw his lot with the British. Because, in his infinite wisdom, he could see that friendship with the West was the only way out of this morass.

His revival programme covered social,

religious and educational reforms. He had in him the essentials of manly greatness. A great thinker and a greater executor, he faced all oppositions bravely. Although in all his social and educational reforms he invoked the assistance of the British ruling authorities, in matters of religion he kept away from them and also from the over-powering allurements which Christianity offered in those days.

Ram Mohan's greatness lies in his great fight against this galloping Hindu decadence. He selected his weapons from the armoury of the Vedas and the Upanishads as both Dayananda and Vivekananda did subsequently. But he led the way. In founding the "Brahmasabha" in 1828, five years before his death, he was neither influenced by the "Motazola" sect of Islam nor by the Unitary Church of Christianity. He had his firm belief in the Vedas and the Upanishads and he thought that, if he could reopen this perennial source of strength to his countrymen, they would be automatically re-vitalized. And, his vision in this direction was crystal clear.

Ram Mohan has been depicted inadequately as a mere fighter devoted to the task of removing idolatry from India. This has been done particularly by those writers who imagine and preach that idolatry is the cause of all evils in this country. The thought is either born of a design or a childish chain of reasoning. Ram Mohan had no doubt his schooling in the lessons of monism from Arabic and Persian literature as also from Sufism, but his main-stay was Vedanta. Personally, however, he was devoted to Tantrik cult, an off-shoot of Mahayana Buddhism later on adapted by Hindu community. Ram Mohan, however, preached Vedanta and prescribed it for the dying community in which he was born. The cure advocated by Swamiji

was no different, although personally he perhaps leaned towards the cult of devotion.

As Bertrand Russell has pointed out, Christianity is more intolerant than Islam. It is a vigorous and proselytizing religion. Consequently the then moribund state of the Hindu-community offered a unique field for conversion. The opportunity was fully utilised by every soldier of Christ and by all means, fair and foul. There was little difference between the British method and that of the Portuguese which was known as "The Rice-pot and the Rupee policy".

In fact conversion of niggers to Christianity was an article of faith of all Europeans who visited India. To begin with, the work was undertaken by the ignorant and cruel Portuguese headed by Vasco-da-Gama who arrived at the West coast on the eve of the Sixteenth century. Commenting on the position Sir Richard Temple wrote :

"An unfortunately bigoted and far too powerful a priesthood led the Portuguese Church in India : but even amongst them there were such true missionaries as Francisco de Xavier.

"Ignorance in regard to the Indians and their ways was at first complete—so complete that Vasco-da-Gama and his men at the beginning thought that the Hindu was a kind of a Christian !

.....Conversion to the Portuguese form of Christianity of all the Indian population was a feasible proposition....."

This mist of ignorance about the possibility of wholesale conversion was never lifted completely. All proselytizing Churches working in India vied with one another in their efforts to lead the heathens to the Kingdom of Heaven. The zeal was maintained partly by racial arrogance and partly by commercial

investment on piety by the virtuous at home, particularly Americans.

This proselytizing zeal of the Christian Missionaries gave the alarm to the Hindus in slumber. In fact, it did a signal service by rousing them from a state of stupor. Ram Mohan was perhaps the first man in India to set about a silent but vigorous protest. It was followed by Devendranath Tagore, Swami Dayananda and Swami Vivekananda. Things were, however, different with Keshav Chandra Sen.

Many wise Europeans have since recognised the futility of attempts at conversion of the Hindus. A religion and a culture which have survived many millenniums can hardly be conquered. Commenting on Ram Mohan Max Muller wrote :

“But while they (Ram Mohan and men of his ilk) clearly perceived that their religion was behind the time, and, as a social institution, could not stand long against Christianity, they were by no means inclined to admit that from a philosophical point of view also it was inferior to Christianity.”

But racial arrogance dies hard and the times were different. So missionary zeal for conversion continued unabated. It was actively supported by civilians, military men and even Governors General. Lord Dalhousie passed a law granting civil rights to religious converts. As a result, change of religion no longer involved loss of property to the converts.

The native English schools and colleges were recruiting ground and Christian teachers helped conversion. Vivian Derozio, an Anglo-Indian teacher of the Hindu College (1826-1831) might have been a very prominent and

vociferous member of his clan, but there were many others less noisy. In the name of rationalism, all of them preached free thinking within the four walls of Christianity. The result was that young students in their teens considered it meritorious to break the old Hindu traditions and customs. They indulged in drinking wine and eating the prohibited meat openly in the city parks. The rude shock of the show spurred the thinkers of the community to some action in self defence.

While skilled and subtle British salesmanship accounted for the rapid progress of intemperance in India, meat eating was boosted as a source of ready physical strength. While in his teens, Mahatma Gandhi, who was six years junior to Vivekananda, could not resist this argument. He took meat, against his religion, secretly for many months before giving it up as inefficacious.

These symptoms of unrest preluded conversion and also followed it. But the heat that caused these symptoms was generated by the force of conversion. Ram Mohan resisted and curbed this force which was shaking up the upper class of the society. Moreover, by reviving the Upanishads, he gave his countrymen an effective weapon to meet the challenge of the West in proclaiming Christianity as a superior religion. Ram Mohan was not merely a patriot, but he was a saviour.

After his death in Bristol in 1833, his mantle fell on Devendranath Tagore, father of the great poet Rabindranath. It was not, however, an apostolic succession of faith for, when Ram Mohan died, Devendranath was merely a lad of sixteen years of age. But Ram Mohan was a friend of Devendranath's father and his influence on Devendranath was more paternal in nature. Personally Devendra Nath was given to meditation by nature. Steeped in Islamic tradition and culture from boyhood, he was faced with Christianity's

open challenge subsequently. In the resultant conflict he followed the footsteps of Ram Mohan with an important difference in the basic approach. Given to free thinking or rationalism of the West, he moved to the field of eclectic philosophy. Like Ram Mohan he, too, clung firmly to Hindu ideals based on the Upanishads. But, unlike him, he relied on his own personal interpretation of the scripture instead of its traditional meaning as given by the universally accepted great exponents. This subjective individualism led him to compose his "Brahmodharma" which he declared to be inspired. But leaving this literary composition aside, creation of the "Adi Bramho Samaj", a new school of religious thought, developed from the nucleus of Ram Mohan's "Brahma Sabha", was his definite achievement. It met the challenge of the day. It gave strength and shelter to those of his countrymen who, in their ignorance, felt humiliated and ashamed by Christianity's blatant criticism of the so called Hindu idolatry. It envisaged a new era.

But as his faith was conceived in self preservation and, not in self realization, it showed signs of ideological borrowings from both Islam and Christianity.

In full appreciation of the position, Romain Rolland wrote :

"The faith of the Brahmo Samaj then is a faith in one God, who created the universe out of nothing, and who is characterised essentially by the spirit of Kindness, and who absolute adoration is necessary for the salvation of man 'in the next world'."

This faith, however, runs counter to the Upanishadic doctrine. To take its first part, although both Islam and Christianity held that the universe has been created out of nothing, the Upanishads categorically declare that God is both the creator and the material of the universe.

Devendranath was more like a religious dignitary rather than a saint. He struck a balance between his pursuits of wealth and religion. He remained an outcaste for his unorthodox religious beliefs, but socially that did not matter much with him. For, as a wealthy person, he had to do little with common man. In fact, he catered for the socio-religious needs of only a section of the upper class of Hindu community and for considerable periods at times lived the life of a recluse in complete isolation.

Devendranath retired at the age of forty five in 1863 but lived upto eightyeight. On his retirement, his place was taken up by Keshavchandra when he was about twenty four years old. Devendranath loved Keshavchandra dearly. Although Keshavchandra, too, was devoted to him yet he differed with him on a few vital points. Keshavchandra tried to bring common man into his fold. Moreover, in a spirit of piecemeal reformation, he bent his energies to removing social evils of Hindu community without touching their root causes.

Keshavchandra, however, became the idol of the youth of his age for his oratory, good looks, and noble character. As he did not move in olympian height like his predecessor, he was easily accessible to the educated young-men of the middle class. Gradually he moved away from Devendranath and, in fact, away from his basic ideals. Christianity attracted him and his devotion to this faith increased by stages. Finally imbibing a strong adoration for Jesus, he began to preach veiled Christianity. It was, therefore, only natural that he should be lionized by the British Government and be compared to Gladstone when he paid a brief visit to England. It was generally held by his close associates that if he had lived several years longer, he would have entered the Roman Church.

His ignorance of Sanskrit and also of the

scriptures was well-matched. With no secured moorings for his faith, he was caught in the net of European rationalism and he soon became what was known as "the noble product of the education and the culture of the West."

On the eve of Keshavchandra's departure to England in 1870, he and Swami Dayananda, the founder of the Arya Samaj, once met in Calcutta. Keshavchandra knew no Sanskrit and Swami Dayananda knew no English. Keshavchandra expressed his regret at Swamiji's ignorance of English tongue: for, otherwise the great vedic scholar would have been a very desirable companion on his visit to England. Keshavchandra's taunt was readily repaid in his own coin. The great vedic scholar said that he was equally sorry for the Indian orator of English tongue for his want of knowledge in his own sacred language, Sanskrit. He wondered how could he aspire to teach religion to Indian people through the medium of a foreign language!

In appreciation of Keshavchandra's near-Christian activities, Romain Rolland has declared that he was newer and more appealing to the Europeans than any other Indian of repute. He has also taken the greatest pains, though unavailingly, to prove that Sree Ramakrishna's influence on his life, if any, was insignificant. The proselytizing spirit lives in every Christian mind and it is not much weakened by the refinement of his or her culture. For, while in the West culture is achieved by widening the surface of knowledge, that in the East it can only be acquired by means of a change in the mental plane in terms of depth. This is why even Max Muller's mind, culturally so high, could not escape this proselytizing spirit. After meeting Keshavchandra in England he declared:

"The history of these attempted Brahmo reforms has been so often written that I need not enter fully into it, beyond repeating my conviction that great opportunities were lost then for planting Christianity on the old and fertile soil of India."

Although himself a great personality, Keshavchandra lost heavily for his leaning to Christianity. Whatever reputation survived was finally lost when it was found that his practice was at variance with his profession. This became manifestly clear in regard to his daughter's marriage. And, when he died in 1884, some two years before Sree Ramakrishna's passing away, "the number of his disciples was not in accordance with his desert."

Ram Mohan gave the correct lead for the revival of the dying Hindu community. He followed the tenets of the scriptures as explained by the saintly preceptors of old, but he did not discard the truth he gained by his personal perception. Initially both Devendranath and Keshavchandra accepted the authority of the scriptures but they saw no need for the preceptors. They relied entirely on their own perception. In the case of Keshavchandra the perception was Christocentric, and in the case of Devendranath incomprehensive and superficial. Both religioners were the products of European rationalism, but they changed their earlier views towards the end of their lives. While neither Devendranath nor Keshavchandra could survive the test of time, Ram Mohan is still alive and will continue to live.

The popularity of Keshavchandra attracted Swami Vivekananda, then known as Narendra Dutta, to his fold while he was quite a young boy. But more of it later on.

From its very early age, the Brahmo

Samaj has been fighting the onslaught of Christianity on the Hindu community. In fact, it was born to fight it. But the picture of the fight will not be clear and complete without a mention of the Arya Samaj and the Theosophists. The main sphere of activity of these religious groups was, however, outside Bengal. The Theosophists predominated in South India, and the Arya Samajists mainly worked in the North and the West.

Dayananda Saraswati of Gujrat was seven years junior to Devendranath of Bengal. A great Sanskrit scholar and saint, he, too, was terribly perturbed by the increasing and easy conversion of the Hindus in all walks of life to Christianity in Northern and Western India. Like their compeers in Bengal, the educated Hindu youths in these areas, too, had little knowledge of and, respect for, their ancestral faith. They were, therefore, falling an easy prey to the onset of zealous Christian missionaries.

Swami Dayananda wanted to put the Hindu community on its feet and planned revolutionary changes in religious outlook. His object was to take the Hindu community back to the period when none of the eighteen Puranas, which then, as now, governed the popular Hindu beliefs and ritua's, were in existence. With the elimination of the Puranas, he thought, Hinduism would shake off its caste consciousness and idolatry. Moreover, the Vedas would be studied, 'Homa' sacrifice would be performed and vedic monism would automatically be established.

His movement bordered on utopianism. But it had a strong, inherent vigour in it. Like the Brahmo Samaj it continued to meet the challenge of the age since its birth in Bombay in 1875. During the last six years of his life, which ended in 1883, Swami Dayananda

swept over Rajputana, Gujrat, Punjab, Agra and Oudh. By his unrivalled knowledge of Sanskrit and the Vedas, his fifteen years' wanderings all over the country, his formidable energy and firm conviction, he proved himself to be a saviour of the dying Hindu community.

He was indeed a great rejuvenating force to reckon with. Posterity will remember with gratitude the crusade he led and his fight against the Christian invaders. This fact was readily acknowledged by Romain Rolland when he wrote :

"Dayananda declared war on Christianity and his heavy massive sword cleft it asunder with scant reference to the scope or exactitude of his blows. ...His slashing commentaries, reminiscent of Voltaire and his Dictionnaire Philosophique, have unfortunately remained the arsenal for the spiteful anti-Christianity of certain modern Hindus."

There is a great deal of similarity between the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj. Both grew out of conflict aimed at fighting the Christian onslaught. Both worked for the revival of the Hindu community drawing sustenance from their ancient and forgotten scriptures, the Vedas. But there was also a fundamental difference. While the Arya Samaj firmly believe in the infallibility of the Vedas and also in the doctrine of transmigration of soul, the Brahmo Samaj stands wavering and shaken in its belief.

Theosophy, on the other hand, did not grow in Indian soil. The name comes from the Greek word "Theosophia" or divine wisdom. It carries with it a certain connotation in European thought, and is more or less analogous to the sanskrit word

"Brahmavidya". Madame Blavatsky, a Russian, founded the Theosophical Society in New York in 1875, the same year in which the Arya Samaj was born. It came into India about a year later and planted itself in the South.

The declared purpose of the Theosophical Society were, first, formation of a nucleus of universal brotherhood of man; second, study of comparative religion, philosophy and science; third, investigation into unexplained laws of nature and the powers latent in man.

The last purpose was perhaps the first in importance. It gave rise to "secret doctrine" or occultism leading to the development of psychic force. The society found a very effective exponent in Mrs. Annie Besant, an English woman and a main disciple of Blavatsky, who spent all her life in India. Originally a devout Christian, Mrs. Besant turned an atheist when her ardent prayers to God failed to protect her only child from death. She was then attracted by the subtle occultism preached by Madame Blavatsky.

That she herself developed very great psychic powers was acknowledged on all hands. Even Count Keyserling, the towering German thinker and humanist, who made blatant sarcasms about Theosophy, met Mrs. Besant and acknowledged her achievements. He also added that the Theosophist leaders admitted freely that their occult powers were born of Indian yoga.

But perhaps Mrs. Besant could realize at an advanced age that she was moving on a psychic plane and not on a spiritual one. This is why the emphasis in the Theosophical world, under her guidance, was laid on vedantic Brahavidya and the doctrine of the Gita

Both Lutheran and Catholic missionaries

were actively carrying on brisk conversion in South India when the seed of Theosophy was planted there. Blavatsky's "secret doctrine" and occultism proved more attractive than Christianity and they stimulated the Hindu community to study their own sacred scriptures, the Gita and the Upanishads. The impact of Christianity on Hinduism did not produce as much internal conflict in the South as it did in other parts of India. But this lacuna was corrected, knowingly or unknowingly, by Madame Blavatsky and Mrs. Besant. It saved the South from prolific conversion which otherwise seemed inevitable. When this foreign element in the Indian religious body died a natural death, the void was readily filled by Swami Vivekananda's vedantic doctrine as carried by the Ramakrishna Mission. This is perhaps why the Order became instantly and immensely popular in the South. The Mission's edifice was built on the ruins of Theosophy.

Turning to Bengal, when Keshavchandra was moulding the form of Brahmo Samaj, other forces were also at work. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, the great thinker and literateur of Bengal and the composer of "Bande Mataram", was born in 1838, the same year as Keshavchandra. Bengal perhaps has yet to see a more ardent, versatile and vigorous leader of thought than Bankimchandra. Immensely erudite and patriotic, he swallowed in his early days the doctrines of European rationalism. But soon he adjusted his new acquisition with his deep knowledge of Indian scriptures and philosophy. Through his criticism, essays, satires, religious discourses and novels he made an effective effort to restore self-confidence and poise to his countrymen who grew blind in the glare of all the gloss that came along with European civilization.

Bankimchandra breathed new life into the country. As he was very widely read by the

educated people, the ideals he preached gained ground rapidly. Although a civil servant under an alien Government, he preached patriotic ideas fearlessly. His novel "Ananda Math", published in 1882, was militant in character. As a piece of literary art its claim may not be very high, but as a source of inspiration it ranks foremost. The book at once caught the imagination of the educated youths of Bengal and its influence on Swami Vivekananda, who was only nineteen years old when it was published, was great. Mahendranath, a brother of the Swami, has pointed out that the Swami read Bankimchandra's works with avidity and the spirit of "Bande Mataram" has undoubtedly been a great force in shaping his early life. Even one year before his passing away, Swami advised the youths of Dacca in these words :

"Read Bankimchandra and Bankimchandra, and emulate his Desh-bhakti (patriotism) and Sanatan-dharma (duty of a son to his motherland—see 'Ananda Math')."

Sree Ramakrishna was born two years earlier than Bankimchandra and Keshavchandra in an obscure village in Bengal. He came to Dakshineswar temple near Calcutta when he was twenty years old. But his fame as a great mystic and a saint, ~~did not travel far until after about ten years.~~ Yet he was held in high esteem by a ~~small~~ group of devotees much earlier. It is at the residence of one of these devotees that Narendranath for the first time met Sree Ramakrishna in 1881 when he

was about eighteen years old. His life after that meeting was gradually moulded by the great saint until he passed away in 1886. The period of probation, though comparatively short, was very fruitful.

Although Sree Ramakrishna gave the Swami his final shape, the ground was prepared by two stalwarts, namely, Keshavchandra and Bankimchandra. In fact, if Brahmo Samaj was the guardian of morals, Bankimchandra was the thought-leader of concrete patriotism of all mid-nineteenth century youths of Bengal. The two forces converged in the Swami to strike a balance.

Swamiji was born in a family in which the moral fibre was strong. Perhaps asceticism and love of God ran in his blood. His grand father left home at the age of twenty-five and became a sannyasin. Like the general run of educated men of his age, his father Biswanath held the Bible in one hand and the works of the Persian poets in the other and recited from both. However, his preference for the Persian poets, notably Hafiz, and also for Islamic culture was remarkable. The Gita and the Upanishads were practically unknown in Hindu homes of those days. The Swami's mother, Bhubaneswari, was however a devout Hindu, observing the rituals enjoined by the Puranas. She was also fond of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. While the father recited from Persian, the mother from the Indian epics, the son recited the "Bande Mataram", the song of the young Bengal patriots. It was the advent of a new age.

CITIZENSHIP : DUTIES AND RIGHTS

M. K. GANDHI

In Swaraj based on **Ahimsa**, people need not know their rights, but it is necessary for them to know their duties. There is no duty but creates a corresponding right, and those only are true rights which flow from a due performance of one's duties. Hence rights of true citizenship accrue only to those who serve the State to which they belong. And they alone can do justice to the rights that accrue to them.

And people who obtain rights as a result of performance of duty, exercise them only for the service of society, never for themselves. Swaraj of a people means the sum total of the Swaraj (self-rule) of individuals. And such Swaraj comes only from performance by individuals of their duty as citizens. In it no one thinks of his rights. They come, when they are needed, for better performance of duty.

All rights to be deserved and preserved come from duty well done. Thus the very right to live accrues to us only when we do the duty of citizenship of the world. From this very fundamental statement perhaps it is easy enough to define the duties of man and woman and correlate every right to some corresponding duty to be first performed. Every other right can be shown to be a usurpation hardly worth fighting for.

If all simply insist on rights and no duties, there will be utter confusion and chaos.

If instead of insisting on rights everyone did his duty, there will immediately be the rule of order established among mankind. There is no such thing as the divine right of kings to rule and the humble duty of the ryots to pay respectful obedience to their masters.

They could but die a brave or cowardly

death but those few would not bring in the orderly life of blissful contentment. It is, therefore, necessary to understand the correlation of the rights and duties. I venture to suggest that rights that do not flow directly from duty well performed are not worth having. A wretched parent who claims obedience from his children without first doing his duty by them excites nothing but contempt.

The true source of rights is duty. If we all discharge our duties, rights will not be far to seek. If leaving duties unperformed we run after rights, they will escape us like a will-o'-the-wisp. The more we pursue them, the farther will they fly. The same teaching has been embodied by Krishna in the immortal words : "Action alone is thine. Leave thou the fruit severely alone". Action is duty ; fruit is the right.

Rights accrue automatically to him who duly performs his duties. In fact, the right to perform one's duties is the only right that is worth living for and dying for. It covers all legitimate rights.

What I call the Law of **Satyagraha** is to be deduced from an appreciation of duties and rights flowing therefrom.

I hold that non-violence is not merely a personal virtue. It is also a social virtue to be cultivated like the other virtues. Surely society is largely regulated by the expression of non-violence in its mutual dealings. What I ask for is an extension of it on a larger, national and international scale.

To the same extent as we progress towards our goal we shall find contentment and happiness, and to that extent too shall we have contributed towards the bringing into being of a non-violent society.

KANTHAL OR JACKFRUIT IN INDIA

P. THANKAPPAN NAIR

Introduction

Can a man's paternal affection for his jack-fruit tree induce him to commit a murder, and thereby bring down his own death sentence? The answer to this question is "yes" if we follow a narration by Mr. S.K. Bage, Bihar's Minister for Community Development at a function held at Chaibassa on 13th July, Wednesday, 1966.

Mr. Bage said that recently he had rushed from Ranchi to the Hazaribagh Central Jail on learning that an Adivasi, sentenced to be hanged, had wished to see him. The man, a co-villager of Mr. Bage, had been charged with murdering his neighbour. Questioned why, he said that he had planted a jackfruit tree and reared it "with almost paternal care". He found it one day cut down by one of his neighbours. He could not check himself and hacked the cutter to death. He was not repentant at all, the man told Mr. Bage, for what he had done, as he had the satisfaction of inflicting punishment on the destroyer of the tree which was almost as dear to him as his son. Mr. Bage said that his endeavours to get the man out of the gallows could not succeed as it was too late.

History of the Jackfruit tree

The Jack, according to historians, has been in use in India from the prehistoric times. No doubt this is the tree of which Pliny has written as follows :

"Major alia pomo et suavitate praeccellentior ; quo sapientiores Indorum vivunt. (Folium alas avium imitatur

longitudine trium cubitorum, latitudine duum.) *Fructum e cortice mittit admirabilem succi dulcedine ; ut uno quaternos satiet.* Arbori nomen *palae*, pomo *arienae* : plurima est in Sydracis, expeditionum Alexandri termino. Est et alia simili huic ; dulcior pomo ; sed interaneorum valetudini infesta." (Another tree there is in India, greater yet than the former ; bearing a fruit much fairer, bigger, and sweeter than the figs aforesaid ; and whereof the Indian Sages and Philosophers do ordinarily live. The leaf resembleth birds' wings, carrying three cubits in length, and two in breadth. The fruit it putteth forth at the bark, having within it a wonderful pleasant juice ; insomuch as one of them is sufficient to give four men a competent and full refection. The tree's name is *Pala*, and the fruit is called *Ariena*. Great plenty of them is in the country of Sydraci, the utmost limit of Alexander the Great his expeditions and voyages. And yet there is another tree much like to this, and beareth a fruit more delectable than this *Ariena*, albeit the guts in a man's belly it wringeth and breeds the bloudie flux.)

There is no evidence to identify the fruit referred to by Pliny as plantain (as has been done by Rumphius), for the words italicised in the passage applies only to jackfruit, the fruit growing *e cortice* (i. e. piercing the bark of the stem, not pendent from twigs like other fruit), the sweetness, the monstrous size, are in combination infallible. As regards its being the food of sages, it must be mentioned that there is no injunction against

its use by them. As jacks grow wild in jungles, sages might have found it a good food. Pliny, it seems, has telescoped two trees together, for the first clause of his description (Major alia etc; Folium alas etc.) are found in Theophrastus, but applied to two different trees. Theophrastus's description is very accurate.

“(1) And there is another tree which is both itself a tree of great size, and produces a fruit that is wonderfully big and sweet. This is used for food by the Indian Sages, who wear no clothes. (2) And there is yet another which has the leaf of a very long shape, and resembling the wings of birds, and this they set upon helmets; the length is about two cubits. . . (3) There is another tree the fruit of which is long, and not straight but crooked, and sweet to the taste. But this gives rise to colic and dysentery wherefore Alexander published a general order against eating it.” The third fruit that gave rise to colic and dysentery is unripe mango.

Kautilya has mentioned jackfruit. An injunction against the use of intoxicating drinks prepared from jackfruit by Brahmans is recorded in *Vishnudharma Sutra*.

Etymology

The jack-fruit tree (*Artocarpus Integrifolia*) is a native of Southern Asia. However, the word *jack* was believed by earlier writers to be a corruption of the Sanskrit word *Tohackka* which means the fruit of the tree. No such Sanskrit word exists in any dictionary. The words in Sanskrit for jackfruit are *Kantaka*, *Phala*, *Panasa* and *Phalasa*.

Van Rhee, the Dutch Governor of Cochin and author of the monumental *Hortus Malabaricus*, was the first to begin use of the

Malayalam word *Tsjaka* (*Chakka*) in his six-volumed botanical treatise published from Amsterdam as early as 1686. The English word *jack* is undoubtedly a corruption of Malayalam *Chakka*, which means the fruit of *Pilavu*. Englishmen borrowed the word *jack* from Portuguese and Dutch sources. The Malayalam word *Chakka* is derived from Tamil *Sakkal*. Rev. Caldwell tells us that etymologically *Sakkal* means the fruit abounding in rind and refuse. In short, the word *jack* is of Dravidian origin.

Jack & religion

The jackfruit tree has been worshipped in India from prehistoric times. From the archaeological and inscriptional points of view, *pilpal* (*Ficus religiosa*), *Nim* (*Melic Azadirachta*), and *jack* are the earliest trees that began to be worshipped. The wood of the tree is used by Kerala Christians for making images of their gods. The Dravidians attach a special reverence to this tree. The Nairs of Kerala grow a few jacks and mangoes in their compound as both these trees are indispensable in their religious life. To the Nair the jack is truly a tree of his religion. The charred bones that are salvaged after cremating a Nair man or woman are kept buried in a fresh unburnt clay pot under the shade of a jack before it is immersed in a sacred river. No other tree can be depended upon for giving the *plithru* (departed spirit) the nourishment required for its onward journey to its destination. The jacks growing near the temples all over India are objects of worship. However, Hindu women in North India think that the *Kanthal* or jackfruit is very unlucky, as the fruit is plucked while green. They believe that such a tree planted near the house brings ill-luck on the family.

The people living in the Assam, Himalayas plant this tree whenever they make a new settlement. The age of the villages of Adis,

Gallongs, Pangis etc. in N. E. F. A. and the different groups of Nagas can be well ascertained from the age of the jack standing in the settlement. The first duty of the Adis (formerly called Abors) and other subtribes coming under them, is to plant a number of jacks whenever a new colony is established. They subsist on this fruit for more than two months in a year. The section commanders of the great punitive Abor Expedition sent against the Abors in 1912 were ordered not to spare jacks in any village out of sympathy for the people, as the government believed that not only destruction of standing crops and stacks of grain would suffice to bring the turbulent hillmen to submission, but the destruction of jacks was also necessary to teach the tribals a lesson. The direction of the migration of of Abors and Nagas inhabiting N. E. F. A. and Nagaland, has enabled anthropologists to locate their original home from the existence of giant jacks on the way of their routes. The tree takes a number of years to attain its full stature and seldom dies a natural death.

An all-Purpose Tree

The Jackfruit tree is a real jack of trees. Even a small tree yields a few hundred fruits a year. The larger the size of the fruit, the smaller the quantity produced on the tree. Giant trees, attaining a height of 100 to 150 feet above the ground, may bear hundreds of fruits. The average weight of a fruit may be less than a maund. Pliny's estimate that a jackfruit is big enough for four men to eat can be taken to represent an average fruit. Friar Jordanus (c. 1328) has recorded that it took five men to finish a jackfruit. Col Yule has recorded that it took three men to carry a jackfruit that was produced in a plantation in central Java. Jackfruits which could only be lifted by two grown-up men are not uncommon in my orchard in North Travancore.

The jackfruit is good for making curry from a very tender stage. When the fruit attains the size of an unhusked cocoanut, and not more than two months old, it is called *Idichakka* in Kerala and *Ichar* in Bengal. The thorns on the outer bark are scrapped and then cut into pieces. The cut pieces are then cooked in water. Condiments and spices may be added after the boiled fruit has been smashed into its fibres by a mallet at the time of savouring. The fruit is ideal for eating raw or using as a vegetable for curries when it attains maturity. The pulp of the green fruits is used in a variety of curries in Kerala, such as *Aviyal*, *Sambar*, *Erisseri* etc. The berries are stored all over rural India for use in lean months. Roasted seeds of jackfruit are excellent in taste and surpasses chestnuts. The only refuse of the fruit is its thorny outer bark.

The fruit is a wholesome food when ripe. The seed vessels are the only portions eaten of a ripe fruit. The berries are sun-dried and can be stored for a number of months. The unripe pulp of the green jackfruit is parboiled and sundried before it is stored for future use all over Kerala. Jams and jellies are made from the pulp of ripe fruits. The green and ripe fruits, after removal of pulp and berries, are excellent fodder for cattle; but in cities, nobody would throw away even the thorns. The pulp of the unripe fruit is excellent for making chips by frying in cocoanut or other oils.

The timber of the jack is of a very pleasing colour and is largely used for making quality furniture. "The jackwood" writes Maria, Graham "at first yellow, becomes on exposure to the air of the colour of Mahogany and it is of as fine a grain".

The timber required for houses in rural India is largely derived from the jack. The timber of jack lasts long, as it is not liable to be

eaten away by white ants. The branches of the tree are good for firewood. The green leaves of the tree are excellent fodder for goats and other animals. The golden leaves are used as cups and spoons in Kerala extensively for drinking *kanji* (rice-gruel). The leaves are also used as an excellent fertiliser after setting fire to them and turning them into ash. In fact, no part of the tree is waste.

Varieties of fruit

Van Rheede has distinguished more than 30 species of the jack tree in Kerala. But the fruit of all these trees can be reduced to two kinds. The *Varikka* fruit is distinguished by its plump and succulent pulp of delicious honey flavour and the *Pazhukka* fruit is filled with softer and more flabby pulp, inferior in flavour. Older writers like Jordanus and Ibn Batuta call *Varikka* as *barka* or *Giacha* (*Chakka*) *barca*. P. Vincenze Maria's (1672) *Giacha papa* or *Girasole* is the *Pazhukka* variety. Drury says that 'honey-jack is by far the sweetest and best'. The Basirhat variety is much relished in Calcutta though fruits coming from Murshidabad and Nadia are not less tasty. The 'Cocoanut Jack' (*Tenga Chakka*) of Kerala, which does not grow more than the size of an unhusked cocoanut, is good as a fruit and for making curries. The bitter variety of green fruit becomes honeysweet when it matures. Robinson's (1878) observation *In My Garden* that 'the monstrous jack in its eccentric bulk contains a whole magazine of tastes and smells, is true.

Jackfruit in proverbs

The practice of oiling the lips and hands to remove the stickiness of the fruit has been noted by Friar Odoric and Baber in his *Memoirs*. This is the theme of the Hindi proverb on premature precautions: "*Gach'h men kantal, honth men tel.*" (You have oiled your lips whilst the jack still hangs on the tree). There are several proverbs in Malay-

alam in which the jack figures prominently. The proverb '*Venamenkil Chakka Verillum kaykum*' literally means that the jack will put forth its fruits even on its roots, if need be. (The English equivalent-Where there is a will, there is a way). Another proverb '*Azhakulla Chakkayil Chulayilla*' (Beautiful jackfruits do not have pulp inside) is equivalent to English saying, All that glitters is not gold. The Indian cuckoo's call is rendered as '*Kathal Pakka ! Kathal Pakka !* i.e., jack's ripe by the people of the Gangetic plain, for the coincidence of the bird's appearance with the ripening of fruits.

A Grand-Old Jack Tree

Though jacks standing near the temples have been worshipped all over India, the history of the grand old jack tree (*Ammachi Pillavu*) that stands on the banks of the Neyyar river, 12 miles from Trivandrum on the way to cape Comorin, is interesting. This is the only jack in the world that has been accorded the unique honour of being declared as a national monument. King Marthandavarma, who united all the petty kingdoms that once existed in Travancore area of Kerala by conquest and diplomacy, hid himself in a great chunk of this giant tree in 1757 to escape from the attack of enemies and the Nair chieftains of the Eight Houses (*Ettuveetil Pillamar*). It is in the fitness of things that the tree has been declared as a national monument and taken over by the Government of India's Archaeological Survey for protection and preservation. The tree used to yield a good number of fruits till 1957. Formerly the first fruit of the tree used to be offered to the nearby Krishnan Kovil (temple of Lord Krishna), the second one to the palace of the ruling Maharaja of Travancore and the remaining fruits sold by public auction.

Fructifying the jack ?

There is a belief among the 'Oraons of

Chotanagpur that if a jack does not bear fruits a man should climb on its branch while another posted at the trunk of it with an axe, should pretend to cut it. The man sitting on the branch implores the man standing below him not to cut it, assuring him that the jack will bear fruit abundantly in the next season. This kind of a mock-destruction ceremony is believed to be efficacious for fructifying other trees as well.

Some early foreign notices of Jack.

The jackfruit has received considerable attention from foreigners from the times of Alexander the Great. Leaving the early descriptions of Pliny and Theophrastus, Hieun T'Sang's (C.A.D. 650) notice is the oldest one on record. This Buddhist pilgrim from China had an opportunity to see the fruit in Bengal, and his description is as follows.

"Although the fruit of the *pan-wa-so* (*Panasa*) is gathered in great quantities, it is held in high esteem. These fruits are as big as a pumpkin; when ripe they are of a reddish yellow. Split in two they disclose inside a quantity of little fruits as big as crane's eggs; and when these are broken there exudes a juice of reddish yellow colour and delicious flavour. Sometimes the fruit hangs on the branches, as with other trees; but sometimes it grows from the roots, like the *fo-ling* (*Radix Ch. Inje*) which is found under the ground."

c. 1225: Chau-Ju-Kua

The description of jackfruit given by Chau-Ju-Kua, the Chinese Inspector of Foreign Trade in his *Chu-fan-Chi*, about 1225, has not attracted attention of writers, but it deserves reproduction here.

"The *Po-lo-mi* is of the size of a pumpkin, its outer skin is covered with nodules like the hair on a Buddha's head. Its colour is green while growing, and turns yellow

when ripe. The pulp, when cut out of the fruit, is of extreme sweetness. The tree resembles a banyan, and the flowers grow in clusters. When the flowers fall and the fruit sets, only one develops, the rest shrivel up. The *Po-lo-mi* comes from *Su-ki-tan*; it is also found at the *Nan-ho*-temple in Canton". The Jackfruit of Central Java according to this Chinese author "is like a pumpkin, the skin like that of the chestnut, the pulp like that of the mandarin orange. It is extremely sweet and well-flavoured".

The Chinese at first called the Jackfruit *Po-no-so* (from Sanskrit *Parasa*) and the Sui-Shu, 82 7^b, is probably the earliest Chinese work to mention this fruit. The fruit received the name of *Po-lo-mi* in the sixth century A.D. as it was introduced to China from *Po-lo* (Canton). Yu-Yang-tsa-tsu says: "The *Po-na-so* tree grows in *Poss* (Persia): it also grows in *Fu-lin*, where it is called *a-pu-to* or *a-sa-to*, according to Pon-tsau. The tree grows to 50 or 60 feet high. The bark is bluish green. The leaves are very shining, they do not wither in winter or summer. The fruit does not come out of the flower; but proceeds from the stem of the tree, and is as large as a pumpkin. It has a husk enveloping it, and on the husk are spines. The pulp is sweet and edible. The pips (inside the pulp) are as big as jujubes and one fruit has a number of them. They have stems. Inside the pips there is a kernel like a chestnut and yellow, which is excellent eating when roasted."

Ping-Chou-Ko-tan, another Chinese author, has recorded that "In front of the *Nam-hai-miau* (in Canton) there is a big (Jack-fruit) tree. The ripe fruit is like a pumpkin, when open its sections are like bananas. The natives call it *Po-lo-mi*. When properly prepared (lit. steeped) it is good to eat." Tan-Shu, 221,¹⁷ tells us that in the

21st year of Chong-Kuan period (A.D.647) a mission from Magadha (Central India) that visited the Chinese court presented the Emperor with a Po-lo tree.

The word *Po-lo*, according to some writers, is the Sanskrit equivalent to *phola* and *mi* may be the Chinese word for honey.

Friar Jordanus (c. A.D. 1328)

"There are some trees that bear a very big fruit called *chaqui* ; and the fruit is of such size that one is enough for above five persons. There is another tree that has a fruit like that just named, and it is called *Bloqui*, quite as big and as sweet, but not of the same species. These fruits never grow upon the twigs, for these are not able to bear their weight, but only from the main branches and even from the trunk of the tree itself, down to the very roots".

Friar Odoric (c. 1330) has described the jackfruit correctly. And he is the first foreigner to notice the stickiness of the fruit and use of oil to remove the adhesive quality.

"And there be also trees which produce fruits so big that two will be a load for a strong man. And when they are eaten you must oil your hands and your mouth : they are of a fragrant odour and very savoury ; the fruit is called *chabassi*". The word "*Chabassi*" stand for "*Chakka*".

Ibn Batuta (c.1335)

"The *Shaki* and *Barki*. This name is given to certain trees which live to a great age. Their leaves are like those of walnut, and the fruit grows direct out of the stem of the tree. The fruits borne nearest to the ground are *barki* ; they are

sweeter and better-flavoured than the *Shaki*."

John de Marignolli's description (c. 1350) is vivid. The tree attains the maximum height and growth in the interiors where the soil is laterite.

"There is again another wonderful tree called *CHAKE Baruke*; as big as an oak. Its fruit is produced from the trunk, and not from the branches and is something marvellous to see, being as big as a great lamb, or a child of three years old. It has a hard rind like that of our pine-cones, so that you have to cut it open with a hatchet ; inside it has a pulp of surpassing flavour, with sweetness of honey, and of the best Italian melon ; and this also contains some 500 chestnuts of like flavour, which are capital eating when roasted."

Nicolo Conti's description (c. 1440) of the jackfruit is excellent, but he has erred slightly in describing its leaves. He seems to have confounded the leaves of jack with that of its congener the breadfruit (*Artocarpus incisa*).

"There is a tree commonly found, the trunk of which bears a fruit-resembling a pine-cone, but so big that a man can hardly lift it ; the rind is green and hard, but still yields to the pressure of the finger. Inside there are some 250 or 300 pippins, as big as figs, very sweet in taste, and contained in separate membranes. These have each a kernel within, of a windy quality, of the consistence and taste of chestnuts, and which are roasted like chestnuts. And when cast among embers (to roast), unless you make a cut in them they will explode and jump out. The outer rind of the fruit is given to cattle. Sometimes the fruit is also found growing from the roots of the tree underground,

and these fruits excel the others in flavour, wherefore they are sent as presents to kings and petty princes. These (moreover) have no kernels inside them, The tree itself resembles a large fig-tree, and the leaves are cut into fingers like the hand. The wood resembles box, and so it is esteemed for many uses. The name of the tree is *Cachi*" (i. e. *Cachi* or *Tzacchi*).

Ludovico Di Varthema in his *Travels of Egypt, Syria, Arabian Deserts, Persia, India and Ethiopia* (c. A. D. 1503-1508) has left us a record of *Ciccara* (—*chakkara* or sugar jackfruit) he found in Calicut in his second book.

"I found in Calicut a kind of fruit which is called *Ciccara*. Its stem is like that of a large pear tree. The fruit is two or two and a half palm long, and is as thick as a man's thigh. This fruit grows on the trunk of the tree, that is to say, under the boughs, and partly on the middle of the stem. The colour of the said fruit is green, and it is formed like the pine, but the work is more minute. When it begins to ripen, the skin becomes black and appears rotten. This fruit is gathered in the month of December, and when it is eaten it seems as though you were eating musk melons, and it appears to resemble a very ripe Persian quince. It appears also, as though you were eating a preparation of honey, and it also has the taste of a sweet orange. Within the said fruit there are some pellicles like the pomegranate. And within the said pellicles there is another fruit which, if placed on the embers of the fire and then eaten, you would say that they were most excellent chestnuts. So that this appears to me to be the best and most excellent fruit I ever ate".

The fruit described by Varthema is obviously the jack, the seeds of which, when roasted, are frequently eaten. They were a favourite dish with Sir James Outram, who used to say they were equal to chestnuts. Though the taste of the pulp is sweet, the smell is very disagreeable to Europeans. Varthema, who seems to affix the odour to the skin, is the only one of the old travellers who appears to have noticed this peculiarity. The origin of the name *Ciccara* given by Varthema is doubtful, unless it be a corruption of Malayalam *Chakka*. Ibn Batuta tells us that when it "grows yellow in the autumn, they gather and divide it. Its seed resembles that of a cucumber, and has a stone something like a large bean. When the stone is roasted, it tastes like a fried bean". The distinction thus drawn between the seed and the stones of the jack seems to justify Varthema to call the latter as "another fruit".

The fruit of the jack is compound, and is made up of a number of single-seed fruits cohering together. It is a singular fact that this has been partially noticed by the old writers. Roxburgh's description of it is as follows : "Fruit compound, oblong, murexed (inuricate), from twelve to twenty inches long, from six to twelve in diameter, weighing from ten to sixty pounds. Seeds uniform, one in each germ, were all to come to maturity, which can never happen. They are about the size of a nutmeg, enveloped in a thin, smooth, leathery sheath, lodged within the fleshy edible part of the fruit, which formed the exterior coverings of the germ, already noticed."...

The *Memoirs* (c. 1530) of Zehir-ed-din Muhammed Baber, the First Mughal Emperor of Hindusthan, contains the following passage. *Kadhil* represents Hindi Kathal.

"Another is the *kadhil*. This has a very bad look and flavour (odour?). It looks like a sheep's stomach stuffed and made into a haggis. It has a sweet sickly taste. Within it are stones like a filbert...The fruit is very adhesive, and on account of this adhesive quality many rub their mouths with oil before eating them. They grow not only from the branches and trunk of the tree, but from its roots. You would say that the tree was all hung round with haggises!"

Garcia's (1563) *Colloquios* is a valuable book, full of matter and good sense. It contains the following dialogue :

"R. What fruit is that which as big as the largest (coco)nuts ?

"O. You just now ate the *chestnuts* from inside of it, and you said that roasted they were like real chestnuts. Now you shall eat the envelopes of these...

"R. They taste like a melon ; but not so good as the better melons.

"O. True. And owing to their viscous nature they are ill to digest : or say rather they are not digested at all, and often issue from the body quite unchanged. I don't much use them. They are called in Malavar *jacas* ; in Canarin and Guzerati *panas*.... The tree is a great and tall one ; and the fruits grow from the wood of the stem, right up it, and not on the branches like other fruits."

The best description of jackfruit comes from the pen of Linschoten. In Chapter 50 of his *Voyage*, he speaks of *laquo* or *laacca*'. Linschoten's description is prefaced with the remarks of his friend, Dr. Paludanus (the Latinised name of v. d. Broecke). This is what Paludanus says of Jack :

"This (fruit) grows in Calicut, and in some other places of India near to the sea (and) upon (rivers or) water (sides). (It is) a certain fruit that Malabar is called *Iaca*, in Canara and Gusurate, Panar and Panasa, by the Arabians Panax, by the Persians, Fanax. The fruit grows upon great trees, not out of the branches like other fruits, but out of the body of the tree, above the earth, under the leaves. The leaves are as big as a (man's) hand, greenish, with thick hard vein that goes clean through the length (o f them). The smallest of this fruit, specially that which grows in Malabar, (and is) the best (of all), is greater than our greatest pumpkins (—pumpkins) (I mean of Portugal). They are without covered with a hard shell, of colour green, otherwise it is much like the Pine apple, save only that the (shell or) husk seems to be set full of pointed diamonds, which have certain green (and) short books (at the ends) but at the (very) points are blackish, and yet are neither sharp nor pricking although they seem (so to be).

"These fruits are like melons, and sometimes greater, outwardly green, and inwardly yellow, with many soft prickles, apparrelled (as it were) like a hedgehog. Those that grow in Goa are not so good, nor of so good a taste as those in Malabar. This fruit being ripe, which is commonly in December, smelleth very sweet, and is of two sorts, whereof the best is called Barca, the other Papa, which is not so good, and yet in handling it is soft like the other. The best cost about 40 Marvedies, which is somewhat more than a Ryall (of plate) and being ripe they are of a blackish colour, and with hard husk, the outward part thereof which compasseth the nut, is of many taste, sometimes it tasteth like a melon, sometimes like a

peach, and (somewhat) pleasanter,⁵ (but in taste it is most like unto the peach), sometimes like a honey comb, sometimes like a citron, but they are hard to digest, and do commonly come up again (out of the stomach) undigested even as they were eaten. This fruit being cut up and opened lengthwise (in the middle) is white within, and full of meat, with many partitions full of long nuts, thicker and greater than dates, with a grey skin, the nut white, like our chestnuts. Being green they eat earthy and shape of taste, and engender much wine, but being roasted or soden they are like our chestnuts and are very pleasant, they increase lust, for which cause they are most used to be eaten. They stop the flux of the belly, the skin about them is heavy for the maw, and corrupting therein, does breed many evil and pestilent humors, whereof such as eat much of this fruit, do easily get the plague, which the Indians call Morxi. He that desireth to see more hereof, let him read Lodovicus Romanas (i. e. Varthema) in his fifth Book and fifteenth chapter of his Navigations, and Christopherus a Costa in his Chapter of Jaca and Gracia ab Horto, in the second book and fourth chapter".

Linschoten's words are as follows :

"Iaacas grow on great trees like Nut trees, and only on the sea shores, that is to say, in such countries as border on the seas, clean contrary unto all other fruits, for they grow above the earth, upon the trunks (or bodies) of the trees, and upon the great thick branches, but where the branches spread abroad, being small and full of leaves there grow none : they are as big as a great melon, and much like it of fashion although some of them are as great as a man can well lift up, and outwardly are like the ananas, but smoother, and of a dark green colour, the fruit within is in

husks, like chestnuts, but of another form, and every husk has a nut, which is half white, the rest yellowish, and sticketh to a man's hands like honey, when it is in the beehives among the wax, and for toughness and in taste for sweetness not much unlike. The fruit is on the outside like a chestnut, (and) in (form of) fashion like an acorn when the green knob that grows under it is taken away, and of that bigness and somewhat bigger : this fruit that is outmost being eaten, the rest is good to be roasted or sodden and are not much unlike in taste to the chestnuts of Europe. There are of these husks in every Jaaca hundreds and more, according to the greatness thereof. There are two sorts of them, the best are called Girasal, and the common and best esteemed, Chambasal, although in fashion and trees there is no difference, save that Girasals have a sweeter taste. By this name Girasal, the Indians do make difference of their rice, and other things : they call the best Girasal and the worst Chambasal, after the which names they have their prices : the Iaacas continue all the years."

Myths about origin of Jackfruit

There may be several myths current all over India about the origin of the Jack tree and its fruit, but very few have taken pains to record them. The only stories that I have come across with about the origin of jackfruit are those recorded by late Dr. Verrier Elwin in this *Tribal Myths of Orissa*, which he gathered from Gadaba and Saora tribesmen. The following myth is current among the Gadaba tribesmen of Surgunnaput, Koraput District Orissa. They even believe that the sow was created by Mahaprabhu (Supreme God in the Gadaba pantheon) from the jack-wood.

"A goddess called Sarbosattijhola and seven brothers. Their names were:

Koramunda, Sitalganda, Lenduka, Penduka, Matulmunda, Chutulgunda and Silmunda. They were all married and had children. But Sarbosattijhola had no husband, for she had feet like those of an elephant. They were so heavy that when she went into the house, they broke up the floor. She was so lazy that after a meal she used to relieve herself in the very place where she was sitting. The brothers got very tired of this and one day they turned her out, and she had to go and live by a spring.

"After some time Sarbosattijhola conceived of her own accord; she had never known a man. After nine or ten months she gave birth to twelve little pigs and they clung to her breasts and took her milk. As they drank the sucklings said, 'Where is our home? Where is our father?' Their mother replied, 'You have no father. But I have seven brothers and because of my great feet they drove me out; they will not even give me food to eat.' The little pigs said to one another, 'These uncles of ours are great rascals, to trouble our poor mother like this. Let us go to their fields and eat the grain which they refuse to give her.' So thinking, they went to Koramunda's field and ate his grain. Next morning, when Koramunda went to his field, he found his crop destroyed. The next night, the little pigs went to Sitalganda's field and ate his grain. In the morning, when Sitalganda went to his field, he too found his crop destroyed. This happened to each brother in turn, but the pigs did not eat the grain of the youngest brother, Silmunda. He had grain in his field.

"The brothers said to each other, 'Whatever creature it is that has ruined our crops may attack Silmunda's also, and then we shall die of hunger.' To save the

crop all seven brothers kept watch. The pigs came but the brothers saw them and drove them away. They ran to their mother and clung to her breasts. The brothers drove ten of the pigs away, but Silmunda caught the two that were left. The others wanted to kill them, but Silmunda said, 'No, let us keep them; they will grow and when they are big enough we'll kill and eat them.'

"Then the brothers said, 'If our sister goes on having so many children, we will never get our crops. We had better kill her.' But again Silmunda said, 'No, that would be a sin. Instead let us cut off her breasts and seal her organ with a wooden nail.' So they cut off her breasts and sealed her organ with a wooden nail.

"But Sarbosattijhola was already pregnant. When her time came, she tried to deliver her children, but she was sealed. Her belly swelled and swelled and at last it burst open and through her navel came a jackfruit tree. The little pigs in her womb turned into its fruit. But the mother died."

The Hill Saoras of Borasingi, Koraput district, have the following interesting story about the origin of jackfruit.

"Gadejangboi Kittung had a daughter whose name was Pandai. This girl had a pet goat in whose belly were the seeds of the jack-fruit tree. The girl loved her goat as if it was her husband and took it with her wherever she went."

"When her mother realised how much Pandai loved her goat, she thought, 'When the other Kittungs and the gods hear about this they will laugh at us and say that the girl is married to a goat.' So she made her daughter ill and said to the goat, 'Go and fetch the shaman to cure her.'

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"As it was going along, the goat met a herd of other goats and she-goats and went to graze with them. When Gadejangboi saw that the shaman was not coming, she herself went in the form of a tiger and killed the goat. She ate all of it except the entrails. Then she resumed her own form and only realised when it was too late that she had not completely finished eating the goat. 'Pandai' she thought, 'will quarrel with me if she sees this'. So she dug a hole and buried the entrails with the dung and presently from the seeds hidden there a jackfruit tree grew up."

The myth associated with the origin of jackfruit among the Hill Saoras of Kamalasingi, Korapur District is quite different and is as follows.

"Sarku Sora, who lived in Kodigadadjang, had a wife and two sons. The boys grew up and one day the wife conceived and in time bore a third son. When the baby was six months old, the mother got a sore on her breast and her milk went sour, Sarku called the shaman and tried every kind of medicine but it was no use.

"Milk dropped from the wound and Sarku picked it up and buried it behind the house. After a short time the woman died

and they did the *Goat ceremony* for her. From the buried milk grew a jackfruit tree. In one year it grew up, in the second year it bore fruit. Then the ghost came to Sarku and said, 'Feed my baby on the milk of this tree.'

Concerning the above stories, Dr. Elwin has observed that "the association of the jackfruit with the sow may be due to the shape and size of the fruits which might be held to resemble sucklings, and to its unpleasant smell." The suggestion in the Saõra story that the tree came from seeds buried with the entrails and dung of the goat is interesting in view of the fact that the tribesmen cultivate the jackfruit by burying the seed in a pit filled with dung.

Conclusion

The jackfruit has attracted the attention of foreigners from the time of Alexander's invasion of India, and the accounts left by several travellers are interesting and informative. That the fruit has attracted the attention of several foreigners is a sufficient justification for writing an essay about it, even if we overlook its importance as a foodstuff. The fruit is really a unique product of Nature and we must be proud of it. The cultivation of jackfruit tree deserves encouragement from its utilitarian point of view.

NICHOLAS ROWE THE SHAKESPEARE CRITIC

SARADINDU HOM CHAUDHURI

Nicholas Rowe happened to be the first in the 18th century to introduce Shakespeare with his formal Life; by editing Shakespeare's works and publishing them first in six octavo volumes (1709), then in nine (1714), he "made Shakespeare intelligible and accessible to 18th century readers, and prepared the way for the great scholars of the second half of the century." (F. E. Halliday)

As one who wrote in the first decade of the 18th century, Nicholas Rowe has significant criticism to his credit. He writes with a sense of enjoyment and indeed makes some observations which have a just claim on our attention. In "Some Account of the life, etc., of Mr. William Shakespeare," prefixed to his edition of the Works of Mr. William Shakespeare, 1709, Rowe touches upon Tragedies, Comedies and Historical Plays, and also takes characters and situations—quite a host of them—for both delighted and intelligent comments.

Only when we remember that critics had not yet learnt to single out characters for any notice and that whatever criticism existed was there by way of general reflections on the works as a whole, can we put Rowe's observations on Shakespeare's characters in their proper perspective. His appreciation of Falstaff, Shylock and Caliban, among others, is worthy of notice. The celebrated Sir John not only tickled him but roused him to take an intellectual stand on the question of the justice of the dramatist's final treatment of that mighty comic personage. This is what Rowe says of that almost never-ending source of amusement. "Falstaff is allowed by everybody to be a Master-piece; the character is always well-sustained, tho' drawn out into the length of three plays; and even the account of his death, given by his old landlady, Mrs. Quickly, in the first act of Henry V, tho' extremely natural, is yet as diverting as any part of his life. If there be any fault in the draught he (Shakespeare) has made of this lewd fellow, it is, that tho' he has made him a thief, lying cowardly, vainglorious, and in short every way vicious, yet he has given so much wit as to make him almost too

agreeable and I don't know whether some people have not, in remembrance of the diversion he had formerly afforded them, been sorry to see his friend Hal use him so scurvily, when he comes to the Crown in the end of the Second Part of Henry the Fourth."

A tremendous lot of criticism of Shakespeare's treatment of Falstaff was to come later but here is probably the first critical glance taken.

Having "that incomparable character of Shylock" in mind Rowe remarks of the Merchant of Venice: "Tho' we have seen that play received and acted as a comedy, and the part of the Jew performed by an excellent comedian, yet I cannot but think it was design'd tragically by the author. There appears in it such a deadly spirit of Revenge, such a savage fierceness and fellness, and such a bloody designation of cruelty and mischief as cannot agree either with the stile or characters of Comedy." This, one has to agree, is intelligent criticism. This is proof that the sensitive critic was powerfully affected by the character of Shylock ("That incomparable character of Shylock") whose presence does violence to the comic texture and tone of the play. He goes even further to show that all is not well with the play. He is perceptive enough to take note of the elements of improbability that infect it and which to a certain extent render it unsatisfactory, although the final word he says is one of praise:

"The tale indeed, in that part relating to the caskets, and the extravagant and unusual kind of bond given by Antonio, is a little too much removed from the rules of Probability; But taking the fact for granted, we must allow it to be very beautifully written. There is something in the friendship of Antonio to Bassanio very great, generous and tender. The whole Fourth Act, supposing, as I said, the fact to be probable, is extremely fine. But there are two passages that deserve a particular notice. The first is, what Portia says in praise of Mercy. (Act iv) :

and the other on the power of music (Act v)."

Caliban receives high accolade which should occasion some reflection. Most of the *Tempest* is indeed "too much removed from the Rules of Probability." Spirits and monsters and magic abound—things are apparently beyond the ambit of the credible, and one should have expected an Eighteenth century critic, steeped in an atmosphere of reverence for reason and the rules, to rebel against the play and pronounce it an insufferable monstrosity. Yet what do we find? Words of high praise are reserved for this play which is commended not so much for the reason that "the Unities are kept here with an exactness uncommon to the liberties of his writing" as because "he (Shakespeare) gives his Imagination an entire loose, and raises his fancy to a flight above Mankind and the limits of the visible world." One could have understood any encomium paid on account of the unities being scrupulously observed. But Rowe does not think it worth his while to look long at the aspect of the play. Instead he talks with delight of the poet's masterly conduct of the departure from "that likeness to Truth." He is unmistakably enraptured which is rather extra-ordinary on the part of an Augustan critic. Shakespeare, he says, conducts his extra-ordinary plot "so very finely, that one is easily drawn in to have more faith for his sake than reason does well allow of. His magic has something in it very solemn and very poetical." The magic of the poet's art triumphs and the critic yields gladly to the charmer unparalleled.

In particular, Rowe is all admiration for Caliban. Let us hear him straight-away: "And that extravagant character of Caliban is mighty well sustained, shows a wonderful invention in the author, who could strike out such a particular wild Image, and is certainly one of the finest and most uncommon Grotesques that was ever seen." He records his joyous recognition that Shakespeare had not only found out a new character in his Caliban, but had also devised and adapted a new manner of language for that character. He also mentions other beauties of the *Tempest*. The point that needs to be made is that the Eighteenth century critics were not really a brood of people who knew no better than to worship abstract Reason, who were starved of the faculty of Imagination and insensitive to the seductive charm of

poetry. At any rate Rowe was certainly not one of them.

Not that Rowe did not have some of the pre-occupations of his age. He did find fault with Shakespeare for his neglect of the Unities, but even then he stopped to take note of what he would call compensation. "But in recompense for his carelessness in this point, when he comes to another part of the drama, the manners of his characters, in acting or speaking what is proper for them, and fit to be shown by the poet, he may generally be justified and in very many places greatly commended." Shakespeare, he finds, did not take liberties with the characters he took from history and yet without doing violence to history he achieved the signal triumph of rendering his characters of deathless appeal. Rowe's admiration for the natural splendour of Shakespeare's works and his scant respect for the law-abiding critics find expression also in the following lines taken from his Prologue to his tragedy 'Jane Shore':

"In such an age, immortal Shakespeare
wrote,
By no quaint rules, nor hampering
critics taught;
With rough and majestic force he mov'd
the heart,
And strength and nature made amends
for art."

Even when exhibiting ignorance (characteristic of Augustan writers) about the climate of Shakespeare's age, Rowe salutes the poet for his magnificent services to the stage. "When one considers that there is not one play before him of a Reputation good enough to entitle it to an appearance on the present stage, it cannot but be a matter of great wonder that he should advance Dramatic Poetry so far as he did."

In one respect his appreciation of Shakespeare is of a kind almost altogether unsuspected. Since Dryden not many had found it possible to pay tribute to Shakespeare's verse. Indeed even Dryden too had his reservations and complained of what he called swellings and bombasts. And when we look at the later Augustans the situation does not seem to improve. The critics of the period simply do not have the time or turn for the marvellous poetry which is one of Shakespeare's deathless achievements. Not until the advent of the Romantics do his imageries receive any serious attention. And now let

us turn to Nicholas Rowe. He writes : "His (Shakespeare's) images are indeed everywhere so lively, that the thing he would represent stands full before you, and you possess every part of it." One who could hold this opinion and record it at the time when he did it, must be admitted to be a critic of remarkable sensibility and penetration. Let us mark the word—"indeed everywhere" and let us put ourselves in mind of the state and standard of the criticism of the time and we cannot but be truly grateful to the critic under discussion. Here is proof, if proof were needed, that a study of eighteenth century criticism is not altogether unrewarding as it is generally made out to be. Within limitations (and what age is free from some limitations or other?) the men of the neo-classical age do give evidence of fine preceptions and deep insights. And the capacity to be moved by fine poetry did not become extinct even though the sway was that of neo-classical rules.

But it is when after glancing at and making intelligent comments on a good number of plays, Rowe turns to *Hamlet* that he would seem to reach the summit of his achievements as a Shakespeare critic. He compares *Hamlet* with Sophocle's *Electra*, notes many points of similarity between the two plays and establishes *Hamlet's* superiority over *Electra*. *Hamlet's* superiority, he explains, is due to Shakespeare's discriminating judgment which forbade any exhibition of horror which taints Sophocle's play. In both the works the mother is guilty. Sophocles makes Orestes kill his mother (Clytemnestra) in which act *Electra* is seen to encourage her brother. This introduces an element of horror. Shakespeare, on the contrary, shows restraint. Let us hear Rowe on this point :

"*Hamlet* is represented with the same piety towards his father, and resolution to revenge his death, as *Orestes* ; he has the same abhorrence for his mother's guilt which, to provoke him the more, is heightened by incest. But 'tis with wonderful art and justness of judgment, that the poet restrains him from doing violence to his mother. To prevent anything of the kind, he makes his father's ghost forbid him that part of his revenge.....This is to distinguish rightly between Horror and terror. The latter is a proper passion of Tragedy, but the former ought always to be carefully avoided. And certainly no dramatic writer ever

succeeded better in raising terror in the minds of an audience than Shakespeare has done."

To clinch the issue Rowe makes a reference to the murder scene in *Macbeth* where again the dramatist displays his fine judgment. Shakespeare does not actually show the grotesque murder, but merely reports, which serves the dramatic purpose all right. Rowe mentions it as "a noble proof of that manly spirit with which he (Shakespeare) writ."

The distinction between horror and terror is indeed a very important distinction which can't be treated lightly by the student of the tragic art. The former denotes the feeling that is aroused by the exhibition of unnatural and uncalled for violence on the stage which characterises blood-and-thunder tragedies. The terror which goes with tragedy proper does not necessarily presuppose physical violence ; it can be evoked through subtle suggestions.

It can therefore quite legitimately be said that Rowe proves to be an aesthetic critic of remarkable penetration. There is a lot of Dryden in him, for example, in his recognition of Shakespeare's 'magic' and of the vividness of Shakespeare's language, and what is even most important, in his joyous appreciation of the spectacular nature of Shakespeare's genius. And his remarks on the plays and characters constitute the first considerable attempt at detailed treatment of Shakespeare.

It only remains to be said that Rowe did not remain content with praising Shakespeare's 'wit'. It is necessary to recall in this connection Rowe's discussion of *Hamlet* and *Electra* in course of which he distinguishes between terror and horror, and refers to the "wonderful art and judgment" with which Shakespeare restrained *Hamlet* from doing violence to his mother, and which, therefore, prevented horror (which is alien to tragedy) from being introduced into the play. Rowe would seem to agree with Ben Jonson who in his celebrated Elegy said :

".....Thy art,

My gentle Shakespeare, must enjoy

a part."

In the light of our discussion, therefore, we can only take the following judgment of David Nichol Smith with a pinch of salt : "The burden of Rowe's criticism (of Shakespeare) is that 'strength and nature made amends for art'."

ROLE OF SMALL SCALE INDUSTRIES

S. D. NAIK

House-hold and small scale industries have been an integral and continuing element in the economic structure of India. The importance of this sector is indeed great both from the standpoint of the volume of employment and its contribution to national income. Of about 15 million persons engaged in industry, small-scale industries account for about 12 million, coming next to agriculture.

In order to assess the role of small-scale industries in our economy, it is advisable to attempt a definition of small scale industries. In spite of considerable output of literature with regard to small scale industries during the last two decades or so, there still exists confusion and lack of clarity so far as the definition of small-scale industry is concerned. Let us examine the main definitions :

- (1) The National Income Committee (1954) defines small scale enterprises as the residual of all economic activities falling under the classification 'industry' by the census minus those coming under the Indian Factories Act 1948.
- (2) Planning Commission includes under the category of small industries all units which
 - (a) use power and employ less than 10 persons including family labour and
 - (b) do not use power and employ upto 20 persons.
- (3) The Development Commission for small-scale industries defines a small scale unit as that which has capital assets not exceeding Rs. 5

lakhs and employs less than 50 persons if power is used or less than 100 persons if power is not used. This definition is accepted by the Government for official use.

About the role of small scale industries, the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956 states that :

"They provide immediate large scale employment, offer a method of ensuring a more equitable distribution of national income and facilitate an effective mobilization of capital and skill which might otherwise remain unutilized." To this may be added the well-known dictum of the Karve Committee that, "the principle of self-employment is at least as important to the successful democracy as that of self government."

In the context of economic development it is argued that by far the most important problem that confronts every underdeveloped country today in its effort to industrialise is that of an acute scarcity of capital resources and technical skill, and a relative abundance of unskilled and semi-skilled labour. The task is one of trying to make the best use of both these factors. It is said that small units with their labour intensive techniques and emphasis on small-scale operation are best suited to a country like India.

Technique of Production and The Rate of Growth.

Implicit, however, in this approach, is an apparent conflict of objectives in regard to achieving a high rate of growth on the one hand and creation of immediate job opportunities on the other. The investible surplus released by large-scale capital intensive

operation is much larger than would be possible by small-scale labour intensive operation where productivity per worker is much lower. The labour intensive operations with lower productivity might also accentuate the inflationary pressures prevailing in an underdeveloped economy.

However, it may be pointed out that though the ploughing back of private business profits is one of the important recognised methods of voluntary savings, it is increasingly being realised that as a means of financing economic development of underdeveloped countries, it has some serious disadvantages :

- (i) there is the danger that profits tend to be reinvested in the same or closely associated lines of economic activity leading to unbalanced development ;
- (ii) foundations may be laid for strengthening of monopolistic conditions ;
- (iii) this may have the effect of reducing the pressure towards economic efficiency.

Mobilization of Savings.

In a country with the tradition and historical backgrounds of India, it is generally found easier to raise small savings and mobilize them for local industrialization. Mobilization of small savings constitutes the important source of investible surplus for an underdeveloped country like India.

Natural Advantages.

Moreover, certain distinct natural advantages are claimed for smaller units :

(1) Suitability to Restricted Markets.

Smaller firms hold a definite advantage over their larger counterparts in markets which are not easily accessible from remote industrial centres. This may also be true of industries

which are "place-bound" in the sense that the weight, bulk or fragility of the product makes the cost of transportation exceedingly high in proportion to the value of the product.

The small unit has traditionally been conceded the advantage in areas in which the demand is relatively small and unregulated. As Henry Clay maintains, "where the material worked is not uniform in quality, or cannot be graded, or treated in bulk, then the large scale methods will not apply."

(2) Specialized Artistic Articles.

In the domain of specialized articles, the small plant can be said to have an unrivalled field. Carpet weaving, shell or ivory works, sandalwood articles, embroidery, lacquerware, gold and silver working and such other handicrafts are valued primarily for the beauty of artistic individual handwork and hence have a select and restricted market.

There are commodities which are subject to frequently changing fashion or which have to meet varying specifications of the individual customer. In all these cases production will be carried out in small units. In the words of the British Standing Committee on prices, ".....there is a growth of specialization no less striking than the growth of standardization and that while the latter more and more tends to centralization and mass production, the former retains the sub-divided form of industry and affords scope for the small master and individual producer."

(3) Complementary or Ancillary to Large Units.

A review of the pattern of industrial development in the world, and especially in advanced ones, reveals that after specialization has reached a particular stage either in an industry or even in a firm, there is frequently a tendency towards some of the specialized processes detaching themselves from the parent firm. In course of time the demand from the

industry or the firm sustains a core of independent small units. The process is generally known as "sub-contracting" and is found to be as much beneficial to the smaller units as it is economical to the larger ones.

Japan's Experience.

The example of Japan is very illuminating both on account of the wide range of commodities in which small industry may be complementary to large-scale production and also because it is an example of "spontaneous" complementarity, that is to say, it came about without any deliberate government policies. The latter factor is an indication of its economic soundness.

Role in India's Developing Economy.

The arguments most commonly advanced for encouraging the development of small enterprises in India fall under four main groups :

- (1) Employment argument.
- (2) Decentralisation argument.
- (3) Argument stressing the Social & Political Virtues of small enterprises (Socio Political argument).
- (4) Latent reserves of scarce resources argument.

Need for Distinguishing between Traditional and Modern Small Industries :

In their interesting study conducted in 1961, P. N. Dhar of the Institute of Economic Growth, Delhi, and H. F. Lydall of Massachusetts Institute of Technology have drawn a sharp distinction between what may be called traditional small industries and modern small industries and they suggest that many of the arguments that are advanced in support of small industries in both official and non-official circles really relate to the former and do not have much relevance for the latter. They identify the former with labour intensive and largely rural or village industries using traditional methods (lacking power and machinery) for making traditional products, while the latter are largely urban industries using both power and machinery and techniques of production more or less similar to those employed by the so-called large industries, and manufacturing modern

products of more or less the same type as those produced by the large industries. They point out that these small factories (employing between 10 to 49 persons) are actually capital intensive, i.e. use more capital per unit of output than the large factories, more especially when one takes into account the virtual impossibility of operating these small proprietorial concerns on a double or triple shift basis ; they pay lower wages and possibly also smaller levels of remuneration to their entrepreneurs and far from being decentralised, are almost entirely located in towns and for the most part in the large cities.

The authors of the study conclude that apart from political arguments, the only important argument in favour of small enterprises is that they spread the total income generated more widely over the population. As against this, they point out that this may lead to smaller income in the future or "the price of more lower paid jobs today may mean fewer decent jobs in the future." The authors draw attention to the fact that in other countries, the medium sized firm (with say 50-499 employees) plays a larger role, and appropriately so, as they come nearer to the optimum size.

We may conclude, therefore, that while there is every reason to encourage and develop village and cottage industries to provide alternative occupation to the surplus labour in the agricultural sector as also spare time work to those who are engaged in agriculture only during a part of the year, there is no good case for giving preferential treatment to modern small enterprises. Instead, there is a need for more firms of a medium size, because the capital intensive techniques which characterise modern small enterprises, can be fully productive only if they are worked on a larger scale than at present.

The traditional village and cottage industries have no doubt a definite role to play for the prosperity and regeneration of the Indian rural life, but so far as the modern small enterprises situated in urban areas are concerned, they can make a better and positive contribution to our developing economy only if they are developed into medium sized efficient units.

Current Affairs

GANDHI CENTENARY

The 2nd of October 1968 would be the 99th birthday of Mahatma Gandhi. An international observation of the 12 months following 2nd October 1968 as the Gandhi Centenary year has been agreed to by various nations including India, to keep alive the ideals of peace, non-violence, love among all human beings, equality, selfdenial and total attachment to truth Gandhiji preached during his remarkable and unique of career a great political leader who made a workable synthesis of Ethics and politics. M. K. Gandhi was born in Porbandar in 1869 in a Gujrati family and had the usual bringing up of middle class Hindu boys. From his childhood he was serious minded and truthful. He completed his education in the Inns of Courts in London and became a barrister-at-law. He went to South Africa in 1893 and soon became a leader of the Indian community there. The Indians were treated in South Africa as inferior beings by the white South African rulers of the country. They passed many discriminatory laws which were insulting and unjust to the Indians, Asiatics and non-white Africans. A passive resistance to such discrimination was organised by the Indians and Gandhiji soon made a name for himself by his leadership in this resistance movement. Gandhiji was also a great organiser in other fields of work and he organised ambulance units during the Boer, Zulu and the first world war. The

British recognised him as a very capable man to whom truth, Justice and humane considerations were the only guiding principles of life.

Gandhiji came back to India in 1915 and soon took an active part in the struggle for self-Government that was growing there. The Home Rule movement, as it was called by some, was beginning to assume an all India character. There were some people who advocated armed revolution and the attainment of total freedom from the British imperial overlords, while others wanted to achieve a limited freedom by acquiring the right of self-Government under British suzerainty. Gandhiji developed the ideas of non-violent non-cooperation and SATYAGRAHA that is, resisting the oppressors by a total attachment to truth. The idea of AHIMSA or non-violence, no doubt came from his faith in the tenets of VAISHNAVITE Hinduism, influenced also by the principles underlying Jainism Buddhism and Christianity. He adhered to the ideal of AHIMSA right through his life in a totally consistent manner and never harboured any thoughts of violent rebellion in spite of the fact that the British persecuted him and all his close associates in a ruthless manner. They imprisoned thousands of Mahatma Gandhi's followers along with him on numerous occasions. Firing upon unarmed crowds and lathi charges on processions were also quite frequent. He resisted the British by teaching his followers to boy-

cott British textiles and other manufactures and by defying British laws relating to the monopoly of the salt trade and general collection of taxes. KHADDAR weaving, and the use of the spinning wheel and the TAKLI were born of this idea of self-reliance and discarding of British made cloth. He wanted to enable the villagers to be self-sufficient and free from dependence on foreign or Indian factories. He wanted the Indian millions to lead a simple life, without any need for going out of their villages for their living. His non-violent non-cooperation with the British continued for nearly 25 years during which period he went to jail a number of times and occasionally undertook fasts unto death as a gesture of resistance to the unjust actions of the ruling foreigners or for self-purification when he thought that his own actions or those of his followers required this penance. The Second World War reduced the prestige of the British to a great extent on account of their defeats in battle against the Japanese in Singapore, Malay and Burma. The advent of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose as the commander of the Indian National Army and the invasion of India by that army over the Indo-Burmese border, further reduced British morale. The economic strength of the British also became less and less as the Second World War progressed and, although American bombing of Germany and Japan, together with the D-day invasion of France and the Russian invasion of Germany finished the Second World War in favour of the Anglo-Russian-American group, the British were so hard hit by Hitler's blitzkrieg and the heavy cost of fighting on many fronts that they changed their entire imperial policy in favour

of releasing the nations of the British Empire from their political bondage.

Mahatma Gandhi therefore fought a non-violent war of independence and eventually won his victory in a bloodless manner. He did not favour the partition of India and was against the suppression of the anti-Indian Muslims by force. He tried to argue with those who believed in violence and some fanatical people preached disaffection against him. The assassination of Mahatma Gandhi was the result of this and he died a martyr to his faith in Ahimsa. Though he entered wholeheartedly in politics, he never believed in accepting office. He also advised his party, the Indian National Congress, to keep out of actual governmental work. He thought the Congress should devote itself to social reform work and not get involved in ruling the nation. But most of his immediate followers did not agree to give up their enjoyment of the fruits of victory, so to speak, and accepted office in the manner of ordinary politicians. They gave up the Gandhian ideals almost totally but paraded their faith in Ahimsa or spinning ceremonially when it suited their policy. One may say that India did not show proper reverence to Mahatma Gandhi in her political conduct after winning independence. But the influence of the Mahatma has permeated world politics to a great extent and his memory has assumed a sacredness which cannot be sullied by the actions of any of his one time followers. May be, the Gandhi centenary year will usher in a moral awakening in many Indian politicians and the nation will gain morally and materially thereby.

With the development of nuclear weapons,

the need for world amity and peace has increased a hundredfold. The idea that fear of retaliation will keep the nations off war may not work, for the reason that the spirit of violent action makes men reckless and blind to consequences. The "balance of terror" theory therefore is not a good enough safeguard and we are now really facing an imminent danger of mass killing and destruction of an unimaginable magnitude. The sudden and hideous death of twenty or thirty crores of men, women and children and the destruction of entire cities followed by long years of suffering and slow death of a hundred crores of quite innocent persons are possibilities which should appal the imagination of the world's worst men. But a positive approach is better and if one tried to rouse in all hearts the spirit of love and fellowship with a desire to give up something for the benefit of humanity, that might perhaps work the miracle.

OLYMPICS

The Olympic idea of athletic contests between politically separate communities was evolved in ancient Greece about 2800 years ago. This competition inspired a friendly spirit to replace animosities that normally existed between the Hellenic States. Participation in such worldwide competitions in sports and athletics always stimulate international friendships and also helps the contesting communities to improve their standards of performance. In the beginning the Olympics only had foot races; but slowly other contests and chariot racing came into it. For many centuries the Greek States vied with each other in games and athletics every four years and at one

stage even Roman teams were allowed to participate in the tournaments. Records were kept by the Greeks of the Olympic meets from 776 B.C. until the abolition of the games in 394 A.D. The Greeks did not permit participation by women in the competitions and the varieties of the contests were not many. There were no Olympic contests until after a lapse of 1500 years. The games were revived in 1894 by Baron Pierre de Coubertin. An international committee was set up to organise the games in different places of the world every four years. This was however interrupted by the First and the Second World Wars. The modern Olympic games include many types of games and sports, such as, swimming, skating, equestrian events, hockey, rowing etc. etc. and women have their contests separately in a wide variety of athletics and sports.

Following the Olympic idea other international type of contests have been organised and the Commonwealth and the Asian Games are two outstanding examples.

It will not be correct to assume that during the 1500 years that the Olympics were not held, i.e. from 394 A.D. to 1894 A.D. games and sports had completely vanished from the earth. National events were held in various parts of the world right through history. The Romans held tournaments during certain festivals quite frequently. European chivalry held contests too and many games and sports developed in the 19th century, before the reorganisation of the International Olympics. In Asia games like Polo were played in Manipur, India, and rowing contests were held in many parts

of the sub-continent. The Japanese had contests of Jiu Jitsu and Wrestling was practised on a competitive manner in India and other parts of Asia.

Independent India has not done very well so far in games, sports and athletics. The reason is that although the Indian Government wants to control these things through their ministries, the ministries lack the ability, the correct outlook and the funds to carry on the work properly. Moreover what the wealthier classes did before for the improvement of games and sports, are

no longer done by them on account of inordinately heavy taxation and the resulting lack of surplus funds in the hand of the rich people. The Government's interference with foreign travel has also made it impossible for Indians to even know what the sportsmen and athletes do to improve their styles and standards in other lands. India's participation in the Olympic games has now assumed a farcical nature due to the lack of imagination that the Government of India suffers from. The following records will show to Indians how backward they are in the particular branches of sports.

MENS' WORLD RECORDS

High jump	7ft 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches	U.S.S.R.	1963
Long jump	27ft 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches	U.S.A	1964
Triple jump	55ft 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches	Poland	1960
Hammer throw	231ft 10 inches	U.S.A.	1962
Discus	211ft 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches	Czechoslovakia	1964
Javelin	300ft 11 inches	Norway	1964
Pole Vault	17ft 4 inches	U.S.A.	1964
Hurdling 120yds	13.2 sec.	Germany	1959
440yds	19.3 sec	S. Africa	1960
Walking 20 miles	2hrs. 31 min. 33 sec	U.S.S.R.	1958
Running 100yds	9.1 sec	U.S.A.	1963
220yds	20.2 sec	U.S.A.	1964
440yds	45.7 sec	U.S.A.	1958
880yds	1 min. 45.1 sec	New Zealand	1962
1 mile	3 min. 53.6 sec	France	1965
3 mile	12 min. 52.4 sec	Australia	1965
6 mile	27 min. 11.6 sec	U.S.A.	1965

The corresponding Indian records present a dismal picture of Indian ability in the events cited above and, generally speaking, Indian performance in all games excepting hockey and in swimming, rowing, boxing, wrestling, shooting, riding etc has been

pretty poor. The Indian Government wastes its foreign exchange earnings in unproductive expenditure among which interest and instalment payments for unwise debts incurred by them during the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's regime figure prominently.

Other expenses incurred, without showing any yield of nationally profitable returns, are foreign travel indulged in by ministers and ministerially sponsored tours by individuals or delegations. India's participation in the U.N. organisation in a disproportionately expensive manner is also a source of drainage of her meagre foreign exchange earnings. Use of foreign exchange appears to have become a State monopoly and the nation has no freedom in numerous spheres of work due to the implications of this monopoly. Games and sports have gone to the lowest level on account of the inability of Indian sportsmen to attend athletic contests in other lands either as participants or as spectators. Being cut off from the world by Governmentally imposed travel restrictions, Indian sportsmen have no chance of learning techniques and skills in various games and sports from the best men and women players and athletes of very advanced countries like the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., Germany, Norway, France, Australia, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the United Kingdom.

The countries which do not have to send athletes to other lands to learn also send teams to foreign countries in order to develop international relations. A Russian football or gymnastic team gains nothing by coming to India, excepting by creating friendships in this country. The Indian government has progressively lost the friendship of other countries for the reason that foreigners only see Indian politicians who seldom create a very good impression in other lands. Great artists, literary men of outstanding ability, profoundly learned philosophers, historians, scientists etc., sportsmen, musicians and the

social elite of the country can only visit foreign countries if they can convince the Indian government that they will not in any manner deplete the foreign exchange resources of India.

India's participation in the Mexico Olympics also had the same overall consideration to cut down the number of contestants to a miserable minimum. We don't know yet what the Indian contestants will be able to do; but their absence from most events will make the sports world think that India has only a limited sports outlook. In fact, in spite of the government inaction and interference and India's utter poverty the country abounds in sportsmen. Even in the remotest villages there are football players, wrestlers, gymnasts, swimmers, archers, swordsmen and javelin throwers. But the Olympic organisation is not active in most places. This can only be achieved if the state does not interfere but lends assistance to sportsmen as pure national service.

LOOKING AT RHODESIA

Though Rhodesia defied the British Commonwealth and acted as a rebel state, strictly legally speaking, Great Britain did not send any military expedition to that country to chastise and punish the active members of a vast treasonable organisation of white Rhodesians. The Rhodesians "got away with it" and they were allowed to also by the British; for, though the British "policy" was against apartheid, British emotion was largely not strongly against keeping the non-whites down. The sanctions too did not greatly upset the Rhodesians and they managed to overcome the difficulties that arose.

So Rhodesia continued to strengthen the white domination of the non-whites without any loss to those who set up this inhuman, immoral and vile system. Africans who worked in Salisbury had to accept only very low paid and unskilled jobs. They had to live in concentration camps with barbed wire fencing guarded by armed white men and their children could only get the barest primary education. About one African student out of thousands could get anywhere near secondary or higher education. Negotiations go on for readmission of Rhodesia in the Commonwealth as a fully honoured member; but the Rhodesian whites do not much care about the results. They know that sooner or later the Africans will wrest power from the whites and probably many whites will die ignominiously in the process; but sinful men do not usually consider the consequences of their evil deeds. They are prepared to suffer in the future for their immediate enjoyment of pleasure and power.

EURO-AMERICAN POLITICS

American influence and activities are resented by the people of Europe, particularly with reference to the military organisation of the NATO powers, for the reason that a feeling has been created by Communist propaganda about possibilities of war breaking out in Europe due to American arming of West Germany and the alleged secret ambitions of certain West German pro-Nazi elements to overrun East Germany and other regions too for a revival of militarism of the Hitlerite type. The British were considered to be the chief agents of American militarists and one of the reasons for the anti-British attitude of certain European countries is their

belief that the British would always carry out American designs and plans in Europe. This was becoming an accepted popular faith and the undesirability of developing British American connections with Europe was beginning to be taken for granted. This was happening due to Communist inspired propaganda.

Then came the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Russians at the head of the Warsaw pact powers. It gave a rude shock to the Europeans who were changing into Russophiles slowly and steadily. There were Communist parties in almost all European countries and these groups suddenly found their sponsoring of communist ideals very very difficult with the leading communist countries engaging in blatant barefaced aggression against a brother Communist State. Svoboda and Dubcek were not counter revolutionaries, but were communists of a very genuine and sincere type.

Russian stock suffered a great depression in the intellectual markets of European countries and the American led NATO armies began to be viewed as possible defenders of human freedom and liberty. The British as the principal European allies of the Americans began to come out of the eclipse that had almost darkened their face. Even Gen. de Gaulle announced his "esteem, respect and friendship" for Britain with renewed vigour and the most ardent denouncers of the British started to recite reasons for intensifying British connections. The indirect gains of the anti-Communist forces of Europe and America caused by the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia were extensive and most remarkable.

WELSH NATIONALISM

With the breaking up of the British Empire Great Britain suffered an isolation which it had never experienced during several centuries. But it seems that even the idea of a United Kingdom of Ireland, Wales, Scotland and England may not remain totally unchallenged. Ireland has already gone out

of Gt. Britain for all practical purposes. Now we find the Welsh and the Scotch planning for independence and separation. Welsh nationalists are now sure that Wales will become a separate independent state within the next ten years. There should be a beginning with changes in favour of the Welsh Nationalists within five years, they think.

ESSENCE OF DEMOCRACY

M.K. GANDHI

Democracy must in essence mean the art and science of mobilizing the entire physical, economic and spiritual resources of all the various sections of the people in the service of the common good of all.

In true democracy every man and woman is taught to think for himself or herself. How this real revolution can be brought about I do not know except that every reform, like charity, must begin at home.

The very essence of democracy is that every person represents all the varied interests which compose the nation. It is true that it does not exclude and should not exclude special representation of special interests, but such representation is not its test. It is a sign of its imperfection.

In the true democracy of India the unit is the village... True democracy cannot be worked by twenty men sitting at the centre. It has to be worked from below by the people of every village.

Surely, timidity has no place in democracy, where people in general believe in and want a particular thing. Their representatives have but

to give shape to their demand and make it feasible. A favourable mental attitude of the multitude has been found to go a long way in winning battles.

The Test

The truest of democracy is in the ability of anyone to act as he likes, so long as he does not injure the life or property of any one else. It is impossible to control public morals by hooliganism.

I claim (to be a democrat) if complete identification with the poorest of mankind, an intense longing to live no better than they and a corresponding conscious effort to approach that level to the best of one's ability can entitle one to make it.

A born democrat is a born disciplinarian. Democracy comes naturally to him who is habituated normally to yield willing obedience to all laws, human or divine... Let those who are ambitious to serve democracy qualify themselves by satisfying first this acid test of democracy.

Moreover, a democrat must be utterly selfless. He must think and dream not in terms of self or party but only of democracy.

Power and People

I have repeated times without number, for national work, it is not necessary that national workers should have political power. But it is necessary for the people to keep in constant touch with those whom they put in power. These can easily be counted. They are too few. But if the people were to realize their power and use it wisely and well, things would right themselves.

People in a democracy should be satisfied with drawing the Government's attention to mistakes, if any, they could remove the Government if they wished to. But they should not obstruct them by agitating against them. Ours is not a foreign Government having a mighty army and navy to support them. They have to derive their strength from the people.

Rights of Minorities

Let us not push the mandate theory to ridiculous extremes and become slaves to resolutions of majorities. That would be a revival of brute force in a more virulent form. If rights of minorities are to be respected, the majority must tolerate and respect their opinion and action.... It will be the duty of the majority to see to it that the minorities receive a proper hearing and are not otherwise exposed to insults.

Freedom of Opinion

Claiming the right of free opinion and free action as we do, we must extend the same to others. The rule of majority, when it becomes coercive, is as intolerable as that of a bureaucratic minority. We must patiently try to bring round the minority to our view by gentle persuasion and argument.

I have repeatedly observed that no school of thought can claim a monopoly of right judgement. We are all liable to err and are often obliged to

revise our judgements. In a vast country like this, there must be room for all schools of honest thought. And the least, therefore, that we owe to ourselves as to others is to try to understand the opponent's viewpoint and, if we cannot accept it, respect it as fully as we expect him to respect ours. It is one of the indispensable tests of a healthy public life and, therefore, fitness for Swaraj.

Intolerance, discourtesy and harshness...are taboo in all good society and are surely contrary to the spirit of democracy.

Evolution of democracy is not possible if we are not prepared to hear the other side. We shut the doors of reason when we refuse to listen to our opponents or, having listened, make fun of them. If intolerance becomes a habit, we run the risk of missing the truth. Whilst within the limits that nature has put upon our understanding, we must act fearlessly according to the light vouchsafed to us, must always keep an open mind and be ever ready to find that what we believed to be truth was, after all, untruth. This openness of mind strengthens the truth in us and removes the dross from it, if there is any.

Quality, not Quantity

I attach the highest importance to quality irrespective almost of quantity.... In the midst of suspicion, discord, antagonistic interests, superstition, fear, distrust and the like, there is not only no safety in numbers but there may be even danger in them.... Numbers become irresistible when they act as one man under exact discipline. They are a self-destroying force when each pulls his own way or when no one knows which way to pull.

I would only ask a candidate, "How much of a man or woman you are? Have you got the ability to rise to the occasion?" Provided he or she passes these tests, I would select first the one who belongs to the least numerical section. I would thus give preference to all minorities along just lines, consistent with the welfare of India... Welfare of India means welfare of India as a

whole, not of Hindus and Mussalmans or of a particular community.

I ask you not to be cowed down by the thought of a small minority. It is sometimes a privilege. I have so often said that I would love to be in the minority of one, because this artificial majority, which is the result of the masses' reverence for me, is a clog in my progress. But for the clog I would hurl defiance...

Ideal Democracy

Democracy can only represent the average, if not less than the average. Therefore, a democratic institution to be pure has to attend to the all-round education of the humblest and the lowest. It must take in its sweep all superstition and social abuse. In such a society there will be no Christian and non-Christian; there will be no distinction of sex.

What is really needed to make democracy function is not knowledge of facts but right education.

Possession of power makes men blind and deaf, they cannot see things which are under their very nose and cannot hear things which invade their ears. There is thus no knowing what power-intoxicated government may not do.

To me political power is not an end but one of the means of enabling people to better their condition in every department of life. Political power means capacity to regulate national life through national representatives. If national life becomes so perfect as to become self-regulated, the no representation becomes necessary. There is then a state of enlightened anarchy. In such a state every one is his own ruler. He rules himself in such a manner that he is never a hindrance to his neighbour. In the ideal State, therefore, there is no political power because there is no State. But the ideal is never fully realized in life. Hence the classical statement of Thoreau that government is best which govern the least.

Democracy is an impossible thing until the

power is shared by all, but let not democracy degenerate into mobocracy. Even a pariah, a labourer, who makes it possible for you to earn your living, will have his share in self-government. But you will have to touch their lives, go to them, see their hovels where they live packed like sardines.

Democracy is a great institution and, therefore, it is liable to be greatly abused. The remedy, therefore, is not avoidance of democracy, but reduction of possibility of abuse to a minimum.

Democracy and Ahimsa

True democracy or the Swaraj of the masses can never come through untruthful and violent means, for the simple reason that the natural corollary to their use would be to remove all opposition through the suppression or extermination of the antagonists. That does not make for individual freedom. Individual freedom can have the fullest play only under a regime of unadulterated ahimsa.

Western Democracy

Western democracy is on its trial, if it has not already proved a failure. May it not be reserved to India to evolve the true science of democracy by giving a visible demonstration of its fitness. Corruption and hypocrisy ought not to be inevitable products of democracy as they undoubtedly are today; nor bulk a true test of democracy.

Democracy of the West is, in my opinion, only so called. It has germs in it, certainly, of the true type. But it can only come when all violence is eschewed and malpractices disappear. The two go hand in hand. Indeed, malpractice is a species of violence. If India is to evolve the true type, there should be no compromise with violence or untruth.

India is trying to evolve true democracy, i.e. without violence.

MEMORIES OF A MARTYR

ANJAN KUMAR BANERJI

Thirty-nine years ago, on the 13th September 1929, died Jatindranath Das after sixty-four days of hunger-strike in the Lahore Borstal Jail. His self-immolation evoked mingled feelings of poignant grief and profound admiration throughout the length and breadth of the country.

Jatin Das was one of the accused in the Lahore Conspiracy Case which was the offshoot of the assassination of Saunders, the Assistant Superintendent of Police, Lahore. Saunders had taken a prominent part in the lathi charge on the occasion of the visit of the Simon Commission to Lahore when a mammoth crowd demonstrated against the Commission. Many including Lala Lajpat Rai were wounded. Eighteen days later, Lalaji passed away.

The whole of India was stirred at the death of Lalaji. Thirty days after the demise of Lalaji, Saunders, while speeding in his motorbike, was shot at; he died instantly. The Saunders assassination remained a mystery for about four months despite the best efforts of the Punjab Police.

On April 8, 1929 a bomb exploded in the Central Assembly, when in session. Two young men in the visitors' gallery were arrested with pamphlets of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Army and an automatic pistol in their possession. They were Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutta. The ballistics expert who examined the pistol opined that it was the one which was used for the murder of Saunders.

The associates of Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutta were taken into police custody. When third-degree methods were used, two of the suspects broke down. As a result of their disclosures, thirty young men were arrested. Among them was Jatindranath Das, then a student of Calcutta, a member of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Army, he was charged with the conspiracy to wage war against His Majesty.

Jatin Das, even as a teenager, was drawn into the vortex of the Non-Co-operation movement and had participated in it. He was sentenced to a long term of imprisonment while he came in contact with the terrorist leaders of Bengal. He came to limelight during the Calcutta session of the Congress in December, 1928 presided over by Pandit Motilal Nehru. Subhas Chandra Bose decided to organise a volunteer Corps wearing military uniforms and observing full military discipline. Subhas selected Jatin to organise the Corps and train the volunteers. Jatin did it magnificently.

After the Congress Session, Subhas made him the Secretary-General of the South Calcutta District Congress Committee. It was at this time that Jatin was arrested and sent to Lahore.

The treatment meted out to the prisoners was barbarous. The young prisoners protested in a representation to the Government of India demanding that revolutionary prisoners should be treated as "war prisoners" and given better treatment. The Govern-

ment turned a deaf ear to their request. It was then that they thought of resorting to hunger-strike.

Batukeshwar Dutta wrote in this connection, "the decision for hunger-strike on such a vital issue was first taken by Saheed Bhagat Singh and myself in the course of our trial in Delhi Assembly Bomb Case in June, 1929. This hunger-strike planned by us in Delhi Jail began on the 15th June and later on 10th July, when the Lahore case started, our other colleagues in that case also joined in this hunger-strike"

A spontaneous movement in support of the demand of the hunger-strikers developed throughout the country. Pandit Motilal Nehru, then President of the Indian National Congress, was forced by the spontaneity of such a movement to give the call to the nation to observe the "Political sufferers" Day all over the country.

Over a month had gone by and there appeared no likelihood of their giving up the hunger-strike. The top Congress leaders were anxious to save the lives of these revolutionaries. Jawaharlal Nehru happened to be in Lahore and was given permission to visit the young men in the prison. This is how Nehru described the meeting in his Autobiography: "I saw Bhagat Singh for the first time and Jatindranath Das and a few others. They were all very weak and bed-ridden and it was hardly possible to talk to them much. Bhagat Singh had an attractive, intellectual face, remarkably calm and peaceful. There seemed to be no anger in it. He worked and talked with great gentleness, but then I suppose any one who has been fasting for a month will look spiritual and gentle. Jatin Das looked milder still, soft and gentle,

like a young girl. He was in considerable pain when I saw him "Nehru failed to persuade them to give up the hungerstrike.

Then came Subhas Chandra to visit the prisoners. Jatin told Subhas that he was not fighting for any special treatment for himself but in vindication of a principle. He was prepared to die and his death would be his humble contribution to the freedom struggle.

After a few weeks of fasting, the prisoners became too weak to attend the court. The case had to be postponed from day to day. Early in September, the Government of India took the extra-ordinary step of moving a bill in the Central Assembly enabling the Magistracy to go on with cases in spite of the absence of the accused, when such absence was due to the fact of their having, by their own acts, disabled themselves.

Most of the non-official members thundered against the bill. Mahommed Ali Jinnah characterised it as a lawless law. Pandit Motilal ascribed it to the vindictiveness of the bureaucracy. Srinivas Ivenger made a forceful speech asking for the immediate release of the prisoners. Sir James Crerar, the Home Member, replied that the Government would not yield to coercion. A few days later, the Government agreed to circulate the bill for further opinion.

The hunger strike was than eight weeks old. Some of the prisoners had given it up and some others allowed themselves to be fed forcibly. But Jatin Das would not budge. The British bureaucracy in India extended the lure of conditional release on bail to him. He spurned such a humiliating proposal. An unknown man moved a bail application on his behalf before the City

Magistrate and it was granted. He was ordered to be released on two sureties which the anonymous person himself offered. the authorities called for an ambulance and wanted to lift him physically in order to remove him to hospital and to effect his release on bail. Jatin had warned the authorities with dire consequences, if they touched his body. The plan thus failed.

By the second week of September, it was clear that nothing could save his life. He lay emaciated, mere skin and bones, with hollow cheeks and sunken eyes and even hardened prison officials shed tears whenever they saw him.

Jatin breathed his last on the 13th September the country was plunged in gloom. There was a spontaneous hartal and demonstrations were held all over the country. Mourning processions with black flags paraded the streets of Bombay, Ahmedabad, Nagpur, Madras and many other places. Police attacked the processionists in Bombay and many were injured. Differences of opinion were forgotten as leaders of all parties paid glowing tributes to the resolute revolutionary.

In the afternoon, his dead body which 'looked like a collection of dried bones, wrapped under the skin' was delivered to the masses outside the prison walls. The vast multitude then formed into a huge procession through the main streets of Lahore carrying the bier and shouting slogans, "Inquilab Zindabad", and "Peara Das Zindabad". All the roofs and balconies of house were packed with people eager to have a last glimpse of the hero. It took seven hours for the procession to reach

'Delhi-Gate' where a mammoth meeting was held under the presidentship of Dr. Alam.

At night the procession reached the Lahore Railway Station as the dead body had to be taken to Calcutta. Subhas wired to Lahore to make arrangement for the same. The third class compartment where the dead body was placed was guarded by Congress Volunteers for the night, as the train was scheduled to leave next morning at quarter to seven. At every station where it stopped, tens of thousands paid their homage to the patriot. Kanpur observed a spontaneous hartal on the 15th. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru paid glowing tribute to Jatin in a big condolence meeting there. Though the train reached at dead of night-nearly 3 A. M.-more than twenty thousand peoples gathered there much earlier. Police officials along with two hundred and fifty armed and mounted police remained at the station. Dr. Rajendra Prasad was present at the head of a vast crowd at Patna Station.

Howrah Station witnessed an unprecedented scene when the train arrived on the evening on the 15th. The vast multitude outside the station looked like a vast sea of human heads. After lying in state for the night, the dead body was taken to the Keoratala Ghat on the morning of the 16th. Nearly half a million people joined the two-mile long procession, headed by leaders like Subhas Chandra Bose and J. M. Sen Gupta. The funeral pyre was lit by Jatin's younger brother, Kiron Chandra Das. Subhas tried to speak on the occasion but was two overwhelmed by emotion.

A mammoth public meeting took place in the Town Hall. Due to heavy rush, three

other meetings were held on the steps of the Town Hall, while the main condolence meeting was held inside the Hall under the presidentship of J. M. Sengupta. Ramananda Chatterjee, Sir Nilratan Sircar and Guru Dutt Singh of 'Kamagata Maru' fame paid tribute to the patriotism and sacrifice of Jatin.

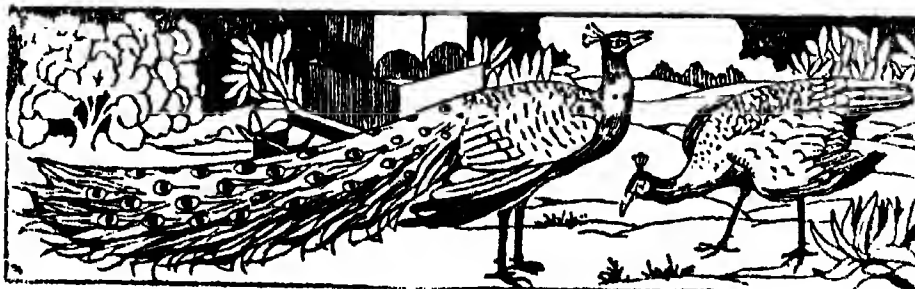
On the 14th September Pandit Motilal, then leader of the Congress Opposition in the Central Assembly, moved a resolution condemning the Government policy towards the Lahore 'hunger-strikers' that resulted in the death of Jatin Das. On the 24th September when the adjourned hearing of the Lahore case opened, Mr. Carden Noad, the Public Prosecutor, and Pandit Sreekrishna, the Special Magistrate, stood up in the court and offered condolence for the deceased hero. Mr. Noad while dissociating himself with the principles of the deceased praised his indomitable courage and grim determination. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, while vehemently opposing the "Hunger-Strike Bill" said, "It is not easy for every one to stake his life in a hunger-strike. Only he could adopt such a course whose inner self bids him to make such a sacrifice."

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in October issue of "Young India": "The year 1929 is marked

as the year of great awakening among the youth of India". This hunger-strike resulting in the martyrdom of Jatin Das infused a new spirit in the nation and brought a mental preparedness in the people for direct action prior to the launching of Civil Disobedience Movement.

The tribute by Batukeshwar Dutta was most touching: "While I pay my humble homage to the memory of this great patriot, I recall the words of Swami Vivekananda. While defining a true patriot, he said, 'Have you forgotten all about your name, your fame, your wife, your children, your property and even your body? Have you done that? That is the first step to become a patriot. "And the great martyr Jatindra Nath Das has stood this test literally."

But the message which won the hearts of the nation came from Ireland. Mary MacSwiney, wife of the immortal Irish Martyr, Terence MacSwiney, and Mr. O'Cally, leader of the Irish Republican Party wired condolence messages to J. M. Sengupta wherein they eulogised the supreme sacrifice of Jatin Das and hoped. "Freedom will come". Their hopes came true at long last. The edifice of Independent India today, we must not forget, is built on the bones and blood of martyrs like Jatin Das.



THE INDIVIDUAL, THE GROUP AND THE CROWD

SAMARENDRA KRISHNA BOSE

Trivial circumstances sometimes provide occasions for philosophising, "The meanest flower", as Wordsworth observed, "can give thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears." Profound truths, to which we usually remain blind and indifferent due to custom, then flash upon our mind suddenly and unexpectedly. It was one such trifling circumstance that proved to be the occasion of this essay.

It was only the other day. Seated at one of the platforms of Sealdah South Station, I was waiting for my train. There was still about seventy-five minutes for the scheduled hour of departure to arrive. My eyes were automatically turned to a train that steamed, in the meantime, into the platform opposite to me. It was one of the old-model trains drawn by a steam engine, still plying in the Sealdah Division. The whole platform was at once filled with a large crowd of passengers alighting from the compartments of the train. A long procession of persons began to pass by me on their way to the exit gates of the station. I gazed on listlessly at the men, women and children surging forward, as it were, in a never-ending tide of people. All on a sudden, a philosophical thought occurred to my mind: "How strange it is that no two individuals in the crowd are exactly alike!" Here was Nature's "infinite variety" indeed!

I went on ruminating over the idea. It struck my mind as most miraculous that since the dawning of my sense up to the present moment I had never had the experience of

seeing any two persons (of either sex) similar in all respects. And the total number of persons observed during the period would undoubtedly reach a figure of not less than several hundred millions. Can this be regarded as anything short of a miracle? But, as Carlyle so wisely observed in his *SARTOR RESARTUS* "custom doth make dotards of us all." And so "the Miraculous, by simple repetition, ceases to be Miraculous."

Nor is this dissimilarity confined to physical features only. Each individual differs from other numbers of his class not only in outward appearance but also in mental make up. In their likes and dislikes, tastes and temperaments, no two individuals are the same. The very term "individual" implies characteristics of a particular person. Thus outwardly as well as inwardly each of us is a distinct and separate entity.

But though it is most true that each individual possesses personal idiosyncrasies that mark him off from his fellow-men, yet it must be admitted that it is hardly possible for him to preserve his separate existence at all hours of his life. Barring a few exceptions like the Greek philosopher, Diogenes, who lived in a tub practising seclusion and self-mortification, men from time immemorial have lived in association, and not in isolation. Rightly has Donne, the 17th Century Metaphysical poet, said:

"No man is an Island, intire of itself."

In course of performing the duties of his worldly life an individual has to combine and associate with other individuals for various purposes. Such associations generally take the form of Groups under various names such as Councils, Committees, Corporation etc. Sometimes again, individuals combine in larger numbers and assume the form of crowds."

So we find that it is individuals that constitute the Group and the crowd. But the change from the singular to the plural brings about basic changes in its wake. Or, in other words, the quantitative change effects a qualitative change. The difference in the psychology of the individual, the group and the crowd has been most aptly brought out by Aldous Huxley in his famous book, **ENDS AND MEANS** :

"Quantitatively a group differs from a crowd in size, qualitatively, in the kind and intensity of the mental life of the constituent individuals. A crowd has a mental life inferior in intellectual quantity and emotionally less under voluntary control than the mental life of each of its members in isolation. The mental life of a group is not inferior, either intellectually or emotionally, to the mental life of the individuals composing it and may, in favourable circumstances, actually be superior."

There can not be, of course, any hard and fast rule about the number of individuals that constitute a group and a crowd. It is rather difficult to say precisely at what point a group turns into a crowd. Experience has shown that characteristic group-feeling becomes difficult to work up when a group

is composed of more than twenty or less than five individuals. To quote Mr. Huxley again "All evidence points clearly to the fact that there is an optimum size for groups and that this optimum is round about ten for groups meeting for social, religious or intellectual purposes, and from ten to thirty for groups engaged in manual work". In support of this view he has referred to instances from history, past and present. According to him it is significant that Jesus had only twelve apostles, that the Benedictines were divided into groups of ten under a dean, that a Communist cell is composed of ten individuals, that the ideal number for a dinner party is eight.

Thus we see that a group loses its ideal character when it is either too large or is too small. In a group of optimum size the good qualities of the constituent individuals are brought to full play. In such a case unity certainly makes for strength and solidarity.

It remains now to consider the psychology of the crowd. It is common knowledge that in a vast crowd the component individuals lose their identity and are reduced to a state of intoxicated sub-humanity. They are absolutely possessed by the mentality of the crowd. We are, therefore, often taken aback by the senseless and irresponsible behaviour of decent and sober individual as members of a crowd. Emotionally a modern crowd has not changed much from its prototype in the past. The Roman crowd depicted by Shakespeare in the Forum Scene of his **JULIUS CAESAR** can not be held to be in any way inferior to the modern crowd in its outburst of violent passion and insane fury. The vandalism indulged in by crowds of

student in different places in recent times is sure to put to shame any individual student composing those crowds. Setting fire to vehicles, damaging public properties (including those belonging to educational institutions), creating pandemonium in examination centres, dislocating essential services, disrupting transport and means of communication,—and such other wicked and anti-social acts are sure to be condemned by any human being with a conscience, and students are not certainly devoid of that moral sense which distinguishes man from beasts. But once they become members of a crowd, they are ripe for any mischief, however inhuman or malevolent it might be. "The tone of crowd emotion", says Huxley, "is essentially orgiastic and dionysiac". There is nothing, therefore, to feel surprised at the rowdy conduct of the crowd. And for that matter one has no reason, I think, to be at one's wits end at the violent demonstration by TRISUL-wielding Sadhus at Dehli to voice forth their protest against cow-slaughter.

The crowds mental life being as it is, it is worth while to enquire into the causes that make for such a life. Or in other words, what is the mystery behind the thorough change in the psychology of the individual as soon as he becomes a member of a crowd?

The reason, I think, is not far to seek. It seems that man, even in this advanced stage of civilisation, retains many of the propensities of his savage ancestors. The unrestricted freedom which, according to Rousseau, man enjoyed in the 'state' of nature, had to be given up when he set up civil society. In the state of nature the guiding principle was "might is right," and

each individual unrestrained by social laws could freely have recourse to force to secure the gratification of his desires. But in civilised life the individual has to repress many of his natural desires and behave politely and decently. Instinct or impulse has often to be sacrificed at the altar of reason. But in his heart of hearts still burns the fire of turbulent passion that ruled the life of his savage forefathers. The fire, however, is kept hidden in the inmost depth of the mind, called 'sub-conscious', in the terminology of modern psychology. It lies there smouldering, not dead and extinguished. And the conscious mind, guided by conscience, keeps a strict vigilance over it. Any opportunity of escaping from this disagreeable watch is eagerly welcomed by the sub-conscious mind quite naturally. And the crowd most certainly provides such an opportunity.

Again, in this age of materialistic civilisation, man suffers often from a feeling of frustration because of the ever-widening gulf between his expectation and actual realisation. Scientific industrialism has given man power to produce wealth in ever increasing volume; but the present system of society and government in most countries have failed to effect an equitable distribution of that wealth. Careers are not always open to talents, and Napoleon's pious hope has been belied to a great extent. Thus frustrations and disappointment fosters the growth of a sadistic attitude of mind. The pent-up discontent has a natural tendency to burst into inhuman atrocities and cruelties.

But the moral and aesthetic sense of a civilised individual can hardly sanction such an outburst. "Thus conscience", in the words

of Hamlet, "does make cowards of us all." But if by some means the qualms of conscience can be quelled for a moment, there is nothing to prevent the suppressed grievances of the mind breaking forth into acts of mad fury. And is there any better way of taking holiday from conscience than to become a temporary member of a crowd ?

I like to conclude by quoting the very apt observation of Huxley about the crowd-mentality as given in his *ENDS & MEANS*. To my mind, no better exposition of this puzzling problem is possible in fewer words :

"In virtue of his membership of the crowd, the individual is released from the limitations of his personality, made free of the sub-personal, sub-human world of unrestrained feeling and uncriticized belief. To be a member of a crowd is an experience

closely akin to alcoholic intoxication. Most human beings feel a craving to escape from the cramping limitations of their ego, to take periodical holidays from their all too squalid little self. As they do not know how to travel upwards from personality into a region of super-personality and as they are unwilling, even if they do know, to fulfil the ethical, psychological and physiological conditions of self-transcendence they turn naturally to the descending road, the road that leads down from personality to the darkness of sub-human emotionalism and panic animality. Hence the persistent craving for narcotics and stimulants, hence the never-failing attraction of the crowd."

Thus we get the clue to the mystery why the self-same individual behaves one way as individual, and another way as a member of a group, and still another way as a member of a crowd.



OLYMPIC AND SOUTH AFRICA

‘-LEGER’

The recent incident concerning coloured cricketer Basil D'Oliveira not being welcome to play in his home country, South Africa, has fully confirmed that country's staunch adherence to apartheid, in spite of a previous declaration that there is a change in the approach by not imposing restrictions on coloured men to mingle with the whites on the sports playing fields. Happily, the International Olympic Committee finally disbelieved the declaration and debarred South Africa from participating in the Olympic Games at Mexico City.

D'Oliveira's case is a denial of the concept of values. Not long ago he figured as the saviour of the England team against Australia in the tests through magnificent batting performances but when it came to the question of selections for the England side to tour South Africa his name was omitted. The omission caused a furore with many English sportsmen voicing their disapproval of the M. C.C. action. Came the rejoinder from the M.C.C. and Colin Coudrey, the chosen captain of the England

team, that the selections were based chiefly on merit and therefore, there was no meaning of discrimination against D'Oliveira to suit South Africa's policy of apartheid.

In the meantime, two of England's selected players fell ill and the M. C. C. forthwith included D'Oliveira in the team. The South African Government reacted sharply to his inclusion by conveying to the M. C. C. that it would not permit him to visit South Africa. The cat was let out of the bag and the M.C.C. decided to call off the tour if South Africa persisted in their approach and now there are visions of Cricket test matches being played between the M.C.C. and India this winter in the latter country.

South African Prime Minister Vorster's double standards have been exposed. He is still to learn that world records in sport stand to the credit of mostly coloured men and to assimilate that colour is but skin deep. Individuals such as Vorster and those of his thinking are obstacles in the way of peace and goodwill prevailing among all nations in the world.

WHEN M. K. GANDHI VISITED MAURITIUS

B. BISSOONDOYAL

It will sound strange that Mahatma Gandhi who travelled throughout the length and breadth of India, had not the least desire to go out to foreign lands. He had only to signify his intention to visit the United States, the birth place of Dr. Sunderland whose *India in Bondage* was published by the Prabasi Press, Revd Holmes who hailed him as the modern Christ, Fisher, his biographer, and others, to see that he would have been given a reception that would have been the envy of potentates and kings.

He was never after cheap popularity. Acharya Vinoba who is of his way of thinking, resembles his master in that he has not been tempted to go and see foreign countries although he is an international figure and has had biographers in Hallam Tennyson, the grandson of the famous poet, Lanza del Vasto and other authors. If somehow or other such saints arrive in a foreign country that land will be bound to consider itself very fortunate.

Gandhi had hardly spent three years after his return in India when he rested his hopes upon Vinoba. He was fond of writing letters. He addressed this one to the great Indian who was to become his famous disciple :

"Sabarmati,
After February 10, 1918

I do not know in what terms to praise you. Your love and your character fascinate me and so also your self-examination. I am not fit to measure your worth. I accept your own estimate and assume the position of a father to you. You seem almost to have met a longfelt wish of mine. In my view, a father is, in fact, a father only when he has a son who surpasses him in virtue.

A real son, likewise, is one who improves on what the father has done ; if the father is truthful, firm of mind and compassionate, the son will be all this in a greater measure. This is what you have made yourself. I don't see that you owe your achievement to any effort of mine. Hence I accept the role you offer to me as a gift of love. I shall try to be worthy of it...

May God grant you long life and use you for the uplift of India."

Had Vinoba been compelled by unforeseen circumstances he too would have seen a foreign country or two. It is pure circumstances that are solely responsible for Gandhi's stay in Africa and in the U.K. where he was a student. He thus came to know two continents besides Asia of which India forms part.

Gandhi had spent six years in South Africa when he resolved to go back home with his family. He promised the Indians he had served that if his presence would be necessary he would not hesitate to visit them afresh.

The Indians of South Africa were soon in trouble and Gandhi came to their rescue to spend some fourteen years more.

He had formed the opinion that the Indians living outside India would be able to ameliorate their conditions only if social workers arose from among their ranks. He repeatedly requested doctors and lawyers to go out to Greater India to serve Indians Abroad. He once sent us of Mauritius an Indian who in his turn prevailed upon the late Dr. Chiranjiv Bhardwaj to be our guest.

In 1914 when he was about to bid Africa farewell, he was lucky enough to find one such Indian in Royeppen, "a barrister free from a barrister's pride." It will be seen that he

incidentally describes himself in these simple words.

In Mauritius

It is on his way to India in 1901 that Mauritius had the honour to receive his flying visit. He was on board the S.S. Nowshaera with his family. Chance took it our fatherland. His visit is of great importance when one considers that Mauritius can never hope of receiving the visit of a Vinoba.

Gandhi reached our shores on 30. 10. 1901 and left us on 19.11.1901.

As Mauritius is the first British colony to receive Indian immigrants, by the turn of the century the first generation of Indians had passed away but their descendants were still working on the sugar plantations. Port Louis, the capital of the island, had few Indian inhabitants. Those who were living there were merchants who had come mostly from South India.

It is precisely among South Indians that Gandhi had spent two decades or so. They followed his lead and their women folk would not lag behind. Gandhi introduces in these words the Indian women who were so fearless as to follow him :

"These sisters were with one exception all Tamilians. Here are their names :

1. Mrs Thami Naidoo, 2. Mrs N. Pillay, 3. Mrs K. Muruga Pillay, 4. Mrs A. Perumal Naidoo, 5. Mrs P.K. Naidoo, 6. Mrs K. Chinna-swami Pillay, 7. Mrs N.S. Pillay, 8. Mrs R.A. Mudalingam, 9. Mrs Bhawani Dayal, 10. Miss Minachi Pillay, 11. Miss Baikum Muragasa. Pillay."

Bhawani Dayal is a name with which Indians are familiar. Shri Bhawani Dayal had started a paper christened *Hindi*. He spent the rest of his life in India where, in imitation of *Prabasi*, he founded the monthly *Pravasi* that survived him only a few months.

The tribute paid by Gandhi to the Tamils of South Africa is unforgettable. He was sincere in

his "gratefulness to the Tamils who had done so much in the struggle which no other community did."

Mahatmaji paid attention to the minutest details as it was known to him that misrepresentation was the order of the day. In 1896, he stayed in India for six months. A pamphlet of his was then summarized and cabled from India by a representative of Reuters. Important details were of course omitted. As a result of the suppression of important facts the British population of South Africa could not understand what had been written. They grew furious. On the day Gandhiji landed there he was faced by a mob that was blood thirsty. Some of us still remember that, to Reuters, the passing away of Babu Ramananda Chatterjee had no news value.

Even some of those who saw a blessing in Gandhi's advent have been found to mislead the world. Dr Harry Emerson Fosdick's article on Gandhi and others was carried by the *Reader's Digest* in 1947. The doctor said in the course of it that Gandhi was a dandy some 30 years earlier. He was then a student and a popular dancer. The violin was his favourite musical instrument. He was the talk of the people in London.

To begin with, 30 years earlier or in 1917 he had already spent 21 years in South Africa and was known as a front rank leader in India. It is in the nineteenth century that he was a student.

The doctor had not taken the trouble to read *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*. It is not facts that had been stated by him.

Statesmen, authors and journalists are all in a hurry. They have no time to ascertain if what they say or write is erroneous or not. The doctor's article was translated into French for *Selection*. That was bad enough. In 1962 *Selection* published it anew. That was worse.

In this Gandhi birth centenary year the little island is taking great pride in his short visit. Mauritian papers are publishing old letters in which allusion is made to that historic stay.

The motorcar was yet to come. A carriage had been placed at Gandhi's disposal. The name of

his coachman as those of the horses who pulled that carriage, are remembered. know that the gentleman is fictitious. Besant writes :

In Port Louis he was a peon's guest. At the corner of Desforges and Bourbon Streets lived a Muslim merchant who was among his admirers. It is there that 81-year-old Paliani Moutou, who was then 14, saw him. Our guest paid frequent visits to the Tamilian shopkeeper Varatarajaloo *alias* Samy after whom a village is called. Mother Kasturba was seen by the late Sambhoo who could say what was the colour of her Sari, at the Port Louis Railway Station probably on the day she and Gandhi were to go to Curepipe in the very heart of the colony. At Forest Side he met Atchia and other Muslim Merchants. He then went to the South. Summer lasts from October to January. It so happened that, as the heat was unbearable, Gandhi wished to quench his thirst and he was pleased to find a fountain at Rose Belle. Rose Hill was another town he visited when he was on his way to the Tamarin Falls. He was accompanied by a relative of Atchia who was one of the rare Indo-Mauritians who could in those days have the chance of being made nominated members of boards.

He could not but be made much of. The Indians of Mauritius were in those days pooh-poohed, called names. Nobody could then dream that Indians would ever be able to sit side by side with non-Indians much less to compete with them.

In the 60s of the last century Sir Walter Besant was here. After his return to the U.K. he started writing short stories and novels that are read to this day. It seems that Indian intellectuals like R.C. Dutt and Shyamji Krishna Varma inspired him to write about educated Indians. Had he not been in Mauritius he would most probably have not had a pleasant surprise on discovering that Indians too could be professors and authors. In *In Luck at Last* he writes about a Bengali gentleman who, as a professor, was of the required standard. As it is a work of fiction that is being referred to, the reader will

"As for her mathematics, it is no wonder that she was good in this science, because she was a pupil of Lala Roy.

This learned Bengalee condescended to acknowledge the study of mathematics as worthy even of the Indian intellect, and amused himself with them when he was not usefully engaged in chess. He it was who, being a lodger in the house, taught Iris almost as soon as she could read how letters placed side by side may be made to signify and to accomplish stupendous things."

The then Governor of Mauritius who had done some lecturing at King's College, London, looked upon an Indian barrister as a *rara avis*. Gandhi spent a night under his roof.

Two thirds of a century had gone by from the time the island had received its first contingent of labourers. The white planters had had proofs of the industry of the Indians. But as they were the custodians of a civilisation that had not prevented their forbears to have recourse to slavery, they would not condescend to give their labourers a square deal. Smuts, in South Africa, argued on the same lines as would have Mauritian planters. Mahatmaji has, in *Satyagraha in South Africa*, dealt with this subject. The arguments adduced by Smuts and others, says he, are those :

"South Africa is a representative of Western civilisation while India is the centre of Oriental culture... The West is opposed to simplicity while Orientals consider that virtue to be of primary importance. How can these opposite views be reconciled? Western civilisation may or may not be good, but Westerners wish to stick to it... The Indians are disliked in South Africa for their simplicity, patience, perseverance, frugality and other-worldliness. Westerners are enterprising, impatient, engrossed in multiplying their material wants and in satisfying them, fond of good cheer, anxious to save physical labour and prodigal in

habits. They are therefore afraid that if thousands of Orientals settled in South Africa the Westerners must go to the wall..."

Some two decades ago a journalist gave out that non-Indians cannot, in Mauritius, plump for the Indian civilisation even if it is admitted that the European civilisation is inferior to it. And the journalist is not a white man.

If this journalist and the whites with whom he does not see eye to eye, had their way Mauritius would have been different from what she is today. The island stood in need of such servants of the people who could take care of the neglected elements. Such servants could be found only among those who, after being educated, gladly start serving the fatherland without having the least wish of enjoying the fruits of the services rendered, who do not hesitate to use the Indian languages that the people of the land speak and write, who even go so far as to teach them.

We quote Mahatmaji again: "Up till 1893 there were hardly any free and well-educated Indians in South Africa capable of espousing the Indian cause."

It is precisely in that year that Gandhi arrived there. He had intended to stay in that country for a month. Instead of a month he stayed for six years at a stretch. There was then a break. The second visit lasted 14 years. When there was the break he visited us before reaching India.

The Reception

If the details of the visit are known to few the reception held in our guest's honour at the Champ de Mars is regarded as an event of moment that must on no account be forgotten.

A Muslim society had bought the Maison Rochecoste that was gaily decorated on 13.11.01. The carpet used on that historic occasion is still in the possession of that society and is all the more valuable as on the 17th March last the

flames consumed that building to remind Mauritians that communal riots only serve to degrade man. The late Prof. P.R.Sen used to write that Mauritius was free from the disease of communalism. Had he not left us earlier in January he would have been distressed on receiving the bad news.

Britishers, Muslims and Hindus came in their hundreds. From the accounts given by the papers that are no more like *Le Radical*, *Le Journal de Maurice*, *Le Progres Colonial* and *The Standard* one learns that, amongst others, the following gentlemen were present:

Ahmed Goolam Mohamed, his host; Goolam Mohamed Ajam, an organiser of the reception; Ajam Goolam Hossen; Esmail Cassim Moorad; Ahmed Ibrahim Bahemia; A.A. Cassim; Captain A. Nairn; Barrett; Shelford Davis; Thos. W.Carr; Alexander Milne; M.S.Jenkins; V. Armoogum; J.Valaydon; N. Appavou; Goolam Mohamed; R. Catteea; Ebrahim Cassim; Issop Bahemia; Yusuf Hamid Gul; H.M. Abass; Narainsamy who later became a nominee of the Council of Government; Rassool Elam who spoke and Abdool Cadir who likewise made a speech.

A daily wrote: "This evening party was a great success, as our readers will see, which is not astonishing, considering the truly oriental hospitality of the leading Mohamedan Merchants."

It will strike one that no Chinese put in an appearance. The Chinese element was then backward. They had tiny shops where they worked night and day. They could not be expected to know that somewhere a reception was being held. Had not Gandhi been to their shops he would not have known if they existed or not.

The central figure among the organisers of the reception was a graduate of the Bombay University, Abdul Cadir, who had reached Mauritius in the dying years of the nineteenth century.

Our Independence

1968, the year we have had our independence, is the one in which India, Mauritius and several other countries are getting ready to celebrate the Gandhi Birth Centenary. *The Amaranth*, a 17-year-old review, has already devoted a special number to it. The newly acquired independence synchronises with the Centenary Celebrations.

It will be no exaggeration to say that we of Mauritius owe Gandhi our freedom. The other countries of Greater India like Fiji, East Africa, Trinidad, Guyana, etc. had not been favoured by Gandhi's visit and have not found a source of inspiration in him in the same sense that Mauritius has.

When the time came for Mahatmaji to send somebody to Greater India to serve Indians Abroad, his choice had fallen on Manilal Maganlal Doctor, a barrister like Royeppen, who stayed in Mauritius and went out to Fiji later. It is from him more than from any other Indian that the Indians of Fiji learnt about Gandhi's activities. C.F. Andrews too had paid them a visit. He too was Gandhi's friend. He too told them about the miracle wrought by Gandhi. But there is no spot in Fiji that can remind the Fijians of Gandhi's sojourn. The same is true of Guyana. Both these countries put one in mind of Mauritius. Both are inhabited by a majority of Indians. Both are dreaming of the day when the Indians will have their say.

The spots visited by Gandhi in Mauritius were invested with a new meaning when during the days of World War II his name became a household word.

Illiteracy was dealt a death blow. Caste distinctions began to show signs of giving way so that writing for *Le monde illustre* of Paris, Jean Lessay was able to say that Indians were getting together, that "the hard working and suffering Indian masses in the villages are

awakening to consciousness." One sector ceased to give offence to the other. Contemptuous terms disappeared from the vocabulary of the average Mauritian. *Satyagraha* was inaugurated and no satyagrahi applied for pecuniary help.

The awareness came that the civilisation that had come with the Indian immigrants suited man best. Gandhi who was a staunch defender of that civilisation, was seen in all his grandeur. Before World War II he who ventured to tell Mauritians timidly that India had in her gift great wisdom, her sages lived in the forest and uplifted mankind, only succeeded in enduring their taunts. The attitude of the country underwent a change for the better. It was realized that Indian civilisation was as pure as fresh air as the forest air. A transformation in the atmosphere of the island was discerned. The truth came home that, as Gandhi put it, "East and West can really meet when the West has thrown overboard modern civilisation, almost in its entirety." Has not Kopit stressed the point that the godly justification of violence is not rare?

Gandhi's indictment of the other civilisation led the Gandhians in Mauritius to do their fatherland great good. These words of the Mahatma kept ringing in their ears:

"The cinema, the stage, the race-course, the the drink booth, and the opium den—all these enemies of society that have sprung up under the fostering influence of the present system threaten us on all sides."

It is to emphasize the fact that such a civilisation could come to the rescue of erring humanity that Gandhi started the tradition of celebrating the anniversary of the Indian National Congress in far away places. The cities were shunned. He stuck to the loin-cloth. Mahatmaji behaved like an innocent child. His puny body was so to say, a temple. His simplicity was something that his country stood in need of. He had much of the Greek spirit in him if one goes by this well-known definition:

"The Greek spirit means the love of Gandhi Birth Centenary because organisers unadorned beauty, simplicity, truth, freedom and could be found in their thousands. justice, the dislike of exaggeration.—*John Drinkwater.*"

There was admiration for Gandhi's gestures. To advise him from Mauritius was considered a sacrilege. When in an effort to help the rulers some Mauritians spoke ill of the Mahatma and had slanderous articles written there was so great a resentment that the habit of finding fault with him was given up. From that time there has often been the talk of celebrating the

The progress achieved after three decades of incessant labour entitles the country to celebrate the centenary. Numerous are those who now read *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* not only in English but also in Hindi which is now one of the popular languages of the land. The efforts of the Gandhians have produced results. Both Indians and non-Indians feel that every word that fell from Bapuji's lips or came from his pen was meaningful. Mauritius has not turned her back on Gandhi.



Indian Periodicals

Soviet Policy on Kashmir

J. A. Naik writing in *India Quarterly* about Soviet Russian Policy on Kashmir during the Stalin, Khrushchev and Kosygin, periods brings out certain clear cut tendencies of changes in Soviet policy during the last twenty years. He writes :

Under Stalin

Stalin's overall policies towards India and Pakistan were one of indifference and hostility. In fact no Soviet paper had carried even the news of the proclamation of Indian independence. In a famous speech, Zhdanov, secretary of the CPSU, had divided the world into two camps—"The imperialist and anti-democratic camp, on the one side, and the anti-imperialist and democratic camp on the other and criticised the imperialist Powers for keeping India under their 'obedience and enslavement.' Stalin rarely recognized India's neutral role in world affairs. For him India remained a colony of the Anglo-American capital, a British dominion ruled by the Indian national bourgeoisie. Accordingly, at its 2nd Congress in February 1948, the Indian Communist Party adopted a policy platform pledged to overthrow the bourgeois Congress government by violent means and there is now fairly reliable evidence to show that this policyline was inspired by Moscow. Mahatma Gandhi was officially condemned as a 'reactionary Hindu leader'; the victory of

the Indian National Congress in the first general election was explained away as being due to 'bribes, threats, promises and deceit' and the general scene in India was portrayed as one of 'mass starvation deaths' and large-scale organised strikes.

In the context of such overall hostile posture towards India, Stalin's attitude towards Kashmir was one of indifference ; and on occasions when Kashmir interested him, it was as an issue in the current cold-war politics.

When the war in Kashmir started, a *Tass* correspondent, who was stationed in India, visited the scene of conflict and reported that some '2,000 warriors of various tribes' who had attacked Kashmir state, were 'equipped in Pakistan with modern weapons, trucks and petrol'. The *Pravda* reported that this army was organized by a British General who was in Pakistan Government's service in those days.

The *Tass* correspondent, who had earlier visited the Kashmir front, wrote that 'the underlying cause of the war in Kashmir' was the Anglo-American strategic interest in the area and their plans to link Kashmir in the chain of military bases with which they are doing their best to surround the Soviet Union'. A *Tass* dispatch from Delhi, in early 1948, spoke of a secret pact between Pakistan and Britain by which Pakistan had reportedly agreed to permit the area of Kashmir under its control to be used for

building an Anglo-American military base. In April 1951, *Pravda* reported a 'U.S. plan to build air-bases in Gilgit', a district in Pakistani-occupied Kashmir. A *New Times* commentary of the same days said that Pakistan and the United States had entered into a secret military pact by which the U.S.A. was allowed to build military bases in 'free Kashmir'.

Under Khrushchev

When Stalin died in March 1953, Soviet relations with the Western world and socialist Yugoslavia were hostile, and whatever policies the Soviet rulers had pursued towards Nehru's neutral India were far from friendly. But when Khrushchev came to power, his first endeavour was to establish more friendly contacts with countries like India, which had freed themselves from the colonial yoke and were following a neutral policy in the East-West cold war. As a gesture of its new interest, the post-Stalin team invited a number of cultural delegations to visit the Soviet Union. Within a year and a half of Stalin's death, as many as fourteen Indian delegations—from film artistes to a football team visited Moscow. To counter Khrushchev's friendly attitude towards India, Pakistan officially joined the Middle East Treaty Organization within a year of Stalin's death, a development which caused irritation to Nehru also. The Soviet press gave full publicity to Nehru's strong criticism of the Western efforts to drag Pakistan into their military alliance-system. In a lengthy article in December 1953, *Pravda* criticised American efforts to establish military bases in Pakistan and noted the worsening Indo-American relations on

this score. Another article in *Pravda* a little earlier had stated :

"The Indian people cannot but be alarmed at the attempts to set up an aggressive block right on India's borders, which will invariably lead to the building of foreign bases and airfields on the territories of India's neighbour and to militarization of the countries with which it is attempting to maintain close relations.

Within eight months of Stalin's death, *Pravda* had published as many as 16 articles and news-items with Indian reactions to the American bases in Pakistan as the main theme. As the negotiations between Pakistan and the United States on the former joining the Middle East Treaty Organization progressed, the Soviet Government felt seriously concerned and delivered a strong note to Pakistan that 'the Soviet Government cannot be indifferent to reports' that Pakistan was about to join the Western military pact against the Soviet Union.

During the following months, till Khrushchev's visit to India in November-December 1955, Indo-Soviet relations improved at all levels—political, cultural and economic. Nehru's visit to the Soviet Union in June 1956 and the impressive reception that he received during his extensive tour of the country, contributed to the establishment of personal contacts between him and the top Soviet leaders and added to the growing closer bonds between the two countries. By the end of 1955, when Khrushchev and Bulganin came to India and received a mammoth, spontaneous public welcome, the Soviet policy on Kashmir had taken a definitely pro-Indian turn and this change was announced by Khrushchev during this his-

toric tour. The team that visited India consisted of Khrushchev, Bulganin and other ministers, and Gromyko and other officials and thus was in a position to take policy decisions. During this period Khrushchev and Bulganin were negotiating high policy matters and making policy changes through such visits to countries with whom they desired to cultivate friendly ties. In September 1954, they had visited Communist China and scrapped many anti-Chinese provisions of Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance of 1945.

The visiting Soviet leaders made their major policy statement on Kashmir when they visited Srinagar on 10 December 1955. In reply to the exuberant welcome given by the people of Srinagar, Khrushchev stated in unqualified language that the Kashmir question, which was created by some interested colonial Powers, had been dealt with finally by the people of Kashmir when they had decided to join the Indian Union and that the Soviet Government accepted their decision. When Khrushchev and Bulganin returned home, they reported to the Supreme Soviet on their tour of India, Burma and Afghanistan and reiterated the Soviet Government's support to India on Kashmir. The Supreme Soviet approved their report unanimously. In his report Bulganin stated :

As to the Kashmir problem, it has been provoked by countries which are pursuing definite military and political aims in this area. On the pretext of supporting Pakistan in the matter of Kashmir, certain countries sought to entrench themselves in this part of India, in order to threaten and exert pressure on areas in the vicinity of Kashmir. An attempt was made to sever Kashmir

artificially and convert it into a foreign military base,

The people of Kashmir are emphatically opposed to this imperialist policy. The Kashmir issue has already been settled by the people of Kashmir themselves; they regard themselves as an integral part of the Republic of India, and are desirous of working within the fraternal family of Indian peoples for the upholding of a new and independent India and for the peace and security of the nations. We gathered this deep conviction from our meetings with the people in Srinagar and from our conversations with the esteemed Prime Minister of Kashmir, Mr Gulam Mohammad Bakshi, and his colleagues. The Soviet Government support India's policy on the Kashmir issue because it fully accords with the interest of peace in this part of Asia.

Under Kosygin

Even though the course of Indo-Soviet relations followed the old, Khrushchevian path after his fall, the new leadership in the Kremlin started to make noticeable efforts to improve Soviet relations with Pakistan. After the Sino-Indian armed conflict in late 1962, Pakistan's relations with Communist China improved fast. The Chinese government made a border agreement with Pakistan without creating any dispute over the border territory. Even in the period when India-China friendship was at its peak, and Sino-Pakistan relations were far from friendly, the Chinese rulers had never taken any sides in the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan. Thus the Chinese were in an advantageous position to improve their relations with Pakistan when the latter's rela-

tions with the United States visibly deteriorated. At a time when Pakistan had improved her relations with China and Communist China was increasingly entering the Kashmir picture—she had occupied part of Indian-claimed Kashmir and had accepted her frontier with the Pakistan-held Kashmir—Sino-Soviet relations also were fast deteriorating. Russian concern over China's presence in the Indian sub-continent, therefore, grew apace. Partly with a view to check China's growing intimacy with Pakistan and partly to profit by strained Pak-American relations, the new team under Kosygin decided to improve Russia's relations with Pakistan.

This new mood towards Pakistan became apparent when, at Kosygin's invitation, for the first time, President Ayub Khan visited the Soviet Union in April 1965. The Kosygin-Ayub communique made no reference to Kashmir, but in all probability the matter was discussed and the Soviet leaders had taken note of the depth of Pakistani feeling on Soviet policy on Kashmir. May Day slogans of that year, issued soon after President Ayub's Soviet tour, for the first time referred to Pakistan and expressed a wish for the growth of friendly relations between the two countries. Few days after President Ayub Khan's visit, Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri went to Moscow—his first official visit—in mid May 1965. In his speech at the Kremlin meeting, Kosygin pointedly referred to his policy of improving Soviet relations with Pakistan; to discount Indian fear he added that the improvement of Soviet-Pakistani relations was not meant to be at the expense of Soviet-Indian friendship.

There is nothing in the development of

Soviet-Indian ties that could be directed against other peace-loving countries and peoples. And when the Soviet Union attempts to improve its relations with other countries, it does not do so at the expense of Soviet-Indian friendship. We know that the Government of India adheres to the same line.

In the intervening period between President Ayub's and Premier Shastri's visit, Indo-Pakistani forces had engaged in sporadic engagements on the Rann of Kutch issue. Both the governments, however, soon agreed to stop fighting and refer the matter to a tribunal and abide by its decision. The Soviet press praised the Kutch Pact between the two governments and insistently stated that the Soviet government hoped that both India and Pakistan would implement the Kutch Pact faithfully. The Soviet press refrained from criticising either side when actual fighting was taking place.

The expression of Soviet neutrality in Indo-Pakistani conflict came out more clearly during the undeclared war between them in September 1965. A commentator in *Pravda* wrote a long article urging both the Indian and Pakistani leaders to halt fighting in Kashmir and to try to solve the Kashmir dispute by peaceful means. This commentary in *Pravda*, which was obviously officially inspired, spelled out a slightly different Soviet posture on Kashmir. Even though the Soviet Government did not change the essence of its Kashmir policy of treating Kashmir as an integral part of India, this commentary implied the existence of a dispute over Kashmir. The article said: 'the conflict in Kashmir cannot benefit either of the two

parties who are direct participants in the dispute', and maintained that 'if the disputed problems are approached realistically, solutions of Indo-Pakistani problems can be found without much difficulty.'

As the armed fight between India and Pakistan spread along the border of the two countries and the situation took a serious turn, the Soviet Government took a more responsible and actively concerned posture towards the fight in the subcontinent 'in an area

directly contiguous to the Soviet borders'. The Soviet Union offered its 'good offices, if both sides consider this useful' in resolving the conflict. On 4 September, Kosygin sent letters to Lal Bahadur Shastri and President Ayub Khan, in which he stated that 'all disputed questions, including questions connected with Kashmir can be most effectively solved only by peaceful means' and offered the good offices of the Soviet Government to resolve the conflict.



Foreign Periodicals

The British Labour Party has always cried for fuller measures of socialistic reforms; but have not shown any great desire to nationalise commerce and industry as a method of achieving socialistic ends. The NEW STATESMAN says: "Mr. Wilson has, indeed, renationalised steel, but more as a gesture to the past than a pointer to the future. Labour ministers involved with the public sector spend their time trying to extricate nationalised industries from their manifold difficulties; their attitude is defensive, even apologetic. The watch-word has been consolidation, not advance. For all practical purposes the extension of public ownership has ceased to be a primary aim of the Labour movement." According to the NEW STATESMAN the Labour Party has not made any effort at any stage recently to give shape to its policy relating to the growth of the public sector. The Select Committee on Nationalised Industries, a non-party committee has submitted its report which makes certain suggestions and recommendations. This may lead to developments which will show which way Britain will go in order to become more socialistic than she is now. "One principal reason why the public sector has failed to expand is that it is a collection of semi-autonomous corporations, sponsored, to use the official jargon, by different ministers. Thus, no single minister, even under Labour, has felt a primary, personal responsibility for the well-being and future of the public sector as a whole. Equally, no one

minister has been entrusted with the over-all task of ensuring their efficiency; on the contrary, this efficiency has frequently been impeded by ministerial conflicts between different sponsors. The Committee's chief recommendation goes to the heart of this problem." The suggestion made by the committee refers to the two aspects of the management of Public Sector establishments. One relates to policy making and other to actual executive functions. Policy making for an industrial establishment cannot be separated from the overall policy of a ministry and therefore many ministers will have to take part in this work. The actual management of the various establishments can be, in the opinion of the Select Committee, handled by a single and separate ministry of Nationalised Industries. NEW STATESMAN goes on to say: The beautiful simplicity of the plan has already aroused opposition from entrenched interests, notably the Treasury, and it will be attacked by all those who wish to keep the public sector as a begrimed and indigent Cinderella for ever wailing for subsidies—a ubiquitous and awful warning of the dangers of socialism." But in spite of such opposition, eventually the idea of managing public sector industries by expert professional persons rather than by easygoing amateurs will be recognised as the one way to put life and progressiveness in these nationalised establishments. Once the idea is accepted the nation will be able to make the

fullest use of managerial and technological advances" and "the plan would release the nationalised sector from its economic ghetto." This will sooner or later enable the public sector to "cease to be a drain on the Exchequer" but to "become a prime source of revenue to finance the social services."

WHAT WILL RUSSIANS DO ?

A leading Czech journalist writing in the *GUARDIAN WEEKLY* of Manchester on the 12th September says that "The next four to six weeks are going to be decisive for the immediate future of Czechoslovakia," in the opinion "of some members of the Central Committee of the party".

"According to the Moscow agreement, the Russians will gradually remove the occupation forces after 'normalisation' and will not interfere in the meantime with the security affairs of the Czech Government. Nobody believes that this agreement will be kept, but so far only a few top Czech security men who refused to collaborate with the occupiers have been arrested by the Soviet KGB men and thrown out of the country.

"In a few cases, where other people got into the hands of the Russians, the Central Committee succeeded in getting them freed. As far as is known, not a single Czech intellectual or politician is at present in Russian hands.

"There is no hope that the Soviets will completely remove their army. The few divisions will stay at the German border...

"The Russians have been forced by the splendid resistance of the people and of the party, by the heroic behaviour of President Svoboda, to recall Mr. Dubcek and Mr. Cernik from the underground gaol where they were placed on August 21 and to return the

very people they publicly claimed to be traitors, to the Hradcin castle ..

"But for how long are the Russians going to tolerate it? If the Dubcek group manages to maintain unity...to withstand the terrible pressure of the Kremlin men and their 'gauleiter' in Prague, Mr. Tcherwonenko, then there is hope that in a few months... a tolerable regime might be installed which would allow some freedom...some form of socialist legality'...with mild censorship and some freedom to travel abroad.

...But again Mr. Dubcek might be forced to resign and some other man of his group, probably Mr. Husak who is himself not as hated by the Warsaw group leaders as Mr. Dubcek, might replace him and, with the help of the other members of the present Central Committee, continue his work.

"On the other hand the Russians might lose their patience and try to get rid of the 'revisionist' altogether. Being political amateurs in such matters, as their whole behaviour until now has proved, the Russians would probably cook up some provocation, such as an uprising, and would try to force the Cernik Government to suppress it violently, hand in hand with the occupation army.

"If the Cernik Government refused to do it...it would be overthrown, and if collaborators were still not found, the Russians would install a military occupation regime...with all the consequences to which that would lead in the way of terror and resistance.

"But would the Russians do that? The invasion of Czechoslovakia was a terrible blunder and a moral blow to Soviet prestige. It is to be hoped that the Kremlin is realising this now. A further march on this road would mean the end of the world Communist movement. It would also mean cold war and complete isolation."

Book Review

The collected works of Mahatma Gandhi

Published by the Director, the Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India. Vol XXVII and XXVIII covering the period May-Nov. 1925. Db/Royal Oct. pp. 492 and 508 respectively Price Rs. 9'00 Per Vol. for the paper cover edition. These volumes deal exhaustively with Mahatma Gandhi's writings, letters, recorded speeches etc. in a chronological manner and give one an idea of the tremendous amount of work Gandhiji did to keep in touch with his countrymen as well as with foreigners who took any interest in this country. He answered all letters that he received as well as questions and accusations. He corrected the mistakes that others made about India and Indians and gave a clear exposition of his ideals when-

ever he thought that the occasion demanded it. The volumes under review have some very important references to persons whose place in Indian history is of undoubted significance. Rabindranath Tagore, Surendranath Banerjee, C.F. Andrews, Chittaranjan Das, Matilal Nehru, Sarojini Naidu, Raja Mahendrapratap, Mahammad Ali, Shaukat Ali, Dadabhai Naoroji, Vallabhbhai Patel, Jawaharlal Nehru, M. A. Ansari, Mathuradas Trikumji and many others appear on the pages of these two volumes. Gandhiji used to write so much that his right hand often failed to wield the pen and he had to mobilise his left hand for his correspondence. His left-hand writing was quite good. The documentary value of these volumes is admitted by all persons interested in Indian history of the Gandhian period.—A. C.

Editor—ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

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CHARACTER STUDY

THE MODERN REVIEW

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—P. Thankappan Nair

Aestheticism
—Kamal Roy

Afro-Asian States
—D. N. Sharma

The Himalayan Hoax
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An Approach to I. M. Richards
—Y. N. Vaish

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NOTES

AZAD HIND SILVER JUBILEE

Throughout the years during which India struggled against British imperialism and particularly during the last phase of that struggle, that is the post-first-world-war period, there had been large sections of Indians who wanted to drive the British out by force. Many efforts had been made to train up large numbers of Indians in the use of arms and to secure arms and funds to make the idea effective. The earliest popular organisation for manufacturing bombs and for securing fire arms was set up by Sri Aravinda at Calcutta. His group made valiant attempts at retaliation against British persecution of Indians and many persons died as a result of the attacks made on tyrannical bureaucrats. The attackers also gave their lives unflinchingly in fights or on the scaffold as happened to be the case. Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was a very young boy at the time and he drew his inspiration for fighting

the tyrants from the lives of the bold fighters for freedom of those days. During this period many young men had to flee the country and some of them carried on intensive anti-British activities from foreign countries throughout their lives. Ras Bhari Bose was one such ardent patriot and his meeting with Netaji Subhas in Japan during the fateful days of the second world-war was indeed, a matter of great historical significance. Before this also certain revolutionaries had always kept in touch with their foreign associates and made attempts from time to time to organise armed risings in India by importing arms from abroad. The most significant and important of these efforts was made far back in 1917 by some youngmen of Calcutta. This attempt however failed due to the discovery of the plans by the British before a large shipment of arms could reach India. Other outstanding armed conflicts which should be remembered by all patriotic people

were the gun battle at Balasore in which many youngmen and members of the British armed constabulary died, the Chittagong armoury raid and the occupation of the town for several days by the revolutionaries, and the great uprising of 1912.

When Subhas Chandra Bose escaped from detention and reached Russia during the early years of the second World War, the Russians refused to help him in any manner and he had to go to Germany for assistance. Hitler sent him by submarine to Japan and the Japanese brought him to their newly conquered territories in the Singapore, Malay and Burma areas. Here Netaji found large bodies of Indian soldiers who had been made prisoners of war by the Japanese after they had been left behind by their British officers who had made good their own escape by land, sea or air. The British army had also managed to escape by and large. Netaji Subhas managed to get the Indian soldiers released by their Japanese jailers, raised funds from the Indian residents of those areas and thereafter he organised the Azad Hind Government for the military occupation of India by the Indian National Army which began to make preparations for the invasion of India over the Indo-Burmese frontier. In his proclamation, which happened to be the first proclamation of independence by Indians, he declared that the proclamation was being "issued in the name of God, in the name of bygone generations who have welded the Indian people into one nation and in the name of the dead heroes."

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose certainly succeeded in welding the different groups of Indians constituting the Indian National Army into one fully integrated national body

of freedom fighters. Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Buddhists and Christians combined and fought shoulder to shoulder as blood brothers. This was a lesson which the British did not forget when the war was over and the Anglo-American-Russian bloc had won it by sheer weight of arms and by using nuclear bombs for the first time in human history. Netaji became a symbol of Indian unity and has remained so in spite of the worst efforts made by certain cliques and coteries of Indian politicians who have stressed and emphasised the differences that exist among the peoples of India in order to intensify a separatism which will enable these enemies of Indian unity and nationhood to make profit at the cost of the highest ideals of patriotic coherence and concord. That there can be an intensely vital unity among peoples who have differences but are fundamentally the products of one common civilisation, was proved by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. And that is why the Silver Jubilee of the Azad Hind Government has a special importance at the present moment, when the forces of disunity and disintegration are assuming an ominousness which India had never had to experience during the last one hundred years of its national existence. Even the British imperialists had not succeeded in achieving what the greedy politicians of India had managed to perpetrate during their few years of control of India's political life. The nefarious practices indulged in by these self-seekers have clearly shown to all thinking Indians that they have made a farce of our freedom and liberty. A nation must never have the freedom and liberty to destroy its own nationhood. The Indian Government have allowed the Indian nation to loosen and weaken its basic structural foundations by

falsely interpreting the true meaning of political rights. Where petty rights of limited application tend to destroy the fundamental bonds of national unity such rights have to be given up as a condition of a greater existence. We know that ownership of property which does not rightfully belong to one is very tempting. Paying jobs and business openings which involve no hard work nor skill or intelligence also stimulate the greed of easy going dullards. The urge to attain fame and to be important in the eye of one's countrymen is also noticeably present in persons who have no natural claim to eminence. Power and the by products of authority i. e. unearned gains and the ability to grant useful favours to proteges have a lure which persons with not much moral stamina cannot resist. All these factors induce weakminded persons to find rational excuses for pandering to their weaknesses. Most evils in Indian politics have their origin in the eagerness of persons to gain wealth, power and importance. Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was essentially attached to purity of thought and conduct in people who surrounded him. He did not tolerate those who easily surrendered to temptations nor did he allow his followers to deviate from the path of honour in the slightest degree. Had he lived he would no doubt have led India to newer heights of glory.

PAKISTOON ASPIRATIONS

When Pakistan was created by the British there were many loose joints in the sovereignty that the British handed over to Mr. Jinnah's clique of Islamic idealists and nobody questioned the right of the Parliament of Great Britain to play with the lives of entire communities, races and tribes in any

manner they pleased. The people of the North-Western Frontier Province of British India, had never been fully subjugated by the British and an army was stationed there as a regular feature of the occupation of that part of India by the foreigners. The tribal warriors used their rifles and occasionally, their home made cannons against the army of occupation and if things attained a large enough size the affair was called a war against this clan or that. Truces followed and the tribesmen retired to their remote and inaccessible stone houses. They never gave up the idea of another fight and kept their arms and their indomitable courage ready for the next occasion. It was a very loose and unsuccessful occupation of a hostile country. When the British removed their army of occupation from the tribal area or Pakhtoonistan as it is now called, they handed over all the hostility of the Pakhtoons to the Pakistan Government. The Pakistanis have tried even bombing of the tribal villages from the air and killed thousands of brother Muslims of that region to impose Pakistani dictatorship upon the hawk eyed soldiers of freedom loving Pakhtoonistan without much success. Of the many lies of the Pakistanis the most unbelievable was that of the Muslim nation of India. This nation had one religion, Islam, and one language, Urdu. It was discovered quite soon after 15th August 1947 that the one religion had many awfully antagonistic sects and about 10000 members of one sect were butchered by other Muslims of Lahore sometime after Pakistan was created. Sir Md. Zafarullah Khan was a member of the minority sect which was subjected to the genocidal attack by the other soldiers of Islam of Pakistan. In the matter

of language, Urdu, was nobody's language in Pakistan. The people whose language Urdu has been for centuries, live in an area of the U. P. in India and the majority of Urdu speakers are Hindus. The people of Pakistan speak Panjabi, Pushtu, Balochi, Sindhi and Bengali. Urdu has been adopted by Pakistan as one of their national languages for the reason that the initial movers for a partition of India on a religious basis were some Urdu speaking Muslims of the U. P. Liaquat Ali Khan was one such Pakistani. The Pakhtoons speak Pushtu which is more akin to Persian and the Afghani language than to Panjabi, Sindhi and Bengali. The way of life of the Pakhtoons is rugged, simple and free from sophistication. The other Pakistanis are relatively fond of good living and addicted to the sensuous pleasures of civilisation. The Pakhtoons therefore are not very fond of being ruled by the soft living citizens of the Islamic republic of Pakistan, which is, in fact, a dictatorship in which not even one percent of the people have any political rights. The Pakistanis, nevertheless, have the farcical brazenness to go out of their way to demand freedom for non-Pakistani Muslims of other nations. Many powerful nations encourage Pakistan to do this in order to achieve their own designs; for Pakistan will do anything for any nation for a consideration. The Pakhtoons have a right to form a separate State for the reason that the British had no right to make their country a part of Pakistan. The British had at no time been in unchallenged occupation of that country. Truce and war went hand in hand in the area as far as the Pakhtoon people and the British were concerned. The Pakhtoons also do not like

to be ruled by a dictatorial government. They are culturally distinct from the Pakistanis and govern themselves democratically through GIRGAS or Tribal conferences which fix all matters of controversy and policy. The British had to take part in Girgas from time to time as they had a shaky suzerainty in the tribal area. The dictatorship of Pakistan no doubt does what it likes in the name of Islam. We have no specialised knowledge of the provisions made in Islam for the protection of human rights and the freedom of communities, but we have an idea that the form of government in force in Pakistan is not particularly Islamic. Their close bond of fellowship with peoples who deny the existence of God and eat all forbidden food, also points to a non-Islamic outlook. The Pakhtoons are devout Muslims. They may naturally object to Pakistan's diplomatic habits and associations. They may also object to the presence of technical and military experts in their territory who cannot distinguish between HALAL and HARAM.

THIRD WORLD WAR

Leaving out of consideration the military incidents and the large scale rioting that have taken place in many countries at great frequency during recent years; one may certainly take special notice of the wars of short and long duration which might have spread and triggered off the Third World War. The earliest of these Wars was the Chinese invasion of India in 1962. The Chinese chose to retire after occupying certain areas of the North Eastern Frontier of India and our Government did not follow up their aggression with any display of strength. The result was that the Chinese have

retained certain territories belonging to India about which we protest but take no action. That war therefore did not spread ; but the Chinese were not punished for the wrong they had done, and unpunished criminals always remained a source of danger to peace loving people. The Vietnam war had its beginnings before 1961 but the large scale American intervention brought it closer to dangerous possibilities. The Russian and Chinese collaboration with the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong has created a set up which has given it the colouring of an undeclared world war. The Pakistani attacks on Kutch and Kashmir also had evil possibilities, but China did not come into it and thus helped in containing it to its Indo-Pakistani dimensions. The quick defeat of Pakistan also helped to sterilise its dangerous potential. The short war between the U. A. R. and the State of Israel also had the seeds of a world conflagration, but the forbearance of Russia and the ability of the Israelis to look after their own interest fully and well, saved the world from being pushed into a war in the deserts of Asia and Africa. The most dangerous incident, which did not actually cause the pulling of triggers, the launching of rockets or the dropping of bombs but assumed a stand still position with a large army of invasion on one side and a grimly determined non-violently non-cooperating nation on the other took place in Czechoslovakia recently and is not yet concluded. The Warsaw Pact countries headed by Russia are attempting to force the Czechoslovakians to toe the hard core Communist line, but are not succeeding very well. It might have led to counter moves from other nations, but the solidarity of the Czechoslovak

nation in resisting the invaders non-violently, cleared the atmosphere to some extent. But the World came very near to a large scale war and it could still lead to a conflagration. Marshal Tito, the head of the Yugoslav state, thinks the possibilities of a World War are there in a strong measure. He believes we are very near a World War. Apparently the communists will begin the fight. And there being rival communist groups in the world the fighting will involve the Chinese bloc, the Russian bloc and the East European free thinking communist nations as participants.

INDIA'S FRIENDS

In a short period of less than a quarter of a century India has developed many international friendships and has found them vanishing into nothing or changing into potent animosities in a matter of months or a few years. When the British had decided to give up political control of India and to divide the country into two States in 1946-47, the British Statesmen began to make friends with the leaders of the Congress in an exuberant fashion. The high and mighty British and their ex-prisoners began to mix socially and address one another by their first names. The congress court and the British imperial court mixed with a great display of friendliness. But it was all just diplomatic show and the British were conspiring all the time to weaken India for ever by divisions and setting up of enemy camps on India's borders. The Pakistan idea and its development and connections with America, France, Germany, Turkey, Iran and other countries were the products of British brains. India soon abandoned herself in tremendous international fellowship

activities and Indian leaders were seen in the courts of all important countries of the world. The first of these great friendly adventures which misfired and caused great discomfiture to India was the Hindi-Chini Bhai-bhai efforts. The Chinese and the Indians exchanged showy diplomatic visits and the Raj Path of Delhi rang with the sound of Hindi-Chini Bhai bhai. But China soon occupied Tibet with Anglo-American approval and became a menace to India. The friends of India viz the Americans and the British discouraged India from taking any action against China while the latter country was yet weak in Tibet and allowed the Chinese to consolidate themselves there. The Chinese thereafter began to develop amities with Pakistan, to occupy Indian territory directly and through Pakistan and eventually liquidated the Bhai-bhai idea by invading India.

The Western powers had by now aligned themselves alongside of Pakistan and had been putting a spoke in anything that India did to deflate Pakistan's arrogant attitude. India drove the Pakistanis out of Azad Kashmir twice, but the U.N.O. to which India made large annual contributions forced India to reestablish Pakistan in her aggression on both occasions. Indian leaders had been running to Washington and London regularly, borrowing money everywhere and giving an idea to the Indian people that their foreign relations were well established in all capitals of Europe and America. In fact India was slowly losing her position in all capitals excepting perhaps in Moscow, where the Russians were not yet decided on any policy regarding India, in view of the strong bonds of friendship that Pakistan had created with America and Britain. But, Russia,

too, soon began to look for ways of making breaches in the walls of Pakistan's friendship with China, America and Britain. Russia had been supporting India, in the matter of Kashmir; but she began to display a certain degree of apathy in this and made gestures of sympathy to Pakistan. Pakistan had by now become a military dictatorship with no freedom, liberty or even ordinary justice for anybody there excepting the ruling junta. It is neither a Communist State nor a democracy in any sense of the terms. But the British, the Americans, the Chinese and the Russians have found nothing abhorrent in this blatantly exploitative tyranny which is also a theocratic i. e. a communal organisation and a blot on civilised human politics. All countries which have anything to gain by placating the Pakistani high command, look at that country with blind eyes and behave as if nothing in Pakistan offended their political or ethical ideals.

India now is isolated as far as the major powers are concerned. She is going to relatively less important countries to find friends, that is, lenders of money to her. That is another side of India's gravest mistakes in the field of international relations. She has borrowed and frittered away money in such a reckless manner that her economy is on its last leg. She has developed a type of public finance which takes away all surpluses from all earning nationals in order to squander the resources thus extorted from all probable savers of capital in reckless outbursts of make believe gestures of what the Indian leaders call the creation of a socialistic pattern of community life. If India does not change her foreign policy and her outlook in the field of economy and public finance,

she will soon reach the end of her path of stable and intelligent existence.

MAINTENANCE OF NATIONAL PROPERTY

Year after year during the last few years if there are any floods caused by heavy rainfall; roads, railways, bridges and culverts just disintegrate in an increasingly disastrous manner in all parts of India. India being a land of heavy rainfall engineers have always provided for such eventualities when they have constructed road, bridges etc. The increasing frequency and intensity of the breaches therefore point to the presence of some active factors apart from those that have always been present. One such factor is neglect of extra careful maintenance arrangements that should be arranged for in view of the tremendously increased traffic over the roads railways etc. and the loss of strength caused normally by age. The bridges etc. that the British had built are quite ancient now and the heavy traffic has further reduced their strength. If special care is not taken of these old structures and they are not strengthened up as and when found necessary by expert examiners, their collapse under pressure of heavy rainfall may be expected. The Government therefore should make an immediate survey of all roads, bridges, railway embankments, culverts etc. and arrange for the proper renovation and strengthening of all structures and constructions that were built before independence. The various roads, railways etc. that have been built after August 1947 should be given a thorough check up, for negligent work has increased after that date. Timely action may save the lives of thousands and crores of rupees by protection of national assets.

TRANSPLANTING ORGANS

There is a lot of sentimentalism attached to the human body and its limbs and organs, inspite of the fact that humanity has acknowledged the earthiness of the body as dissociated from life for thousands of years. From another angle because of its association with life it has acquired a reflected glory and semi divinity which resulted in the attempts to preserve it even after death by some nations like the ancient Egyptians and in the solemn and colourful rituals connected with its final disposal among all peoples. The human heart and the human brain have carved out special places for themselves in human thought and people show undue respect to these organs by reason of their great usefulness while life expresses itself and functions through them. Life comes into a body which is made out of dust so to speak and when life departs the body goes back to the dust of its origin. That is factually and philosophically true; but human sentiments persist in granting a sacred meaning to the constituent parts of the body. In some religions there are ideas of the dead rising on the day of judgement and that suggests the necessity of having the body in the grave with all its parts intact.

The recent move to transplant hearts, livers and kidneys from one body to another has raised certain controversies about the ethics of the matter. Should one person's heart be removed from the parent body to another person's body; thus keeping it alive in a strange body? Should a sick heart be removed from its parent body and thrown away to die while the parent body remains alive? How can one be absolutely certain that a body is without life when its heart can continue to live in another body? Will not

unscrupulous doctors arrange to obtain healthy organs from helpless dying persons in order to transplant the same in the body of selected sick persons? Such doubts are already assailing the human mind and arguments are raging here and there against uncontrolled transplanting of organs by doctors.

NO WAR WITH PAKISTAN

A no war pact or treaty with Pakistan will save India from some direct expenditure on defence account and will help the economy of both countries by the indirect gains that will accrue due to improved and friendly relations replacing the present mutual distrust and antagonism. But a mere pact or treaty will not remove the causes of the animosity that has developed between the two countries. The causes are mainly the prepartition anti-Hindu propaganda carried on by the British inspired muslim fanatics who wanted a separate state for the muslims and the expansionism of the dictators of the new State of Pakistan. The Kashmir affair has developed only because the Pakistanis wish to occupy Kashmir without any justification whatsoever. One has to allot some discredit for this forced creation of a territorial dispute to Pakistan's foreign aiders and abettors who have their own axes to grind. While these foreign dictators and enemies of India have the freedom to play with the affairs of the two States of this sub-continent, no peace will ever last for any length of time in this area. The Pakistanis too must make such arrangements as would enable them to avoid running to London, Peking, Moscow or Washington for financial assis-

stance. The question of non-muslims living in the Islamic Republic must also be dealt with in a realistic manner. If India wants total peace with Pakistan, there should be no Hindus in E. Pakistan. This can be arranged if Pakistan allots some border districts of East Bengal to the Hindus and sells those districts to India. Pakistan can also be given cash compensation for vacating Azad Kashmir. In other words, if Pakistan finds it profitable to live in peace with India, she will do so very willingly. If on the other hand that country can obtain money from foreigners by being aggressively anti-Indian, then India's hopes of Peace must rest on India being more helpful to Pakistan than the foreigners have been.

Ayub Khan is now in a similar tight market as India has been for some time. But India can make financial arrangements to settle Indo-Pakistan affairs in a satisfactory manner and, if peace is assured, money will flow easily. If India and Pakistan settle their alleged disputes and Pakistan goes through such settlements gainfully, we have every hope that things will develop advantageously for both countries. Two things however have to be fixed in an unequivocal manner; Kashmir and the Hindus of East Pakistan. If this costs a few hundred crores that will be well worth spending. Once Pakistan finds it unnecessary, financially, to run to foreigners for war-like preparations, the attempts at inciting rebellion among the tribal people will also cease. This matter of buying peace should be considered in a realistic manner by competent and knowledgable persons.

THE JEWS OF COCHIN AND THEIR HISTORY

P. THANKAPPAN NAIR

INTRODUCTION

The quarter centenary celebrations of the White Jews' synagogue at the Jew Town, Cochin, in 1968, will be an event of first magnitude in the history of India, and more so in the chequered history of the existence of this small community in Kerala for more than two thousand years. Mr. Koder, a prominent member of the Jewish community of Cochin, and President of Jewish Association of South India, intends to celebrate the event on a grand scale and he has earnestly solicited the cooperation of the Government of India and Jews all over the world. A religious meeting with seminars and discussions on the history of Jews of Kerala will be held in connection with the quarter centenary celebrations. Jews from all important countries of the world are expected to attend the quarter centenary celebrations.

The Jews of Cochin are an affluent community. They are respectable traders and merchants. Their insularity has kept them uncontaminated from the venom of communal politics of Kerala. They are quiet, unassuming, and outlandish. A Jew is devout in religious affairs but not a fanatic. They are not interested in entering into religious arguments or propounding their religious tenets, or philosophy. The Jews work while others take rest. The Jews numbered 419 souls in 1863 at Cochin. According to the Census of 1911, the White Jews alone numbered 428 in Cochin state.

The number of Jews at present in Cochin is about 300. The total number of Jews (Black, White and Brown) in Kerala in the year 1957 was 1,790, of whom 419 were in the Jew Town, 353 in Ernakulam, and 65 at Chennamangalam. They numbered 1137 in 1901, 1175 in 1911, 1451 in 1941 and about 2000 in 1951. By August 1955, 1715 Jews had immigrated to Israel from Kerala. The total population of Jews in Kerala in 1957 was nearly 500.

HISTORY OF JEWS IN KERALA

The history of Jews in Kerala is lost in antiquity. We are unable to state accurately the year in which they immigrated. The Jews had probably contact with the Malabar coast from the times of Solomon dating back well over to 1000 B. C. Some of them trace their arrival to as early as 587 B. C. and maintain that they are descendants of refugees who fled from Palestine after the destruction of the first temple.

Their legends affirm that about one thousand Jews and Jewesses immigrated to Malabar about the year A. D. 68 after the destruction of the second temple, dreading the conqueror's wrath. Buchanan was of opinion that the Jews settled in Cranganore immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus (A. D. 70). Logan and Hunter are of opinion that some Jews settled on the Malabar coast in the sixth century B. C. to escape servitude under Cyrus. A Roman merchant-

ship that sailed regularly from Myos Harmaz on the Red Sea to Arabia, Ceylon and Malabar, is reported to have found a colony of Jews in the second century A. D. The Romans, according to the Peutingerian Tables, kept a force of two cohorts upto at least A. D. 226 at Cranganore for the protection of their spice-trade. The tradition of Jews of Kerala is that St. Thomas, the Apostle, arrived in Cranganore, in A. D. 52.

There is also doubt about the original settlement of Jews in Kerala. Though Jews are believed to have settled at Cranganore, there are traditions of their habitations in different parts of Kerala, especially in Malabar. There was a colony of Jews at Pazhayangadi in olden times. The former existence of a Jewish colony there is testified by the presence of 'Jewish Tank' close to the traveller's bungalow. This tank is situated in the midst of a desolate, rocky plain. There are traces of many walls and buildings here. The Jews might have lived here during the palmy days of the kingdom of Mt. Eli. Duarte Barbosa refer to this colony. "After this at the foot of the mountain to the south is a town called Mazare, very ancient and well off, in which live Moors, and Gentiles and Jews ; these Jews are of the language of the country : it is a long time that they dwelt in this place." The ancient Malayalam poem, Payyannur Pattola, makes a reference to Jews in Pazhayangadi, or Madayi (Mazare of foreigners).

The "Jew's Hill" nearby Palayur church, Chowghat, is believed to be the site of a Jewish synagogue. When they left Palayur, the Jews bestowed a piece of land to one Tiyan on condition that a light shall be

kept at the site of the synagogue. The custom was followed till the beginning of the 20th century. A granite slab containing an inscription was found at the Jew's Hill sometime ago. Their own records show that the Jews lived in Cranganore, the ancient capital of Kerala, till 1524, without any disturbance.

The Jewish community possess one of the ancient copper plates. The last of the rulers of ancient Kerala, Cheraman Perumal, conferred on the Jews certain privileges, in recognition of their military services. This copper plate is dated A.D. 379, though scholars think that the charter cannot be earlier than the beginning of the 8th century from its language. The grant of the copper plate conclusively proves that the Jewish community was a factor to be reckoned with in the political life of Kerala in those days. The significance of the charter lies in its enumeration of the feudatory chieftains of the Perumal and thus throwing light on the extent of Kerala during the reign of Perumals. The deed is attested by the kings of Venad (old Travancore), Vadakkumkoor (northern part of Travancore), Zamorin, Walluvanad, Ernad, Colathiris, Palghat and Kurumbranad (all of Malabar area). The attestation of the deed by feudatory chiefs of various parts of Kerala shows that the Perumals had jurisdiction from Cape Comorin to Kasarcode. Wynad and Palghat were included in their kingdom. Though more than one reading of the copper plate is possible, the translation of Dr. Gundert, who is an authority on Malayalam, is preferable and is as follows :

"Svasti Sri—The King of Kings has ordered (This is) the act of grace ordered

by His Majesty Sri Parkaran Iravi Varma weilding the sceptre and reigning in a hundred thousand places, (in) the year (which is) the opposite to the second year, the thirty-sixth year, (on) the day he designed to abide to Muyirikode.

"We have given to Isuppu Irabban Ansu-vannam (as a principality), and seventy-two proprietary rights (appertaining to the dignity of a feudal lord) also tribute by reverence (?) and offerings, and the profits of Ansu-vannam, and day-lamps, and broad garments (as opposed to the custom of Malabar), and palankins, and umbrellas, and large drums, and trumpets, and small drums and garlands, and garlands across streets etc., and the like and seventy two free houses. Moreover, we have granted by this document on copper that he shall not pay the taxes paid by the houses of the city into the royal treasury, and the (above-said) privileges to hold (them). To Isuppu Irabban, prince of Ansu-vannam, and to his descendants, his sons and daughters, and to his nephews, and to (the nephews) of daughters in natural succession, Ansu-vannam (is) an hereditary estate, as long as the world and moon exist.

"Thus do I know, Govardhana Martandan of Venad. Thus do I know, Kodai Srikantan of Venapalinad. Thus do I know, Manavipala-Manavyan of Eralanadu. Thus do I know, Irayiram Sattan of Valluvanadu. Thus do I know, Kodai Ravi of Nedumpuraiyurnadu. Thus do I know, Murkhan Sattan who hold office to the sub-commander of the forces." The secretary who wrote the deed is Gandan Kunrappolan of Tellicherry.

Stripped of its verbiage, the copper plate tells us that Bhaskara Ravi Varman (who is popularly called Cheraman Perumal in history)

conferred the proprietorship of the principality of Anjuvanam to one Joseph Rabban and his community with certain privileges such as carrying a light by day, the spreading cloth, riding in a palanquin, and the use of the umbrella, drum, and trumpet. Joseph Rabban and his caste fellows are exempted from taxation. Black Jews only still make use of these privileges during their marriage, though the charter itself has passed to the hands of White Jews.

The Jews lived peacefully in Cranganore till the year 1524. The Mahommedans made an onslaught on the city in 1524, slew a great number of Jews and drove out some of them to the surrounding villages. The Zamorin, assisted by Mahommedans, ransacked Cranganore in 1565 and massacred a good many. Some of the Jews settled in Chennamangalam, Mala and Parur, places not far off from Cranganore. There still exists a small flourishing colony of Jews at Chennamangalam. There may possibly be one or two families left in Mala and Parur. Some of the Jews fled to Cochin in 1565 and erected the Jews Town, under the protection of the Cochin Maharaja. The existence of a synagogue at Cochin Angadi dating back to 1344 shows that Jews had already a colony there. The leading men of the community at this juncture of Jewish annals were: Samuel Castil, David Belilia, Ephraim Saleh, and Joseph Levy. These four elders were responsible for building the first White Jewish synagogue at Jew Town.

There is no reason to believe that the Jews were ever persecuted by the Portuguese. They were good traders and their presence was useful to the Portuguese. It appears that they were not so prosperous during the

Portuguese regime as they were under the Dutch. The Dutch captured Cochin in 1663 and the Jews were punished by the Portuguese for assisting the invaders. The Dutch troops were given victuals etc. by the Jews when they besieged Cochin. Advent of the Dutch saw better times for the Jews. The leading man of the community during the Dutch rule was one David Levy, a descent of Joseph Levy. The Dutch honoured him with the title of Mudaliyar and gave him an official staff, the top of which was mounted with gold, and had the motto of the N. E. I. Dutch Company engraved on it. Immediately after the Dutch conquest, the Jews established communications with their counterparts at Amsterdam and obtained printed copies of the Hebrew ritual.

Cochin was finally ceded to the British in 1814. Since the days of the British the Jewish community of Cochin became prosperous; but they were robbed of their ancient records by Buchanan in 1806. Independent India is a secular State and Jews enjoy full freedom to pursue their social and religious calls. After the formation of Israel, the trend is towards migration. By 1955, 1785 Jews had already migrated to Israel. A few more have followed them. The reason why all the Jews have not gone over to Israel is that the Jews in Kerala are a rich community and in Israel everyone has to work. Those who have settled in Israel have not given a rosy picture of life there to their kith and kin in Kerala.

THEIR ANCIENT RECORDS

Besides the copper plate of Cheraman Perumal, the Jews possessed some very interesting records. Even the authenticity

of the copper plate itself is to be doubted. Buchanan seems to have tampered with the copper plate. The original copper plate, Buchanan states, was of brass, and engraved on both sides. He had facsimiles made from it, on two copper plates which he took home. If the plate at Cambridge is of brass, and engraved on both sides, it may perhaps be concluded that Buchanan returned new plates to the Jews and kept the old one with him. The present copper plates, consisting of three pieces and bearing inscription only on two plates, measure $1\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{8}$ of a yard. The copper used for the plates seems to have been taken from a ship's side.

Several records of the Jews have been taken home by Buchanan in 1806. He found in almost every house of Jews Hebrew books, printed or manuscript. Most of the printed books had found their way from Europe either through the medium of Portuguese or Dutch. The Black Jews were in possession of many priceless manuscripts and printed books. These records were derived from a channel independent of that through which the text of the Holy Bible has been transmitted to posterity. One of the most curious and important of these manuscripts was a copy of the FIVE BOOKS OF MOSES written on goatskin and found in one of the synagogues of Black Jews. Buchanan found a copy of the Old and New Testament with the Apocrypha in old Syriac, presented by the Syrian Metron and a version of New Testament in Hebrew executed by a learned Rabbi in Travancore about one hundred and fifty years before him. A copy of the Pentateuch found in Jew Town was written on a roll of goatskin, dyed red, measuring 48 feet

THE JEWS OF COCHIN

in length and 22 inches in breadth. This was an imperfect copy, for the book of LEVITICUS and the greater part of Deuteronomy are wanting. When complete the whole roll might have been measured 90 ft. In its present condition it consists of 37 skins, containing 117 columns of writing, perfectly clear and legible, and exhibiting a noble specimen of the manner and form of the most ancient Hebrew Manuscript. "Mr. Yeates, a Hebrew scholar, who collated the manuscript at Cambridge with the text of Vander Hooght's printed edition of the Hebrew Bible found that all the various readings he detected did not exceed 40 in number, and that not one of them altered the sense of any passage, being merely additions or omissions of a JOD or VAV (i. e. i or u) letter. These variations are greatly reduced when compared with an older edition printed at Amsterdam in 1611". This roll, according to Bishop Marsh, must be regarded at least as a literary curiosity, deserving the attention of the learned in general. And as the manuscript appears in comparison to have no important deviation from the common printed Hebrew text, it is of still greater value to a theologian, as it affords an additional argument for the integrity of the Pentateuch. Buchanan wrapped all the records he collected from Jew Town in two cloth bundles for conveying them to his residence at Cochin. "The Christians are robbing the synagogue of the Law" rose a cry of the bystanders, with an imploration to the "men of Israel to help" while Buchanan was about to go from Jew Town with his prizes. No sooner was the above cry heard, the Jews outstripped him in speed. However, with the help of Mr. Flower, Chief

Magistrate of the place, Buchanan managed to retain all the manuscripts. He also collected many more ancient manuscripts, chiefly in the Rabbinical character. The Jews lost their old copy of the Sepher Thora when the Portuguese burnt some of their houses during the time of Dutch siege of Cochin.

ETHNIC DIFFERENCES

The Jews of Kerala are not of a homogeneous race. There are "Black", "White", and "Brown" Jews among them. The "Black" formed the bulk of the Jewish population till the advent of European nations. The "Black" Jews are not really black in colour, but are indistinguishable from the local Muslims or castes and tribes of Kerala. Their forefathers were the original Jewish settlers in Kerala. Ages of isolation from the parent stock and constant admixture of native blood seem to be responsible for their black colour, though no doubt, people of the typical Jewish physiognomy are not wanting among them. The Black Jews are held to be pure native converts from the slaves purchased by the original immigrants. Their own tradition is that they are descendants of the Jews who were driven out of Israel 13 years before the destruction of the first temple. The Jews found in Chennamangalam, Parur and Mala are Black. The Black Jews were not connected with the White Jews by intermarriage. They did not have any of the Levitical ceremonies in their synagogues. They have had the Mosaical Laws. The oldest synagogues existing in Kerala belong to them.

The "White" Jews were called PARDESIS in old State records. Their church is still called Pardesi Synagogue. However, the

present White Jews, although their ancestors may have been superinduced upon the earlier immigration stock, entitling to present ones to be regarded to a certain extent as the legitimate successors of former foreign Jews of pure descent, cannot be regarded as the lineal descendants of the first settlers'. The White Jews have maintained the purity of their race by constant inbreeding and fresh immigration from foreign countries. There were no White Jews in Cochin when the Portuguese came to Cochin in 1500. Benjamin of Tudela (1173) speaks of only 100 Jews in Kerala who were of the black colour. The first batch of Spanish Jews arrived at Cochin in 1511. In 1685 some Jewish merchants came from Amsterdam and were kindly received by the Dutch Governor, Commodore Vosburg. A large number of German and Polish Jews immigrated during the Dutch days. Jews from Syria, Turkey, Britain and other countries have also found their way to Cochin. At present the Jews of Cochin are a heterogeneous group consisting largely of Jews of German, Spanish and Egyptian descent, with others claiming roots stemming from Aleppo, Turkey and Yemen. The White Jews, under the influence of Indian caste system, maintained a rigid barrier from their Black brethren. The White Jews are also called Jerusalem Jews. The German and Polish Jews were designated Ashkenazim and those of Spanish origin were known as Sepharadim. The Brown Jews were known as the Myukhasim. The White Jews, though constituted the minority group, were the protagonists of a caste hierarchy among the Cochin Jewry. The White Jews are confined to the Jew Town. They are wealthier and more influen-

tial. They are better educated, and more responsive to Western influence.

The third element in the Cochin Jewry is the Brown Jew. They are said to be the offsprings of the White Jews and those of native converts from low-castes. But they resent this view and consider themselves as the descendants of ancient Jews and treat their Black counterparts as socially inferior to them.

The younger generation of Jews deplored the antagonism between the Black and the White on the one, and Brown and the Black on the other hand. The Brown Jews openly revolted against the hegemony of the Whites and threatened to use passive resistance unless there was an amelioration in the restrictions imposed upon them. They were supported in their protest by the educated youth of the White community. The elders of the White community had to accord the same rights and privileges to the Brown Jews in their synagogue. The division among the Jews and formation of the State of Israel are responsible to the exodus of Jews from Cochin. We apprehend that Jews who added so much to the cultural variety of India, may become a community on record within the next few years. The members of the Cochin Jewry feel that they are a small community and their existence is in jeopardy by the communal politics of Kerala.

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

The physical type of Black, White and Brown Jews vary considerably. The Whites do not materially differ from European Jews in complexion and stature. Though they are living in Cochin for more than 3/4 centuries, they have been able to keep

up the purity of their race by constant in-breeding and renewal of blood by fresh immigration. The colour of the skin differs from the white of the North European to dark, like that of the South European. Some of the White Jews are of a strikingly fair complexion, their whiteness being accentuated, appearing somewhat in the nature of a sickly pallor. They belong to the Mediterranean type of human family. Many of them have flaxen hair, and light blue eyes. The colour of hair and beard is black. The hair is of abundant growth and a little curly or wavy. The specific Jewish cast of countenance is very much accentuated among the White Jews. "Their women, when young, are said to have mostly a Spanish face, though in a few cases the pale coloured hair and little brown or blue eyes would indicate the idea of a northern parentage. The children look almost leprously white, so do the eyes become habituated to dark skin. This retention of complexion and features for so many centuries is truly astonishing."

The Black Jews are of a totally different type. They are difficult to be distinguished from the local Muslims in colour, dress and appearance. Their skin colour ranges from fair, like that of the European Jews, to that of the Dravidians. Persons with a white colour are not wanting. The specific Jewish physiognomy can be discerned in some of the Black Jews as well. From the anthropological point of view they are Jews of mixed origin.

The White Jews have retained the peculiar characteristics of their Jewish race. Their religion, manners and customs have

remained unaltered either by time or distance.

Though their contempt for the Nazarenes is as great here as in Europe, they do not show it outwardly. They are very courteous and civil in their manners. The White Jews are usually good-looking intelligent and agreeable. Though the Jew improves his personal appearance with the march of time, whilst his long white beard gives him an imposing and patriarchal appearance, the Jewess rapidly loses her good looks, and at thirty may be considered quite *passee*.

DRESS

The Jew is distinguished from the surrounding people by his long flowing robes. He is fond of coloured, buttoned-up in front, waist coats and full length trousers. The head is shaved at an early age, leaving only one lock in front and above both ears. Both men and women wear coloured skull caps and the poor go bare above the waist. Occasionally a turban is worn by men.

The dress of the Jewess is not as graceful as that of the Jew, as she has largely copied the local people. The older generation fasten the cloth round the waist, by a gold or silver belt, from which a bunch of keys are suspended. Educated girls prefer sari. The Jewesses usually dress in plain clothes, but on festive occasions they bring out their antique dresses. Some of them wear a square head dress, with a white veil, which falls over the shoulders, as low as the waist. They have primitive jewelleries, but elderly women leave them off and dress plainly. Little attention is paid to dressing the hair.

SYNAGOGUES

Though plans are afoot for celebration of the quarter centenary of the synagogue of

the White Jews, there are much older synagogues of Black Jews in Cochin itself. The Cochin Angadi synagogue was established in A. D. 1344, that of Theekumbhagam in 1586 and the Kadavumbhagam one in 1639.

The PARDESI synagogue or the White Jews' synagogue stands at the northern end of the Jew Town, close to the wall of the Raja's palace. This was built on a site specially carved out for it from the Raja's palace garden. This is a fine building, about 40 ft. long and 30 ft. wide. Inside the building we find tawdry brass chandeliers, holding numerous tumblers of oil for lights. The reading desk is in the centre, facing the Books of Law to the west, where they are kept in a cupboard behind a curtain, and consist of five copies of the Pentateuch, most beautifully written in Hebrew characters, on vellum. No bloody sacrifices are offered at this synagogue. There is no altar here. The gallery for women is screened from the body of the church, around which are benches for men. The Jews put off their wooden sandals or shoes at the porch before entering the prayer-house. An iron safe is fixed against the outer wall of the synagogue for reception of alms for the poor.

A story is told at Cochin that the beautiful blue and white tiles from Canton, which adorn the floor of the synagogue of the White Jews, were originally intended for the Durbar Hall of a former Maharaja of Cochin. But a wily Jew declared that bullock's blood must have been used in the preparation of the glaze, and offered to take them off the Raja's hands, who was only too glad to get rid of them. The conspicuous clock tower of the synagogue is furnished with a Dutch

Clock, a relic of the patronage of Jews by the Dutch.

A Rabbi conducts services at the synagogue with his head covered by a tallith or veil thrown over his turban, by chanting the prayer from the reading desk. The reading desk faces the west, is raised two steps above the floor, and is surrounded by a railing. Seats are provided for the congregation outside this railed portion. The Rabbi does not cover his face in the Feast of Tabernacles. He turns towards the west, while the congregation facing the Books of Law, sway their bodies incessantly backwards and forwards and bow towards the Tabernacle, apparently with deep devotion. This is interrupted by their suddenly bursting forth with an electrifying response to the Rabbi. A Jew before taking his seat inside the synagogue goes first to the Books of Law, place the first two fingers of his right hand on his lips and incline his body.

The important festivals observed by the Jews are (1) the Feast of Tabernacles, (2) the Passover, (3) the Feast of Pentecost, (4) the Feast of Trumpets, (5), the Feast of Purim and (6) the Feast of Lights. The rituals of the Jews of Cochin do not differ appreciably from their brethren in other parts of the world. They follow the Sepharde rite like most of the Jews of the East.

SOCIAL LIFE

The Jews, both White and Black, are gregarious in nature. The Jew Town is their social and religious centre. This town consists only of a single narrow street, running north and south. At its northern most end stands the synagogue of the White Jews. The Jew Town is about 1/3 of a mile in length

and is situated close to the banks of back-water. The town can be reached either by water or by going along the Calvetty and Mattanchery bazars, passing a Roman Catholic Church and the Raja's palace.

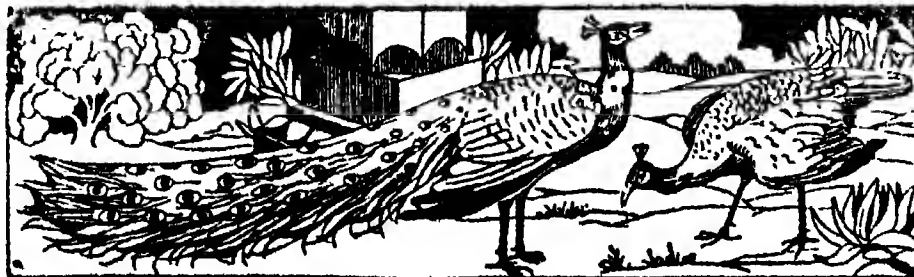
The houses of Jews are constructed by laterite stones with large windows provided with seats and double shutters of glass and wood. The well-to-do Jews have double-storeyed house with tiled pent roofs. The walls of the houses are sometimes adorned with various representations such as that of peacocks, eagles, fighting cocks, crocodiles etc. The Jews, according to the Mosaic command, insert small tubes of tin or bamboo in the door posts of every room in which are portions of Deuteronomy, and the name of Jehovah written upon very thin leather or vellum. Whenever they go out of their house or while going from one room to the other, they kiss this tube, bow to it or touch it with fingers, which they then kiss.

The Jews marry all degrees of cousins, both maternal and paternal, and there is a constant inbreeding. This inbreeding is per-

haps responsible for the race regeneration of the Black Jews, whereas their white brethren have segregated them. Celibacy is quite unknown. Girls are married before or after puberty. The White Jews perform their marriage ceremonies in their synagogue. TAL is tied after the local custom. Marriage festivities last for 7 days. Birth pollution lasts for 56 days. Girls used to be kept in seclusion during menarche for 7 days. Circumcision is performed on the 8th day. There is no polygamy or polyandry. Eldest son inherits a lion's share of the family estate.

CONCLUSION

Though Jews were backward in education, they have now taken up studies very seriously. They speak Malayalam but use their mother tongue Hebrew at home. The Jews are now eager for higher education and a Jewess is even reading for medicine. The Jews have remained in Cochin unmolested for centuries and as India has become a secular State, they can claim Cochin as their PROMISED LAND. They can contribute their mite to the cultural variegation of India.



POPE LOOKING AT SHAKESPEARE

SARADINDU HOM CHAUDHURI

The commonly-held notion of 18th century English literature is that it is one of prose and reason, that it is ruled by certain critical dicta imported directly from France whose writers had taken them from the ancients and nearly apotheosised them in their works.

An exaggerated emphasis on reason and rules negates that spontaneity and imaginative wealth which go with great literature.

Naturally, therefore, those who wrote on Shakespeare in the 18th century are held to have brought a prosaic mind to bear on the poet, and consequently to have failed, very largely, to offer any satisfactory appreciation of his works. It can, however, be shown that this view of 18th century Shakespeare criticism is largely ill-founded and that several Augustan critics of Shakespeare could lay claim to strikingly meaningful and suggestive observations, which display an unquestionable capacity for imaginative appreciation. Indeed, some of their observations might appear rather refreshing today.

Pope came out with his criticism of Shakespeare towards the close of the first quarter of the eighteenth century. It is contained in his preface to his edition of Shakespeare published in 1725. Several of Pope's letters written during the early twenties of the 18th century contain references to his work on Shakespeare. Thus in his letter to Caryl, dated May, 1722, he says: "I am very busy in doing justice to a far

greater poet, of whose works I am giving a new edition ..." (The correspondence of Alexander Pope, ed. Sherburn, 1956, vol. II, p 117.). His criticism derives its importance from the fact that Pope happened to be the most considerable literary figure of his time. Even apart from his Shakespeare criticism, he was critic in his own right whose "An Essay On Criticism" appeared in 1711 when he was only twenty-two. One likes to imagine that Pope remembered the words of caution that he chose to administer to a would-be critic, when he got down to the job of estimating the works of the great Elizabethan. Here are the words of caution from his 'Essay on Criticism':

But you who seek to give and merit fame,
And justly bear a critic's noble name,
Be sure yourself and your own reach to know,
How far your genius, taste, and learning go ;
Launch not beyond your depth, but be
discreet,
And mark that point whose sense and dull
ness meet.

One who has read his appreciation of Shakespeare can say without any fear of contradiction that the author of "An Essay On Criticism" brought a fairly competent mind to bear upon the master play-wright and wrote fairly penetrating criticism, considering the critical as well as literary tastes and standards of his time.

Barring a few exceptions here and there, the neo-classical critics confine themselves to general observations and do not enter

into the details by way of launching upon a threadbare discussion of critical principles involved or of individual plays. Johnsons and Wartons and Whatelys, from whom the subsequent times must have benefited not a little, are not plentiful. They all wrote elaborate critical dissertations in their own fashion. There is Morgan, too. Not that suggestive treatment is altogether impossible in a general critical survey.

Pope commences his writing with the happy remark that he is only too well aware that a preface is not the right place for a full treatment of Shakespeare who is "the fairest and fullest subject for criticism" and who "is justly and universally elevated above all other Dramatic Writers."

Much like others, Pope comes under the spell of Shakespeare's magic. Much like others, he comes under the impact of his stupendous genius. Indeed, he looks rather mystified at his almost endless creativity. And naturally he questions as to what exactly is at the back of it, what can adequately explain it all. The answer that he finds is no doubt the answer that many others have found. No learning, no training could suffice to bring into being such products. What we find in Shakespeare can be found only in Nature, can only have originated from her. Shakespeare is Nature's mirror. It is not even a question of his imitating her. It is a question of her projecting herself through the poet's writing. Nature master-minded all that is known as Shakespeare's works. Let us hear Pope on this point: "If ever any author deserved the name of an Original, it was Shakespeare. Homer himself drew not his art so immediately from the fountains of Nature.....

The poetry of Shakespeare was inspiration indeed: he is not so much an Imitator, as an Instrument, of Nature; and 'tis not so just to say that she speaks through him."

Again: "His characters are so much Nature herself, that it is a sort of injury to call them by so distant a name as copies of her."

Pope speaks here of Shakespeare as Matthew Arnold later does of Wordsworth. As Arnold puts it, it is not so much that Wordsworth takes up his pen to write about Nature as that Nature herself takes up the pen to write for the poet as he is her favourite child. This likening of Shakespeare to Nature puts one in mind of a few lines from "An Essay on Criticism" where the young Pope exhorts poets to follow Nature:

First follow Nature, and your judgment frame
By her just standard, which is still the same:
Unerring Nature, still divinely bright,
One clear, unchang'd, and universal light,
Life, force and beauty, most to all impart,
At once the source, the end, and test of art.

Proceeding a little further Pope provides us with a piece of fine perception such as was not quite expected of him. As a rule, the Augustans deals with generalities and love to speak of generic instead of specific properties, of types rather than individuals. Johnson, for instance, says that a poet's function is to create representatives and not individuals. Against this background, it is indeed a delightful discovery to find Pope commending Shakespeare for creating clearly marked individuals. "Every single character in Shakespeare is as much an Individual, as those in Life itself; it is as impossible to find any two alike." And Shakespeare not

only creates individuals but preserves them wonderfully throughout the action of a play.

And presently Pope says something which pointedly brings home to us the truth that the Augustan mind was not necessarily, and always, a prosaic one. After pointing out the delightfully effortless ease with which Shakespeare saw to the finding of the most natural expression for every emotion, whether obscure or refined, Pope speaks of its effect on the reader and here he cannot refrain from exhibiting something of the emotional disturbance which he must have felt on reading Shakespeare: "The heart swells and the tears burst out, just at the proper places. We are surprised, the moment we wept: and yet upon reflection find the passion so just that we should be surprised if we had not wept, and wept at that very moment." This is, strictly speaking, the language of a Romantic critic—of a Coleridge or Hazlitt, not of a Pope. Such utterances are, of course, rather few and far between. Yet the student of Eighteenth Century Shakespeare Criticism meets with, not quite infrequently, evidences of a fine emotional or imaginative response to situations in the least suspected places. And a conviction grows that the native capacity for imaginative appreciation of literature survived all the elaborate and fierce classical indoctrination of the period. One remembers that Johnson spoke of a similar emotional disturbance occasioned by his first reading of Hamlet, more particularly the ghost in the play.

Like his own Hamlet, Shakespeare is at home in whatever society he finds himself in. Naturally therefore he is familiar with every idiom of the human heart. Pope recognizes this when he remarks: "He is not

more a master of the great than of the Ridiculous in human nature." About the middle of the 19th century Thomas Carlyle speaks in a rather similar vein of Shakespeare's amazing mastery over all manner of passions: "How could a man delineate a Hamlet, a Coriolanus, a Macbeth, so many suffering heroic hearts, if his own heroic heart had never suffered?—and now, in contrast with all this observe his mirthfulness, his genuine overflowing love of laughter."

It may be noted in passing that Pope shows a much keener sensitivity to and hence a much better understanding of Shakespeare's language than Johnson. This appreciation of his is generally manifest in sundry observations. We shall draw particular attention to the following words: "The poetry of Shakespeare was Inspiration indeed." It is well to remember in this connection that not many of Pope's contemporaries or immediate predecessors made any reference to Shakespeare's poetry. One can possibly have some idea of the spell Shakespeare's language must have cast on him from some of his letters to Wycherley, Caryl and Addison. In a letter to Caryl dated August 14, 1713, he writes touchingly:.....What aims and ambitions are crowded into this little instant of our life, which (as Shakespeare finely words it) is rounded with a sleep?... In a letter to Addison on Dec. 14, 1713 he uses an astonishingly indetical language.

True to his background Pope finds serious fault with certain aspects of Shakespeare's plays. In fact, at the very outset of his Preface he remarks that there are numerous instances of faults side by side with beauties in the works under discussion.

Now, he attributes the faults to the dramatist having had to please the populace and to his having been a player. The first factor (namely, the necessity of catering to the taste of the most ordinary people who formed most of his audience) led to his drawing images from their life, while his having been a player was responsible for his adopting, often unconsciously, the standard of the tribe of players rather than of the most enlightened class of people. Let us quote two passages to hear Pope state his case :

"It must be allowed that Stage-Poetry of all other, is more particularly levell'd to please the Populace, and its success more immediately depending upon the Common Suffrage. One cannot therefore wonder, if Shakespeare having at his first appearance no other aim in his writing than to procure subsistence directed his endeavours solely to hit the taste and humour that then prevailed. The audience was generally composed of the meaner sort of people ; and therefore the Images of Life were to be drawn from those of their own rank : accordingly we find, that not our Author's only but almost all the old Comedies have their scene among Tradesmen and Mechanics."

"Another Cause (no less strong than the former) may be deduced from our Author's being a Player, and forming himself first upon the judgments of that body of men whereof he was a member."

And what are the consequent faults ? In the tragedies (as maintained by Pope)—unnatural events and incidents, the most exaggerated thoughts, the most verbose and bombastic expression, the most pompous rhymes, and thundering versification ; in the come-

dies—mean buffoonery, vile ribaldry, and unmannerly jests of fools and clowns. Both Dryden and Johnson have more or less similar complaints to make. Now these complaints, which are essentially the same, betray a particular attitude of mind and the attitude is typically neoclassical. Further, this attitude indicates a certain disability—the incapacity to understand some of the characteristic features of Elizabethan life and literature.

The complex fullness of life and the rich metaphorical texture of the poetry of the period remained, as a rule, beyond the comprehension of the writers of the Augustan age. Perhaps Pope could be answered back by saying that, to have to please the 'populace' need not always be degrading ; in point of fact, the Elizabethan writers took it as an advantage since it enabled them to widen and variegate the appeal of what they wrote without detriment to quality. Elizabethan drama certainly enjoyed a far wider patronage than its Restoration or 18th century counterpart which was restricted in its appeal to the upper classes only. However, it should be recorded that Pope, in referring to the influence of the audience on Shakespeare's works, did a notable bit of advance thinking, since this aspect of Shakespeare's plays has received considerable attention in the 20th century. Robert Bridge's name deserves mention in this connection.

As for Shakespeare having been himself a player, instead of being a disadvantage, it positively helped him to learn more about the theatre than he could have done otherwise. And the world is the richer thereby. In fairness, however, to Pope it should be added that he allows Shakespeare's unsur-

passed qualities to hold the ground even in the midst of lapses. "Our Author's Wit buoys up, and is born above his subject: his Genius in those low parts is like some Prince of a Romance in the disguise of a Shepherd or a Peasant; a certain Greatness and Spirit now and then break out, which manifest his higher extraction and qualities."

It is when discussing the age that Pope makes a pronouncement that is definitely memorable. He writes: "To judge therefore of Shakespeare by Aristotle's rules, is like trying a man by the laws of one country who acted under those of another." No doubt his contention was that since the poet happened to accomplish his life's work in largely ignorant times, he deserves leniency of treatment and should not be judged by the far higher literary standards of Pope's own days, which would always find him wanting in certain respects. Pope, incidentally, had a good deal of the superior air worn by most writers of his age. What is to our purpose is that without perhaps understanding the full implication of what he said, Pope would seem to have done some significant advance thinking in view of the fact that one of the important schools of Shakespeare criticism in existence in the 20th century is the Historical School which emphasises the need for studying his works as an exclusive product of the Elizabethan age, which means that Shakespeare, to be adequately

understood, must be examined and appreciated in Elizabethan setting. A study of Shakespeare boils down, in the main, to a study of the various and complex facets of contemporary history. There is, therefore, an undoubted element of anticipation which is well worth admiring.

Even though Pope, like many others of his age, spoke of Shakespeare as a magnificent natural phenomenon, he is sensible enough to recognise that "he (Shakespeare) had more Reading at least, if they will not call it learning. The notions that Shakespeare wanted learning and Johnson fancy, could have had little basis since, says Pope with great shrewdness, these were generated and made current because of the intense rivalry of the partisans of the two poets. I am inclined to think, this opinion proceeded originally from the zeal of the Partisans of our Author and Ben Johnson; as they endeavoured to exalt the one at the expense of the other."

To sum up, Pope's criticism is a tribute to his perceptive power. Some of his readings are, as we have seen, refreshingly individual. His attitude towards Shakespeare is one of high respect and he shows a large measure of sympathetic understanding in his observations. It is worthy of record that his classical training and temper could not and did not prevent him from a glad and signally appreciative treatment of Shakespeare—a puissant and bewildering product of a greatly different social and cultural milieu.

THE HIMALAYAN HOAX

ATULANANDA CHAKRABARTY

October 2nd has a place of honour in the annals of modern India. It is the birthday of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi: a political rebel who came to be regarded as the Mahatma. It is a day of remembrance all over India, nearly all over the world.

Our propagandists remember him in one way. In another way thinkers of insight remember him. Tagore wrote of Gandhi: "Perhaps he will not succeed. Perhaps he will fail as the Buddha failed and as Christ failed to wean men from their inequities, but he will always be remembered as one who made his life a lesson for all ages to come."

And perhaps, the organisers of the centenary do not want people to remember some events and effects of the last years of the Mahatma's life.

Of these a most important issue may be this. The All India Congress Committee, held in New Delhi on June 15, 1947, the first to meet right after the proclamation of the Mountbatten Plan, formally ratified the Working Committee's acceptance of the terms of the Transference of Power; and its resolution was followed by a brief speech in which the President of the Congress "explained why Congress had abandoned Gandhi."

And this also explains why Rabindranath's song "Walk alone" became Gandhi's great favourite!

Also it is not on record how Nehru felt about this ungracious farewell to Gandhi. At least, this is in intriguing contrast with

Nehru's sentiment in his more romantic years: "For many of us, in the Working Committee and outside, the bonds that tied us to Gandhiji were such that even failure with him seemed preferable to the winning of some temporary advantage without him."
(AUTOBIOGRAPHY, P.289)

Anyway, those who 'abandoned' the living Gandhi, now celebrate his hundredth birthday with a year long worldwide ritual. Gandhi in his spirit must be immensely amused over this gallant and magnificent ceremony!

The way Gandhi lost his life was tragic. More is how he has ceased to be alive in our mind. As early as on Oct.25, 1949, Gandhi's best biographer wrote to me: "Some day, when I understand better, I shall write something for publication. Meanwhile what will you do in India?...I think Gandhism would be the answer, but where is Gandhi in India? You tell me."

Where is Gandhi? The Centenary is the answer. Maybe.

Gandhi was more or less on leave since the opening of the World War II. Congress governments in the Provinces were withdrawn in protest against England's involving India in the War without her consent. But presently the Congress Working Committee themselves began to forge that consent in expectation of being put in power at the Centre. Nehru himself drafted the resolution of the Working Committee, held on

September 14, 1939. The statement that India would "gladly associate herself" with England in her War meant cancellation of non-violence, and Gandhi was agonised over the prospect. The Working Committee, meeting next at Wardha on June 21, 1940, recorded that "they are unable to go to the full length with Gandhiji" and "therefore, they absolve him from the responsibility for the programme" which they had in view. This was the beginning of the end of Gandhi's command. And the sense that Gandhi's influence is not indestructible made them insensible to Gandhi's grief.

On 29th June Lord Linlithgow gave Gandhi an audience, having discerned that 'the old man is the biggest thing yet.' The word 'yet' indicated that Gandhi's influence was on the wane. The Viceroy proposed to give Congress a share in India government. The Working Committee lunged at the bait and met in Delhi on 3rd July. This time the resolution was drafted by Rajaji, and he secured Patel's approval of it. Only the Frontier Gandhi remained with Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhi in a note lamented that Rajagopalachari "thinks that I suffer from obsession owing to too much brooding on non-violence. He almost thinks that my vision is blurred." On Gandhi's birthday in 1967, with the intention probably of securing a point over the Congress in favour of his Swatantra Party, Rajaji wrote a masterpiece in praise of Gandhi's spiritual insight.

However, thrice disappointed—the last by Cripps—the Working Committee, in 1942, appeared to give up table-talk and resolved to embark on a mass movement. To do that they recalled Gandhi to resume leadership, from which he had withdrawn at the instance

of the Working Committee of June 1940. Gandhi brought out his "Quit India" programme. It promised to be no less dramatic than his Dandi March. But its midnight resolution was quashed by arrests before day-break.

In historical sequence "Quit India" was the last resounding echo of the lofty rhymes of revolt to which Gandhi had tuned his speech at the Plenary Session of the Round Table Conference, whose object was "to achieve India's liberty through negotiation by argument." But the Congress, in his opinion, "does not hold quite that view." He told the Conference: "The Congress has an alternative which is unpleasant to you."

The other day, on 17th May, 1968, Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, unveiling the Gandhi statue in London, observed that Gandhi was not happy over the trend of the Round Table Conference. But the climax of Gandhi's unhappiness was that he had no hand in shaping India's liberty in the final stages. His followers followed their own path—remote from his idea of 'unpleasant alternative'—and resorted to 'negotiation' as the one and only way to "achieve liberty". Thus the "Quit India" resolution tumbled down to an entertaining folk-lore, to listen to which India Government has declared 8th August to be a half-holiday!

In the preamble to "Quit India" resolution, Gandhi urged: "Ours is not a drive for power, but purely a non-violent fight for India's independence." And he emphasised: "The Congress is unconcerned as to who will rule, when freedom is attained." But the Congress became much too much concerned. And when Gandhi advised Congress not to

rush in for power at the price of partition, the Working Committee managed to remove Gandhi himself from the scenes of "negotiation" of which he was kept timely informed. He pleaded in vain with the A.I.C.C. in New Delhi on 15th June. "The best thing for the Congress would be to resolve itself before the rot sets in further." And Gandhi had the shattering experience. "I see that I carry nobody with me." And now it is they and their retinue who are celebrating Gandhi Centenary.

A centenary celebration is definitely due to Gandhi. But who are the organisers and what are their credentials? In the interest of truth and Gandhi a clarification is surely desirable. India's tradition has it that good deities suffer from bad priests—the priests who have vested interests and who are, therefore, obliged to twist and tamper the spirit of true worship that surges in the heart of the people. In this familiar context the huge homage paid to Gandhi is verily a Himalayan hoax.

The hoax has been workable because of the public ignorance of what were Gandhi's sorrows in his closing years and how he was quietly elbowed out of the stage. In Gandhi's last years his thoughts and his reactions to events were seldom reported in the press. And the leaders who ignored Gandhi, taking advantage of lack of information, could well indulge in play-acting and their profound devotion has never been questioned. Summaries of his Prayer talks were all that generally trickled out of the press. Gandhi was heard telling a Prayer congregation on September 28, 1947, that his voice had lost "the potency which it had before the talks on independence began."

Wavell initiated the talks and Mountbatten neatly finished it. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali made the pungent remark: "It was a matter of shame that the Congress putting aside the Quit India resolution came to the feet of Lord Wavell."

Mountbatten, like Lidlithgow, liked talking to Gandhi, as a study, probably, of the process how the master's authority over his disciples was thinning away. But one thing was known to them—as it was known to all—that Gandhi in the course of his decline had no fall.

However, at the sixth meeting with Mountbatten, Gandhi frankly informed: "His own plan is not acceptable to the Congress and he is personally handing over all future negotiations to the Working Committee". The Committee was relieved as Gandhi offered to quit Congress. "What can I do?" was the stifled cry of a powerless Gandhi. Nehru in his broadcast on Independence in a vein of euphemism said: "Gandhiji is fortunately with us to guide and inspire." Like a wounded giant Gandhi himself felt: "I am groping today ... Is there something wrong with me or are things going wrong." He said almost to himself: "I do not agree with what my closest friends have done or are doing."

And it was after independence that Gandhi realised: "I deceived myself into the belief that people were wedded to non-violence." Many painful pieces can be quoted to show what, in the context of independence, his non-violence was like. But the one that he confided to his Prayer audience of December 24, 1947, should be good enough: "The world thought that India had won her independence through non-violence, and if it was

so, it was a unique thing in history. How he wished that it was really so. But he had already declared that it was not." Undoubtedly however, the air of the Centenary year will be rent with vigorous preachings and proclamations that it was non-violence that wrought the miracle of independence.

Likewise a hundred citations may be made to disclose the unkindness that his major friends and followers systematically inflicted on him in the evening of his life. He was not only not heard but often snubbed. The disappointed, discarded, defeated Gandhi dipped his pen in unshed tears and wrote his mournful message on the splinters of his broken heart: "It is said that my speeches now-a-days are depressing. Some even suggest that I should not speak at all... I hope that I never speak for the sake of speaking. I speak because I feel that I have something to say to the people... Am I to give up all hope of their ever listening to me? I cannot do that whilst there is breath in me." (14.7.47)

Deep distress is hidden beneath these words: "I should not be least surprised if in spite of all the homage that the national leaders pay to me, they are one day to say: We have had enough of this old man. Why does he not leave us alone?" (Pyarelal, Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol II. p.686)

The Centenary opens a world show of stage-managed homage, shot with many strange colours and woven in fine synthetic texture. In contrast, let us listen to what Gandhi himself had said as he personally received felicitations on the last birthday that he lived through, on 2nd October, 1947:

Where do congratulations come in? Will it not be more appropriate to say condolence? There is nothing but anguish in my heart. Time was, when whatever I said, the masses followed. Today mine is a lone voice.....I have lost all desire to live long, let alone 125 years.

"Towards the end of his life," Radhakrishnan observes, Gandhi "was a lonely and frustrated man. Deep disillusion entered his soul before the assassin's bullet entered his body." A more forceful indictment cannot be made on who and what so severely disillusioned him. And no more ironical a situation could be met than this that the very men (and their mates) whose conduct filled Gandhi's heart with that acute anguish are the masters of this ceremony of Centenary!

The only comment on the splendour of this Gandhi Centenary can be made in the words of Gandhi himself: "I fear, no one of our leaders, either at the top or at the bottom, is free from hypocrisy." (11.8.47) Peace be with Gandhi. Leave him alone.



ROLE OF THE AFRO-ASIAN STATES IN THE U N

D. N SHARMA

After the failure of the League of Nations a new chapter in human relations began the day on which the fifty one nations of the world pledged themselves in the charter of the U. N. "to save the succeeding generations from the scourge of war and to promote social progress and better standard of life in larger freedom." And a new chapter in the life of the U. N. began with a slow shift in the balance of power from the West to the East with the emergence of new small States particularly from Asia and Africa and their admission in the U. N. The resultant U. N. of to day is not the U. N. of 1945--is that the world of to-day is no longer the world it was immediately after the end of the Second World War.

The San-Francisco Conference of 1945, which gave the Charter of the U. N., was clearly dominated by the three great military powers--the U. S., the U. K. & the U. S. S. R. It was a wide-spread belief at that time that, if only these Big Three could be brought together in an international organization, there would be no fear of another World War, and even small wars could be banished. It was realized that the League of Nations had failed to maintain peace not only because it was lacking in will. Thus, it was strongly believed in the spring 1945 that the co-operation of the Allied Powers i. e. the Big three which had emerged victorious in the Second World War against the Fascist and Nazi

dictatorship, must establish peace in the world. Added to these Big three were France and China, which being permanent members of the Security Council, were authorized to maintain peace and security in the world.

That hope, that vision and that belief speedily vanished in the years following the war. The causes of the deterioration in international relations which followed World War II were mainly political and psychological. After an all-too-brief period of harmony, the Big three split among themselves. The U. S and the U. K. and France were suspicious of Russian intentions and Russia was suspicious of Western intentions. In course of time, the Western Powers moved closer together and established a "collective defense pact." Russia too established a cordon of friendly states around itself and entered into similar "Collective defence pacts." The sense of fear and suspicions on both sides generated tensions which came to be reflected inside the U. N. The Big Five in the Security Council, which were designed as the chief instrument for maintaining peace and preventing war, have made it an arena of contention and conflict. The difference of attitude between the Western Powers and the Soviet Union may be visualized from the very beginning of the formation of the U. N.

Ideological difference between the West and the Soviet Union, their separate efforts

to exert their influence on backward and underdeveloped countries of the world and their tendency to exhibit their economic, technical and military might could not keep them together for a long period. The competition to equip themselves with atomic weapons and difference of attitude on colonial and racial problems made them apart from each other. Thus, the world seemed to be bipolarized just after the formation of the U. N. The phase of bipolarization continued for more than a decade and resulted in extreme bitterness and hatred among the great Powers. The emergence of new Afro-Asian nations in the U. N., refusal by France to accept the U. S. as the leader of the Western World, its developing good relations with Communist Countries and the refusal by Communist China to accept the leadership of the Soviet Union were indirect challenge to the bi-polarized World. And so, there was a drift from bi-polarization to multi-polarization.

The world appears to be divided in so many groups and blocs. But essentially among all atomically equipped powers of the world viz, the U. S. the U. K., the U. S. S. R. France and now the Communist China—the U. S. and the U. S. S. R. may safely be called as two Super Powers. They command not only military and atomic superiority but are also equipped with rockets and are going to control the space and capture the moon. No doubt, the maintenance of peace and security in the world is assured so long these Big Powers, the major Powers, and particularly the two super Powers realize their heavy responsibility and avoid fighting each other. But it is very difficult problem how to prevent these great and super powers

from doing so. This is the most vital problem of today. These great and super powers maintain not the "balance of power" but "balance of terror". The two super powers realize that their interest and responsibility in world peace is greater than any of their political interests. It is only on this premise that serious negotiations can be based. Herein comes the role of the Afro-Asian uncommitted countries, which have the responsibility of developing good relations between two super Powers and among Big Powers so that the world peace and security, the primary objective of the U. N., is achieved. The peace of world is no longer and can no longer be the concern of only the limited numbers of Big Powers. The world problem equally affects the interest of the big and all other countries. It is not only the right but also the duty of the small and medium size countries of Asia and Africa to be actively and directly concerned with the crucial world problems and to influence their solutions.

Smallness and greatness of a country is not determined by their size and population. The world may be broadly divided into two categories—"have" and "have not" nations. Those are "have-not" nations which are undeveloped and under-developed, which are economically dependent, technologically backward, militarily inferior, politically captive, socially enslaved and atomically unequipped. There are only a few nations in the U.N. which are economically, technologically, politically, militarily and atomically advanced. In between the two there are such nations which though they are not militarily and atomically advanced, are economically well off and are allied militarily to great and

ROLE OF THE AFRO-ASIAN STATES

super Powers, and have no independent policy of their own. The number of "have-not" nations in the beginning of the U.N. was very small. About a dozen of Asian and African countries and about twenty Latin American countries were under this category. Slowly and gradually, the members of the U.N. began to be divided into several groups and blocs. Important among those were Western group, Soviet bloc, East European bloc, Commonwealth group, Scandinavian group, Asian group, Arab group, African group, Latin American group etc. Broadly speaking all the members of the U.N. may be divided into five groups viz Western group, Soviet bloc, Latin American group, Afro-Asian group and a few of those nations which are not members of any one of these groups. Members of the Afro-Asian group are economically, politically, technologically, militarily and atomically backward. Though most of them depend upon the major and super Powers for economic, military and technical aid, large number of them have no active military alliance with any super Power. Majority of them were the colonies of Western Powers. Those nations may be called uncommitted nations which try to hold independent views on the world problems and do not depend upon super Powers for their guidance in taking important decisions in the U.N. Numerically they have out-numbered the Western group and the Soviet bloc in the U.N. Out of 115 members of the U.N. sixty one are from Asia and Africa.

The main aim of these small uncommitted nations particularly from Asia and Africa is to make the world understand that its members are struggling simply for their own decent existence, for their material develop-

ment, for human liberty, fundamental freedom and equality with distinction in this fast changing world. They are struggling to secure justice for the poor, the sick, the dispossessed, the ever neglected, the suppressed, the exploited and helpless people of the world. They are also struggling for maintaining their dignity, complete freedom, happy and just life and also in defence of their right of sovereignty. They are determined to make the great forces yield to right. The actual equilibrium of the world as the Afro-Asian nations believe, cannot be obtained as long as the world is divided between rich and poor, free and dependent, exploiters and exploited nations. To the strife-torn-world, the small uncommitted nations of Asia and Africa which are comparatively more undeveloped, extend their hands of friendship to all and make it clear that man must learn to live together otherwise alternative to co-existence would be co-extinction. They proclaimed their desire in the Bandung conference to come together in a spirit of brotherliness despite the diversity of their opinions. The major theme of the Afro-Asian nations became—"Live and let live in unity in diversity", "friends to all, enemy to none" and "malice towards none and charity to all."

It is from this point of view that the role of the Afro-Asian States is judged in the U.N. Peace, an indivisible factor of life, has been in constant danger because of nuclear development. The world community has been conscious of the threat of total annihilation. The U.N. became the only hope which could promote the cause of peace and security. The role of the smaller uncommitted Afro-Asian States

in maintaining peace and security through the instrumentality of the U.N. became vital. Discussions, negotiations, conciliation, mediation, arbitration and persuasion were the technique through which the group sought to secure peace and security. They realize that in a world where the possibility of total annihilation had increased, stern steps must be ruled out. Even small nations such as Israel and South Africa, Cuba and Portugal could not be forced to implement U.N. decisions. Everything is to be done primarily by politics of influence.

The Afro-Asian nations try to actualize the above ideas in the U.N. They try to use the U.N. as an instrument for finding peaceful solutions to the various problems. They offer themselves to the U.N. to be used as an instrument for preventing a situation where the major and super Powers could clash and engage in conflagration. They have intense desire for peace, their approach is pacific and their instrument is the U.N. Assembly. They try to avoid any extreme measure against anyone of the member States. They know it well that solution of any major world problem or maintenance of peace and security cannot be achieved unless major and super Powers come to an agreement.

They avoid to condemn any of the member States because condemnation or any hard measure against any member State would vitiate the atmosphere and reduce the chances of the solution of any major problem. They try to bring rapprochement among major and super powers. These Afro-Asian nations, with a few exceptions are committed neither to the East nor to the West but they are committed only to the right and just solution of any problem. They

do not like to deviate from the Charter principle. They try to be moderate in their attitude, sober in behaviour and realistic in their approach to the solution of a problem.

The Afro-Asian nations feel that disarmament was essential for maintaining peace and security in the world. They know that it is time to return to the commonsense conclusion that peace and security can not be achieved without first reaching agreement between the East and the West to halt the arms race. The arms race not only feeds on itself but creates in every country an attitude of mind which makes agreement impossible. They believe and practice to materialize their feelings that time has come for statesmen to say firmly that they do not believe in an indefinite continuation of the delicate "balance of terror." The balance seems to be a purely theoretical conception when considered in the light of the political reality that neither the U. S. nor the Soviet Union would deliberately seek a nuclear war, though they may be plunged into one by accident, and a sensible course [is to try to prevent accidents by limiting the arms race and reducing the areas of dispute.

The Afro-Asian nations followed the above mentioned principle in some important world problems like Suez, Hungary, the Lebanon and the Congo. In all four cases the world peace and security was threatened. But the Afro-Asian nations, in almost all cases displayed their role with utmost patience, maintained discipline in behaviour, showed their sense of moderation and reason during the consideration of those questions in the U. N. They avoided to condemn Britain, France and Israel in case of Suez, Belgium in the case of the Congo⁷ and to the U. S. A. in case of Lebanon. But they held them guilty for their interference in the

respective countries. They held the Soviet Union guilty for its interference in the internal affairs of Hungary but always cautioned the Western Powers against taking such action against a super and sovereign Power which was not acceptable to it. They always tried to avoid taking any coercive measure against a sovereign country because the solution of those problems could be brought only through their co-operation.

The uncommitted Afro-Asian members never hesitate in accusing any great or Super Power when they are found guilty. Knowing it well that they have to depend upon the great Powers for economic, technical and military aid, they do not allow themselves to blindly follow the great Powers. They apply reason and follow the principle of moderation in taking decisions on international problems. The Afro-Asian members were united against Britain, France and Israel for their intervention in Egypt in 1956.

They did not hesitate to accuse the U. S. A. for its intervention in the Lebanon in 1958 and two years later they adopted a similar attitude towards Belgian intervention in the Congo. Sometimes the Afro-Asian members are accused to be pro-Soviet. But their stern attitude against the Soviet intervention in Hungary in October, 1956, their disapproval of the Soviet suggestion to hold Dag Hammarskjöld, then the Secretary General, responsible for confusing the Congo case and for the failure of the U. N. in the Congo prove that they are not necessarily pro-Soviet. A more effective example of their impartial behaviour was their refusal to accept Soviet proposal to remove Dag Hammarskjöld, from his post and to establish a troika

as the U. N. executive. A close analysis of the behaviour of the Afro-Asian members in all those cases show that they are neither pro-Soviet nor pro-West but they are committed to the just solution of world problems. By adopting the realistic attitude they not only help the just solution of the problems but they are immensely helpful in the very survival of the U. N.

The Afro-Asian members held a similar attitude on other important world problems like colonial questions and the practice of racial discrimination in South Africa by the South African Government. They feel that liquidation of colonialism in its many forms and manifestations is the primary condition for the reconstruction of a new society. They want colonial Powers to recognise the fact that colonialism and imperialism can be no longer tolerated. They made it clear on several occasions that complete liquidation of colonialism was essential for maintaining stable peace in the world. So, they always demanded the rapid liquidation of colonialism and opposed colonial powers for their slow movement towards the liquidation of colonialism. They fight colonialism on ideological, political, economic and humanitarian grounds and regard it as a cruel and degrading system which violates the people's basic human rights.

Almost all colonial cases coming up in the U. N. were brought by the Afro-Asian members. Questions like Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, West Irian, South West Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia, Congo etc. are its best examples. They not only brought those cases in the U. N. but they had active participation in discussions on those problems. They influenced the other members of the U. N. to take favourable

decisions towards the liquidation of colonialism. Most of the resolutions brought up before the U. N. regarding the colonial questions were from the Afro-Asian members. Certainly they could not succeed to bring favourable changes in some of the colonial countries like South West Africa, Angola, Mozambique, and Southern Rhodesia but nobody can deny the fact that in the U. N. they have succeeded in getting their resolutions adopted favourably on those questions. Though they have failed in certain cases to bring favourable changes in colonial countries they are confident enough that the delay in liquidating colonialism is only a matter of time. In spite of their failure in some of their attempts they have succeeded to isolate those obstinate colonial Powers in the world politics who refuse to obey the U. N. resolutions.

The members of the Afro-Asian States hold a similar attitude towards the question of racial discrimination particularly in South Africa. They regard it as a most degrading system and a stigma on human civilization and a stark violation of U. N. Charter on Human Rights. Similar to the colonial questions, the question of the racial discrimination in South Africa was brought up before the U. N. only by the members of the Afro-Asian states. They take active part in the discussions of the problem and have succeeded to get their resolutions passed in the U. N. against the South African Government. Though they have not succeeded to bring change in the stern attitude of the South African Government, they certainly isolated it in world politics and have created such a circumstance in which even its old allies viz the U. K. the U. S. A. and France have begun speaking and

taking action against its obstinate behaviour.

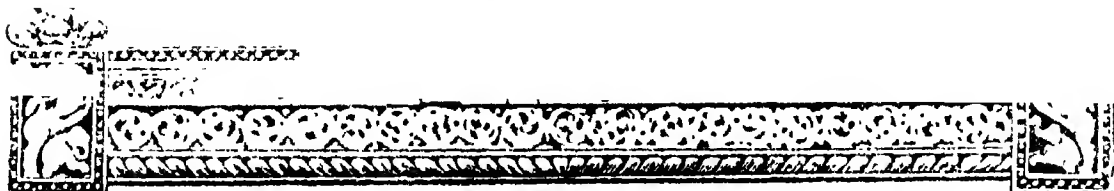
They like the U. N. to be the most effective organ for maintaining peace and security in the world. They favour the U. N. to be more effective to safeguard the rights of the weaker and smaller nations. And that is why it was only on the initiative of the members of the Afro-Asian States that the U. N. was authorised to interfere in the internal affairs of a sovereign country both in cases of civil war situations and external attacks on it.

Such power was given to the U. N. during the Congo Crisis. By giving such powers to the U. N., the Afro-Asian States gave actual power to the U. N. and helped it to develop as a super state. The U. N. is more essential for them because it protects them from the coercive measures of the great Powers. The U. N. proved to be helpful for the Afro-Asian States particularly in cases of Suez, the Lebanon, the Congo, Cyprus etc. where it actively safeguarded the interests of the Afro-Asian States. Afro-Asians require the U. N. for their economic, technical, cultural and educational advancement. They require it for improving their health, their communication, and on the whole their general condition of life. But for all these benefits they fought against their under representation in the principal organs of the U. N. They protested that the U. N. to be a living organism should be represented on geographical and population basis. They argued that the enlargement of the security Council and Ecosoc was essential because maintenance of peace and security and economic development programmes were more required by the Afro-Asian States and unless they were reasonably represented their in-

terest could not be safeguarded. The U. N. is primarily meant for Afro-Asian States which was accepted indirectly by the late Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld who remarked in 1960: "It is not the Soviet Union or the other Big Powers who need the United Nations for their protection. It is the others. In this sense the organization is their organization, and I deeply believe in the wisdom in which they will be able to use it and guide it." The decisive roll of the Afro-Asian members in the U. N. may be judged by the decisions taken by the Secretary-General in cases of Suez, the Lebanon and the Congo crisis when he openly declared that the U. N. troops in those cases would be constituted not from the Big Powers but only from the uncommitted smaller nations i.e. the Afro-Asian States.

Their effective role in the U. N. may be judged by their successful attempts to bring solutions of many of the major world problems. There is no tinge of doubt to say that the role of the Afro-Asian members in the U. N. is decisive because they maintain balance of power by possessing numerical superiority. They not only utilize the U. N.

for their own interest but they are equally alert to see it alive and strong. That is why their role becomes decisive when Big Powers clash with each other or create deadlock. They contributed towards strengthening the U. N. by adopting the "Uniting for peace Resolution," and rejecting the Soviet proposal in 1960 to remove Dag Hammarskjöld from the post of Secretary Generalship and to establish troika as the U. N. executive. They also strengthened the U. N. by submitting resolutions in case of the Congo to give teeth to the U. N. Though the Afro-Asian States are numerically superior in the U. N. they are conscious not to misuse their privileged position. If the U. N. is said to be primarily meant for the Afro-Asian States, its existence also depends upon them. Thus, the relation between the U. N. and the Afro-Asian states has been the relation of interdependence. By playing the role of mediator one of their most significant contributions in the U. N. has been to lessen the tension between the two super Powers and among the great Powers, which was essential for the maintenance of world peace and security, the primary objective of the U. N.



JAWAHARLAL NEHRU : HIS MANY CONTRIBUTIONS TO INDIA AND THE WORLD

NARAYAN HAZARY

"Eleven years younger than me, eleven times more important for the Nation, and eleven hundred times more beloved of the nation..."¹ said Chakravarty Rajagopala Chari over the death of Jawaharlal Nehru. What a tribute to pay! One gasped for breath to realise its significance. With the death of India's first Prime Minister on 27th May, 1964 an epoch in our country's history came to a close. It will take future historians years to adequately explain and accurately evaluate all that Nehru has done for the 500 million people he loved more than anything else and who in turn showered upon him a degree of love and affection rarely equalled in human history. President Radhakrishnan described him as—"incomparably the greatest figure after Gandhi in our history."² His was a many splendoured life, gloriously lived. His was the many-sided role of a revolutionary and a builder, a nationalist and an internationalist, a democrat and a socialist. Nehru brought to India the Renaissance of Italy, the Reformation of Germany, the Revolution of France and the Democracy of Britain. He brought India into the modern age with his emphasis on democracy, secularism, socio-economic justice and scientific spirit. He had begun not one but several revolutions in this country which were still in progress.

* FIGHTER FOR FREEDOM

Nehru's entire life was a saga of fighting against foreign domination in our land. During

the Indian Independence struggle, under the aegis of the Indian National Congress he played an illustrious role. In 1929, in the Lahore session of the Congress, he was elected President. In commending him to the people, Gandhiji wrote of him in terms of the highest praise: "He is pure as crystal. He is truthful beyond suspicion. He is a Knight sans Peur sans reproche. The nation is safe in his hands."³ That year under his Presidentship the Independence Resolution was passed. He helped make India's freedom struggle a spearhead of the struggle for World freedom. He became President again in 1936, 1946 and from 1951 to 1954. He became indispensable to the Congress. When he passed away, the A. I. C. C. paid a glowing tribute: "After Mahatmaji passed away, Jawaharlalji has been the Indian National Congress and indeed India...He was a philosopher who inspired us and a friend who guided us."⁴

MAKER OF MODERN INDIA

As a fighter for freedom he was illustrious as a maker of modern India his services were unparalleled. India was fortunate to have such a man for its leader during the formative period of nationhood. He was the "Guiding genius" of our democratic republic for 17 years. He saved and preserved Indian Unity from powerful divisive forces of language, religion, region and caste. One of Nehru's outstanding contributions to the building up of free India was the sense of unity and

stability that he has given to the administration.

His path as a nation-builder in the early years of Indian nationhood was beset with fantastic difficulties and formidable challenges.

Inside the country, Nehru's Government had a series of trials to face. They were the crisis in Hyderabad and Kashmir and the prolonged and heartbreaking refugee problem. Though the French enclaves were amenable to recovery, the Portuguese ones were to remain in alien hands for 14 years, until there was no alternative to a military solution. Linguistic and other forms of sectarianism raised their heads from the South to Naga land, sometimes accompanied with grave results. But Nehru's Ministry—though like all Ministries, open to criticism in detail—managed to maintain and expand democracy at a time, when neighbouring countries had the greatest difficulty in keeping it alive at all. He and his colleagues launched the most ambitious scheme of industrial and social development India has ever known, embodied in three Five Year Plans. In the fields of power, irrigation, heavy industries, communications etc. some rapid strides were taken but his government left over the problems of food shortages, high prices, unemployment, no appreciable advance in the realm of land reforms, which still bedevil us.

None-the-less no one can deny that Modern India was the greatest monument to the late Prime Minister. He worked hard, even 16 hours a day, with a consuming passion to realise his dream of a progressive and prosperous India. He was never tired of saying, "Tomorrow's India will be what we make it by today's labours." He had

great faith in the destiny of his country and people. "If I were convinced that the people of India were worthless, I would not bother to work for them," Jawahar'ul once remarked to a close colleague. "But my country's history tells me that India has been and is a great country. She has undergone vast historical changes and produced many great men." So he died working for this great nation.

DEMOCRAT OUT AND OUT

History had selected India as one of democracy's chief testing grounds. Nehru did his best to meet this challenge. He made India democratic, the only live and effectively functioning parliamentary democracy between Tunis and Tokyo. When one sees the debris of democratic institutions from Ghana to Indonesia, India's success with democracy is astounding. No one can gainsay the fact that Nehru's leadership has provided the anchorage for stabilising democracy in India. His love for the spirit of democracy and the institutions through which it finds expression gave them an indisposible period of comparative stability during the first 17 years of independent India. This helped parliamentary democracy to strike here considerably deeper roots than in almost any other country that became free after the Second World War. Thus India was turned into a bastion of freedom in the whole of Asia and Africa.

Inder Malhotra rightly remarked, "Above all it was Mr. Nehru's liberalism, his tolerance of dissent, his utter unwillingness—some say innate incapacity to misuse the limitless power bestowed upon him by a loving people which made so many freedoms possible and India a place worth living in :

something to be proud of and thankful for in a region where it is becoming bad form to mention the word democracy without the qualifying prefix 'Controlled' or 'guided'."6

Nehru's conception of democracy was a broad one. He believed that freedom was essential for the individual to attain his best. But freedom without economic security had little meaning. Liberty was incomplete without equality i. e. social as well as economic. He had implicit faith in representative government, based on popular sovereignty and was of the view that democracy to be successful must be accompanied by tolerance and social-discipline.

HARBINGER OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC REVOLUTION

Nehru's was the pioneering effort of India's exciting experience in planned economic development with a bias for pragmatic rather than doctrinaire socialism. He set before the country the inspiring objective of a socialist society—a great social transformation with an open society.

He said, "Socialism is thus for me not merely an economic doctrine which I favour : it is a vital creed which I hold with all my head and heart." To him, 'socialism is after all not only a way of life, but a certain scientific approach to social and economic problems.'7

In Nehru's scheme of socialism there was place for individual freedom, freedom for enterprise and possession of private property on a restricted scale. For him there was no inherent contradiction between socialism and individualism. He never felt it necessary to ignore or sacrifice the individual for the sake of the community. His

ideal was a society where the good of each could contribute to the good of all. He firmly believed democracy and socialism could co-exist. He once wrote to Subhas Chandra Bose, "I hope that socialism does not kill or suppress individuality indeed I am attracted to it because it will release innumerable individuals from economic and cultural bondage."8

But now the question before him was how to bring socialism i. e. betterment of living standards of the people as quickly as possible. He found planning as the only tool available.

After he came to power, he was determined in planning for welfare, and the Planning Commission was created in March, 1950 with Nehru as its Chairman. He strived for a planned economic development with a bias for pragmatic socialism. He and his colleagues launched the most ambitious scheme of economic and social development, India has ever known, embodied—in the three Five Year Plans. The Plan became an instrument to raise the standard of living of the people, to reduce economic disparity among the people and open out to the people new opportunities for a richer, fuller and happier life.

He was specially interested in the drafting of the Directive Principles, since it had always been an article of faith with him that political democracy was incomplete without economic and social democracy. Thus Nehru was aiming at Democratic Socialism where there was increasing production, full employment, no exploitation, equality of opportunity, freedom and the possibility for everyone to live a good life. In independent India, he was attempting to prove that

an economic and social revolution built on the utilitarian principle of the greatest good of the greatest number, was possible without violence or class conflict.

A SECULAR MIND

An important contribution that Nehru made to the building of the Indian nation consists in the development of a tradition of secularism in public life. India faced a unique problem in this respect. While an overwhelming proportion of her people are Hindu, there is a fairly large number nearly fifty-five million of them who subscribe to Islam. At the height of bitterness caused by partition, indeed amidst the worst communal carnage, he laid the foundations of a secular policy ; something he strove to strengthen and consolidate all his life.

It was necessary to ensure that within each community the stranglehold of religious prejudice was relaxed so as to make room for the growth of free society. Nehru by cultivating a rational and scientific attitude to problems encouraged the above.

As Norman, D. Palmer put it : "To him the concept of the secular state, one of his greatest contributions, was not only a way of avoiding the excesses of religious fanaticism ; it was an article of faith, a logical consequence of his own rationalism and humanism."⁹

The Indian constitution is to a great extent because of his inspiration based on secularism and we consider India to be par excellence a secular State. Today strict adherence to the principle of secularism is the sheet-anchor of the Country's ordered life

He was of the opinion that State should

remain strictly neutral among the various religions prevalent in the country. The State protects all religions, but does not favour one at the expense of others and does not itself adopt any religion as the State religion.

It means equal respect for all faiths and equal opportunities for all irrespective of the faiths which they profess. The individual has full freedom to profess and practise his religion. All citizens, irrespective of their religions, have to be treated as equal in the eye of law and a man's religion should not be a factor in his eligibility for public office or enjoyment of amenities provided by the State. No person should have any special rights because he adheres to a particular religion ; likewise no person should be deprived of his rights because of his religious affiliation.

PROMOTER OF SCIENTIFIC SPIRIT

Jawaharlal had the temper of a scientist and the mind of an artist. He strove to convert India from a medieval to a modern and progressive society ; to persuade a tradition-bound people to take to technology ; and to spread in a prejudice-ridden country the hope that the scourge of poverty can be banished by the people's productive and hard work. He sought to shake the Indian society out of its age-old lethargy. Social rigidities came in the way of the nation's progress and this always made him impatient. Under his leadership we as a nation, have made considerable headway in emancipating the country from its outworn ideas, social inertia and cultural stagnation. Nehru strove for the cultivation of the scientific outlook and temper, and the promotion of science and reason in the service of an ampler life ; for

the care of children ; for the service of the oppressed ; and for banishing ugliness from our villages and towns. He had before him two ideals : "Those ideals may be classed under two heads ; humanism and the scientific spirit...There is a growing synthesis between humanism and the scientific spirit resulting in a kind of scientific humanism."¹⁰

He used the existing social and political institutions and breathed into them a new spirit, a new vitality. His was a dynamic personality and by his powerful and vibrant voice he created, moulded, inspired and kindled a whole generation of Indians to a loyalty to the first principles of scientific spirit.

A Western observer wrote : "Nehru's greatest contribution to India, has been an intellectual one. Throughout his forty years of political life he tried to create in his countrymen a rational approach to politics and to Government and even to life itself.

In the years prior to independence he wrote and preached that Indians must think about their future themselves in rational and scientific, not in traditional terms. He taught that man is the instrument of his own destiny, and not a toy in the hands of fate."

MAKER OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY

To Nehru, more than to any one man, did the Indian National Congress in pre-independence days owe its international Orientation. During the freedom struggle, if Gandhiji made India aware of herself, Nehru made India aware of others.

When freedom came, Jawaharlal became his own Foreign Minister and took a great interest in external affairs. He was clear in his mind that the foreign policy of a nation must be rooted primarily in what might be described as the principle of enlightened

self-interest. In 1947, speaking in the Constituent Assembly, he boldly proclaimed : "whatever policy you may lay down, the art of conducting the foreign affairs of a country lies in finding out what is most advantageous to the Country."¹¹

The cornerstones of his foreign policy were peace, freedom and justice. He believed in peaceful co-existence and maintenance of friendly relations with other countries. He was opposed to colonialism and racial discrimination. To further such objectives, Nehru followed a policy of non-alignment.

He shunned the power blocks and chalked a new path for the Afro-Asian nations. He realised that alignment with one set of powers or the other only increased tensions and conflicts and widened the area of cold war.

By being uncommitted a nation intimately created a climate of peace. The policy of non-alignment of India did not as some believed, arise from moral obtuseness or opacity, from refusal to judge between right and wrong, or a conscious diplomatic fence sitting with a view to grabbing the maximum aid from the two major camps. In this speech to the House of Representatives during his visit to the United States in 1949, he made it absolutely clear : "where freedom is menaced, or justice threatened or where aggression takes place, we cannot be and shall not be neutral."¹² Yet he reserved to himself the right to "...we wish to judge every issue on its merits and the circumstances then prevailing, then decide what we consider best in terms of world peace or other objectives."¹³

The Policy of non-alignment adopted by Nehru set the pattern for many Governments

including most of the sovereign states of Asia and Africa. Thus he set the pattern for a third of the World. "None in the Afro-Asian family would challenge Mr. Nehru's right to be called the sculptor of the ethics and morality of our part of the World."¹⁴ said the Moroccan representative to the Security Council.

Under Jawaharlal Nehru India played a unique part in interpreting what then seemed to be two divided halves of the World to each other. It seemed as if India was peculiarly positioned to be the link between the East and the West. In this context Attlee paying glowing tribute said, "No man was better qualified to unite the best of the East and the West."¹⁵ President Nasser was no less when he noted, "He interpreted others to Asia and Africa, and interpreted Asia and Africa to others. He was the finest example of mutual interpretation that I have seen."¹⁶

Nehru's Foreign policy was a great success no doubt but it was not an unqualified success. He could maintain good relations with most of the countries except China, Pakistan, South Africa, Portugal etc. Pakistan wanted Kashmir and Kashmir acted as a cancer in Indo-Pak relations. Nehru had gone out of his way to befriend China, but China stabbed India at her back by launching a massive invasion in October, 1962. While India was caught unprepared militarily, Nehru personally was taken wholly unawares on the emotional plane. Much of the edifice he had worked so long and so hard--the edifice of Panch-sheel, that of Bandung crashed around him. He was shocked and disillusioned with the policy of the Peking Government to return evil for good.

A CITIZEN OF THE WORLD

Nehru was a great believer in the concept of one World Community. Few had shown greater faith and allegiance to the Charter of the United Nations than Nehru. Throughout his career he exerted to the utmost for the establishment of accord among nations; peace, goodwill and co-operation among the people of the World, and the well-being of the whole humanity.

Nehru had a love for liberty, not merely for his own people but for all people of the World. He therefore expressed sympathy and support for all liberation movements in Africa, Asia and South America. He believed in the freedom of all without distinction of class, creed or country. He pointed out in his Autobiography: "As peace was said to be indivisible in the present day World, so also freedom was indivisible and the World could not continue long, part free and part unfree."

He was a friend of all peace-loving, justice-loving and freedom-loving people of the World. He wanted to create a richer and happier World to live in. Only a few men in human history can be said to have advanced the cause of civilization through the medium of their lives. Jawaharlal belongs to this legendary handful of the Great whose legacy transcends nationality and time and will continue to illumine the path of humanity for ages to come.

Above all, Nehru was a citizen of the World. His vision of the future embraced the whole humanity. His concern was humanity as a whole. He became in the words of Kingsley Martin—"a symbol to all the World, a symbol of the World we look for, all hope for, which is yet to come."¹⁷

A CHARISMATIC LEADER PAR EXCELLENCE

As a man Nehru was marked by extraordinary charm and a great capacity to elicit love from all with whom he came in contact. Few men in politics had ever been so beloved as Jawaharlal. He was the beloved of the people. The love of the Indian people for him will remain a unique and rare phenomenon in human history. He wrote in his Testament: "Many have been admired, some have been revered, but the affection of all classes of the Indian people has come to me in such abundant measure that I have been overwhelmed by it." He continued, "I do not care what happens to my reputation after I am gone, but if any people choose to think of me, then I should like them to say: This was a man who, with all his mind and heart, loved India and the Indian people and they, in turn, were indulgent to him and gave him of their love most abundantly and extravagantly".¹⁸

A GENTLE COLOSSUS WITH A DISTINGUISHED MIND

Nehru possessed a distinguished mind. He combined a fine sensitivity of mind, a rare delicacy of feeling with large and generous impulses. An artist's sensitiveness distinguished his political acts and utterances. History has rarely brought upon the stage a more perfect specimen artist in the public stage.

He was always conscious of his limitations. In 1938 he wrote a critical article about himself in the *Modern Review* under the pseudonym "Chanakya". "In this revolutionary epoch", said Chanakya about Jawaharlal, "Caesarism is always at the door and is it not possible that Jawaharlal might fancy himself a Caesar? There lies the

danger for Jawaharlal and India."¹⁹ A fantastically bold mind! An unusually critical mind indeed.

The things that Jawaharlal loved and cared for embrace the myriad aspects of man's eternal striving for a freer and fuller life for all. In the midst of a hectic political life that spanned almost half a century, Nehru maintained a surprisingly wide range of interests. He was a lover of children and they brought forth his friendliest smile. He was a lover of animals and birds too. Other interests included swimming, riding, mountaineering, skiing etc. He loved flowers too. Above all, he was a lover of life and laughter.

A MIGHTY PEN

Nehru was not only a maker of history but also a keen student of it. His earliest work is *Letters from a Father to his Daughter*. Soon after followed his *Glimpses of the World history* and its sequel, *The Discovery of India*. In the former the pageant of the past is painted in bold touches on a broad canvass. In the latter he is seen as one of the most perceptive analysts of the trends of Indian history. He reaches his highest achievements in the field of letters in his *Autobiography*. This work of his created world-wide interest when it was published in 1936. "His *Autobiography* which tells the story of his life and struggle without a touch of self pity or moral superiority is one of the most remarkable books of our time," said Dr. Radhakrishnan. Prof. Humayun Kabir maintains. "As a story of India's National struggle, it is unsurpassed, as a sympathetic study into the character of the men who then shaped India's destiny, it

has no equal. A feeling for the drama of life is matched by a deep insight into the motives of men".²⁰ With the Autobiography Nehru has established for himself a permanent position in the World of letters.

PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE

His outlook on life was total and integrated. He did not see the World from rigid angles. That is why he refused to divide the World into two blocs : The capitalist and communist. Stevenson rightly said, "Mr Nehru knew better than most that many of life's great decisions are painted not in black and white but in shades of grey."²¹

Though not a political philosopher in the conventional sense Nehru nevertheless steered his political ideas between idealism and realism, thinking somewhat as a philosopher while working as a politician and distinguishing himself more or less as a philosopher-politician.

A MAN WITH A MESSAGE

He understood the Value of human life. In the Discovery of India, Nehru quoted Lenin : "Man's dearest possession is life, and since it is given to him to live but once he must so live...that dying he can say : All my life and my strength were given to the first cause in the World -the liberation of mankind." How many, in all history, could say this more truthfully than Jawaharlal. His life symbolised a dedication for the welfare of his fellowmen. It combined intense activity with vision. "He was one of those rare personalities in public life who combine intense activity with vision and detachment," said Krishna Menon. Here was a man who symbolized action itself. That was his message.

President Rajendra Prasad once very feelingly put, "All in all, here is a man the like of whom treads this earth but rarely and only in a crisis. He has been born and has lived in a critical period in India's history, and has played his part nobly and well." Jawaharlal Nehru was India's answer to the momentous days before and after Independence. He played a fateful role in the freedom struggle as well as building modern India. It may take decades, nay centuries before such a Prime Minister is born.

1. Chakravorty Rajagopalachari (A Study of Nehru, Ed. Rafiq Zakaria, Jaico, 1959 P. 500.)

2. President Radhakrishnan, Statesman, May 28, 1965.

3. Quoted in Frank Moraes's Jawaharlal Nehru, Jaico, 1959 P. 141.)

4. Tribute by A.I.C.C., August 30 1964

5. Quoted in Frank Moraes's Jawaharlal Nehru, page 126.

6. Inder Malhotra, Statesman May, 1964.

7. Jawaharlal Nehru, The Basic Approach (Jawaharlal Nehru : A critical tribute, Ed A. B. Shah, 1956 P. 122)

8. Letter to Subhas Chandra Bose-April 3, 1939.

9. Norman C. Palmer, Jawaharlal Nehru & Modern India, (Ed, A. B. Shah P. P. 62-69)

10. Discovery of India, Page 573.

11. Quoted in Frank Moraes's-Jawaharlal Nehru Page, 440.

12. Address to the House of Representatives, October 1949 ; Ibid, 445.
13. Talks with Nehru, Norman Cousins. 1959, Page 52.
14. Ahmad Ruchina, Statesman June, 1964.
15. Earl Attlee, Ibid.
16. President Nasser, Where Two Worlds Meet (Ed. Rafiq Zakaria, Page. 80)
17. Kingsley Martin, Statesman, June, 1964.
18. Will and Testament of Nehru, (Ed. Rafiq Zakaria. P. P. 491-2.)
19. No Caesarism, Chanakya (Ed. A. B. Shah P. 114)
20. Humayun Kabir, Nehru, The Man and the Writer (Ed. A. B. Shah P. 58)
21. Stevenson, Statesman, June, 1964.

EMERGENCE OF PRIMEMINISTERIAL GOVERNMENT IN INDIA

DIPAK B. R. CHAUDHURI

In their report on the Machinery of the Union Government, the Hanumanthaiya Commission on Administrative Reforms have used the old and hackneyed phrase 'primus inter pares' to describe the Prime Minister (Chap II). A recent study of the British Constitution states : "From the point of view of political power, the phrase *primus inter pares* is unsatisfactory and ambiguous ; if it means that all ministers including the Prime Minister are equal, then it is obviously wrong but if it means that all ministers except the Prime Minister, are equal it is nearer the truth. (J. S. Dugdale, the British Constitution). Peter G. Richards observes in his book 'Patronage in British Government' that *primus inter pares* is "a serious under estimate of the Prime Minister's position."

This under-estimate of the position of the

Prime Minister and over estimate of the cabinet system have misled the A. R. C. and caused lengthy deliberations on such subjects like the numerical strength of the cabinet or the allocation of portfolios and departments etc.

There seems to have been three stages in the modern evolution of British government. Until the middle of the 19th century, the first stage—the government was assumed to be the Crown, Lords and the Commons. From then until World War II, it was assumed to refer to the ministry alone and the term 'Cabinet Government' tended to replace 'Parliamentary Government', (a distinction sometimes being drawn between the Government i. e. Cabinet and British Government, i. e. the political system). Cabinet and parliamentary government is supposed to be distinguished from presidential government

by the fact that the government is individually and collectively responsible i. e. dependent on the goodwill of the legislature.

The Bagehot-Morley formulation laid down four principal features of the Cabinet Government: collective responsibility, the responsibility which each minister shares with all other members of the government for anything of high importance that is done in every other branch of public business besides his own; answerability to the majority in the lower House and 'ultimately to the electors whose will create that majority'; selection exclusively from one party 'except under uncommon, peculiar and transitory circumstances'; and lastly the 'exceptional and peculiar authority' of the Prime Minister, 'the keystone of the cabinet arch', who although formally chosen by the Crown is in practice, 'the man who is designated by the acclamation of the party majority.'

In recent years there has been a tendency to consider even the term 'cabinet government' a misnomer, and to stress the role of the Prime Minister. For example, since 1918 the Prime Minister alone has recommended to the Sovereign the dissolution of Parliament. A historical study of the development of the British system reveals an increase in the authority of the Prime Minister and a form of Cabinet organisation whose place in the process of decision making deviated from the model of older books and textbooks.

The notion that the Cabinet's distinctive character is its sense of collective responsibility has been criticised, instead it is urged, the Prime Minister plays a quasi-Presidential role with the ministers feeling responsible for the conduct of their departments

more to him than to the lower House. The failure of the modern House to pass a vote of censure on the Government or even to cause the dismissal of a minister suggests to some that collective responsibility is as out of date as impeachment is in both the United States and the United Kingdom. Ministers lose their jobs and their salaries because the Prime Minister dismisses them.

In 1963, Mr. H. S. Crossman gave the interpretation extra impetus in his introduction to the Fontana edition of Bagehot's 'The English Constitution'. He further developed the conclusions emerging out of the earlier historical study by another former cabinet minister Mr. John P. Mackintosh and commented "with the coming of Prime Ministerial Government the Cabinet, in obedience to the law that Bagehot discovered joins the other dignified elements in the Constitution". The Prime Minister "is now the apex not only of a highly centralized political machine but also an equally centralized and vastly more powerful administrative machine. In both these machines, loyalty has become the supreme virtue, and independence of thought a dangerous adventure."

Sir Anthony Eden, a former British Prime Minister said: "A Prime Minister is still nominally *primus inter pares*, but in fact his authority is stronger than that. The right to choose his colleagues, to ask for a dissolution of Parliament and, if he is a Conservative, to appoint the chairman of the party organisation, add up to a formidable total of power."

Lord Herbert Morrison, whose political career took him upto the Deputy Premier-

ship, however, rates the Prime Minister as essentially a coordinating minister whose position differs only in degree from that of non departmental ministers like the Lord President of the Council. Morrison like Atlee opposed the attempt of the Labour Party organisation to dominate over the Parliamentary Labour Party. He describes the cabinet as the executive committee of the whole Parliament and not of the ruling party or coalition though choice of cabinet colleagues limited to members of the ruling party or coalition (Laski lecture, Ahmedabad 1961)

But elsewhere, Morrison mentions that there is an element of hierarchy or status among ministers, and he describes how ministers all gather in the hallway of no. 10, Downing Street and chat informally till the Cabinet Secretary or the Prime Minister invites them to enter the Cabinet room and take their seats. The person for whom they have all been waiting is not just another coordinating minister.

Mr. Mackintosh summarised the post-1930 British position in the following lines in his study published in 1962 :

"Now the country is governed by the Prime Minister who leads, coordinates and maintains a series of ministers, all of whom are advised and backed by civil service. Some decisions are taken by the Premier alone, some in consultation between him and the senior minister, while others are left to heads of departments, the Cabinet, Cabinet committees or the permanent officials. Of these bodies, the cabinet holds the central position because, although it does not often initiate policy, or govern in that sense, most decisions pass through it or are repor-

ted to it, and Cabinet ministers can complain that they have not been informed or consulted. The precise amount of power held by each agency, and the use made of the cabinet depends on the ideas of the Premier, and the personnel and situation with which he has to deal."

The real issue here is that in the earlier period all such questions could be and usually were talked over and settled in Cabinet while recently some important measures and policies such as 1914 Education Bill and the Munich and Suez negotiations either were not put to the Cabinet or were referred to it simply for confirmation. Again, to state in the language of Mr. Crossman "a British Prime Minister is now entitled on really momentous decisions to act first, and then to face his Cabinet with the choice between collective obedience or the political wilderness"

Anyone selected for the highest political office has to be a man of parts, though it has been suggested that he should be "an uncommon man of common opinions". Not all Prime Ministers seem to have been fitted for their task, but certainly all of them have had to pass one important test ; the day-to-day scrutiny of their motives and behaviour by fellow members of Parliament before they were elected to the leadership of their party. All Prime Ministers, unlike many U. S. Presidents, have served a long apprenticeship in the legislature and have been ministers in previous cabinets.

It is at this point, when we ask the simple question : what are the statutory duties and responsibilities of the Prime Minister. For whereas, the duties of the President are laid down in the Constitution,

the powers of the Prime Minister are almost nowhere spelled out.

The Prime Minister has four main areas of responsibility. He is the head of the Government; he speaks for the Government in Parliament; he is the link between the Government and the President of the Republic; and he is the chief executive, chief legislator, and chief administrator.

The executive power of the Indian Union, according to constitutional specification, is vested in the President and is to be exercised by him either directly or through appropriate subordinate office within the Government (art. 53). To "aid and advise the President in the exercise of his functions", the Constitution provides for a Council of Ministers, with the Prime Minister at its head (art. 74). The President appoints the Prime Ministers with the advice of the latter—the other ministers. Individual ministers hold office during the pleasure of the President, but the Council is held collectively responsible to the House of the People. The leadership of the Prime Minister is accepted as in practice—the President despite his designation as repository of all executive power—leaves the functions of the government to the Council of Ministers in a fashion paralleling that of the British Crown.

As head of the Government, the Prime Minister has the power to recommend the appointment and dismissal of all ministers of various grades. Far from being equal, he or she is the dominant figure. The Council of Ministers never meet formally; the Cabinet (a term, nowhere mentioned in the Constitution) is itself legally a Committee comprising of all senior ministers. Perhaps owing to American influence and the demand

of the contemporary situation, the Cabinet Secretariat and the Prime Minister's Secretariat are becoming increasingly important both in U. K. and India and there are signs that the Prime Minister is no longer content to be aided by non-political civil servants. There is little doubt constitutionally that if he chooses and (if he is able), the Indian Prime Minister can be in complete command of his ministry.

Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri succeeded Pandit Nehru as the Chief Executive if not as the leader of the nation. He proved himself master of his own government though selected by a consensus and not really through an uncontested election. He felt little necessity to include the rival leader Mr. Morarji Deesai and his followers in the Cabinet. During the Kutch negotiations, Indo-Pak ceasefire agreement of 1965, in resisting the attack of the organisational bosses against his Home Minister and in compelling Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari to leave the ministry for the second time, he exhibited remarkable leadership. He was far from being a dependent on the patronage of the syndicate of the organisational bosses. Mr. Shastri had also his inner Cabinet of senior ministers and personal counsellors. Many policy decisions were taken without waiting for formal discussion and approval by the Cabinet.

At the time of election of Shastri as the Leader of the Congress Party in Parliament the then Congress Organisation Chief Kamraj said: "It is impossible for anyone to fill the role of the great departed leader, and yet we have to shoulder the responsibility that has come to us. The responsibility cannot be discharged individually by anybody. It is with collective responsibility, collective

leadership and collective approach alone we can undertake this task before us." This statement naturally created the impression that Shastri would be just one among the equals in the Cabinet and in the Congress Highcommand.

But to one of his biographers, Shastri told: "I can say without any disrespect to any other colleague that I have not consulted a single person in so far as the formation of my Cabinet was concerned. Even additions and alterations were my own. In the matter of Ministers of my Government I have been secretive. With apologies to my colleagues, I want to keep this to myself in future also, if and when the occasion arises. It is but natural that I should take the whole responsibility for this on my shoulders."

The most conspicuous example of Prime Minister Shastri's mastery of his own ministry and the government is regarding official policy on manufacture of nuclear weapons. When early in October, 1964, Communist China exploded the first nuclear bomb, Indian public opinion was greatly alarmed and naturally it was thought that so vital an issue would be carefully examined in all its aspects by the Cabinet. But it was not. Shastri declared that it would not be in the interest of India to produce the bomb because it would be against the principles of Gandhi and Nehru. Our resources are meagre; he suggested that Chinese threat should be countered by intensifying the campaign against nuclear weapons. Shastri went on reiterating the view for several weeks. On Nov. 23, 1964, he made the disclosure that the Cabinet had not yet discussed the situation arising from the Chinese explosion of nuclear weapon.

In fact, the so-called weakening of the cabinet system started in India after the

Chinese aggression in 1962 since when the Emergency Committee of the Cabinet started working like the war Cabinet of the British Government bypassing the full cabinet and the standing committees of the Cabinet. During Shastri regime, the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs did not meet for a single time. Many economic policy decisions were taken by the Prime Minister alone or in consultation with the Emergency Committee during periods not exactly of crisis or emergency.

Many difficulties that India encountered in recent years compelled the Prime Minister to take a forceful action personally. The very nature of modern government with its complexity may make the presidential mode of operation the most practical one, particularly for a developing country confronted with enemies and saboteurs.

The acid test of a political system, it must be remembered, is not whether ministers are supposed to act collectively and responsively but whether they in fact do act.

Parliamentary sovereignty, not popular sovereignty or the separation of power or the dominance of single-party cabinet is the most important principle of British and Indian constitution. This is not Presidential Government because the Premier can, in exceptional circumstances, be removed and he will collapse if deserted by all his colleagues or by his party. The mightiest weapons of the Prime Minister is his prerogative to advise the President of the Republic (unlike State Chief Minister giving such advice to the state governors), to dissolve the Lok Sabha and seek fresh mandate for his government.

A high-level document prepared during the last year's crisis in Madhya Pradesh confirms this right of the leader of the nation.

A CASE FOR INDIAN BOXING

"LEGER"

As time moves on, with one Olympiad following another, unrealistic thinking by India's Ministry of Education and Olympic Association persists in the affairs of the Country's sport. Time and again, the shadow and not the substance has been grasped by giving first thought to Foreign Exchange instead of to justifiable representation at the Games. World track and field records established at the recently concluded XIX Olympiad proved further the futility of the continuing participation of the country's athletes in a world meet, but will it serve as a lesson for our sports overlords?

An immediate contrition on the part of the Ministry of Education and Olympic association concerned is imperative so as to help coming out of the rut. MEA CULPA needs to be meaningfully uttered with the express intent to avoid further bungling and scrappy planning. Unless lessons taught are accepted as lessons learnt finality will be at a discount.

India's boxing has date to boast, but strangely for the last 16 years this branch has been regularly treated as the orphan sport in the country. Immediately following the 1952 Olympic Games at Helsinki no less a person than Lt-Col. R. H. Russell, the current president of the Association Internationale De Boxe Amateur, observed that although no Indian boxer had won a medal at Helsinki, his performance in the ring indicated that Indian boxing had reached world class.

In 1957, in the South East Asia boxing championships held at Rangoon six national contingents, including Australia, Japan and the Philippines, took part and India finished

on top. Through heavy weight Mange Ram, middle weight Hari Singh and light weight Sunder Rao, India won three gold medals. L. "Buddy" D' Souza (light middle weight) and Devadanam (fly weight) earned silver medals, while the recipients of bronze medals were Sam Raj (light-welter weight), Sarwan Singh (feather weight) and Sami Khatau (bantam weight). In the semi-final round Sunder Rao in a titanic contest out pointed the Australian J. Leckie, a bronze medalist in the Olympic Games staged at Melbourne in the previous year.

Then followed the winning of a silver medal by Hari Singh in the 1958 Commonwealth Games at Cardiff. On medical grounds he could not contest the final. A Red Letter year for Indian boxing was in store in 1962 competing in the Asian Games at Djakarta. Padam Bahadur Mall did not only annex the light weight championship, but also received the award of another gold medal for being declared the best boxer in Asia. In addition, silver and bronze medals were earned by L. B. D'Souza and middle weight S. N. Sarkar. In the following year Mall and Sarkar scored a silver medal each in the Olympic sports week held at Tokyo.

In July, 1965, Indian boxers in fly weight P. Jadhav, bantam weight N. More, feather weight Denis Swamy, light weight G. Ranjan, light welter weight K. Lall, welter weight S. Bhosle and light middle weight L. "Buddy" D' Souza notched a gold medal each in the Inter Nation boxing meet against Ceylon, at Colombo. D' Souza knocked out an opponent who had won a silver medal at the Asian boxing championships held at Seoul. In August, 1966, our boxers participated in

the Commonwealth Games at Kingston and in December in the Asian Games at Bangkok. At the Kingston venue Namdeo More and Swami received bronze medals. More was considered as being very unlucky not to clinch the decision in his semi-final encounter against the Irish opponent. At Bangkok, heavy weight Hawa Singh slammed the opposition and More obtained a silver medal.

Thus, Indian boxing can boast of a proud record but funnily at the finalising stage of the Indian Contingent for the XIX Olympiad was considered to be sub-standard by the so-called dictators of the sport in this country. In this context, should the Union Government's decision to bestow the Arjuna Award on the three boxers, L. "Buddy" D. Souza, Padam Bahadur Mall and Hawa Singh, be accepted as a mere tamasha ?

FREEDOM ALL ROUND

There is happily a great longing for political freedom in the country. At this juncture no one should forget that free, political institutions presuppose the existence of free, unbending, courageous spirits. The nursery for such souls is such a socio-religious polity and such a society in conformity to it as would not hamper the free development of the personality of anybody in any direction and to any extent. Indian society is not yet such a society. Its women and its "inferior" castes do not in practice enjoy the right of free development of personality in all directions. Society does not yet concede to some castes in some places even the elementary rights of humanity, and deprives them of ordinary self-respect. When high claims are made for perfect political freedom, we should not forget to recognise the equally valid claim of all persons, irrespective of their sex, birth or caste, to perfect socio-religious freedom. The human spirit does not know divisions into compartments. Perfect political freedom is incompatible with social and religious servitude.

MR. LAJPAT RAI'S IDEAL OF EDUCATION

To those who have read Mr. Lajpat Rai's articles on national education contributed to

this REVIEW, the scheme or ideal of national education outlined in his address will not appear new. Said he :

There was a time when as the result of English education the literate classes despised everything Indian. Fortunately that period was over but they still stood the danger of going to the other extreme and consider everything Indian as absolutely perfect. "I must say," continued the Lala, "that so far as I am concerned I believe that truth is truth, knowledge is knowledge, science is science. They are neither eastern nor western nor Indian nor European. We have to maintain your educational continuity and we must keep that object in view. We do not want to be an European or an American nation. We want to remain an Indian nation quite up-to-date." The underlying policy of the scheme of education should be based on the past civilisation remodelled in the light of the present day developments. What was good in each culture should be embraced. True nationalism of India should be above religious distinction and above all narrowing influence that would retard educational progress. The economic and social system under modern civilisation was bad but that should not blind them to the fact that science and knowledge had made wonderful progress during the last three hundred years. All science and knowledge coming from whatever culture should be fully utilised to free India and then maintain that freedom at any cost.

— MODERN REVIEW January 1921 P. 131-132

Current Affairs

Question of Human Rights

The laws of nature are fundamental truths of material creation. Human rights when broadbased on truth and justice, have the force of the laws of nature. These rights will ultimately assert their fullest sway over human life no matter what obstructions are created temporarily by persons who wish to place themselves above their fellow beings one way or another. The efforts to build little tyrannies here and there in order to realise objectives which are not tenable ethically ; therefore, are bound to fail in the long run and all persons who are engaged in such anti-human activities are in fact for ever morally face to face with total rout and defeat. There are, nevertheless, many persons, groups and even large communities and organised states which try to achieve the impossible by following policies, in a limited or comprehensive manner, which contradict the basic principles of human liberty, equality and all those rights on which rests the very conception of progress and civilisation of mankind. China, for instance, is inspired by degrading desires of conquests and subjection of other lands and peoples. The Chinese have already committed a human crime by invading and occupying Tibet and certain parts of Indian territory. They are also instigating other satellite groups to follow their base example and to occupy regions which they have no right to be in. Among such groups and

political bodies may be named the dictatorship of Pakistan and the State of North Vietnam. The Chinese aims are to be suzerain over the entire world, if possible, or, at least as large a portion of the earth as they can manage to conquer and control. These criminal urges and unethical aspirations will eventually lead the Chinese into wars with other nations in which they will sustain great injuries to their economy and social structure. Such devastations will far exceed in damage the gains of conquests, if achieved. The ideas propelling China, Pakistan and North Vietnam into conflicts therefore are not gainful in the overall human sense.

The USSR have built up a wide sphere of influence in which there is little effective opposition to the will of the giant state. But the forces which slowly release human ideals from their entanglements and shackles and enable them to be fully expressed and realised, are at work every where in the regions dominated by the Russian hegemony, and the suzerainty of the USSR will slowly dissolve and yield place to human liberty and its accepted freedoms. There have been signs and the top leaders of the USSR are intelligent enough to read them and understand their dynamics. It is therefore believed that the Russian group will not engage in total wars to maintain their imperial tyranny over unwilling subject communities. The only risk is of a war or of wars with aggressive opponents of the

Western Block or with China. The Chinese ambitions are obstructed by the state of things in which the Russians are fundamentally involved. The Russians therefore face a grave possibility of war with China which may badly affect the future of both countries.

The Americans are also for world domination, but their approach is more economic than military. Having the largest industrial organisation in the world and resources which defy easy measurement, the U.S.A. can and do cast her net very widely. Compared to the nations that are deeply in sympathy with American ideas of forming a major military bloc, the Russian and the Chinese organisations appear quite weak. There is of course the question of nuclear power : but in that too the Americans hold a quantitative lead. The real danger to America, however, rises from her internal lack of unity. And the most dangerous element in this disunited vastness of peoples and states is the colour question. The white Americans are inhumanly and immorally attached to colour prejudices which cannot but be resented by millions of coloured Americans and by all peoples of non-white countries. The American hopes of spreading influence over the entire world are thus limited by this matter of complexion. A man must have a white skin in order to feel sympathy with the white dominated United States of America. And the number of persons with a white skin is clearly less than those who do not possess that sort of complexion. However, there are some white Americans who realise the folly of this aggressive preference for a type of complexion. They may, by chance, succeed in convincing the other

Americans of the impossibility of ever having a white-dominated world order. If that happens, things may change for the better for the U.S.A.

South Africa and Rhodesia come next on the list of those countries which have impossible policies of political existence. These countries not only desire white supremacy but they also wish to be supreme in areas where the majority of the population is non-white. To be exclusively white in the heart of Africa is an absurdity which needs no expounding. But the South Africans and the Rhodesians are building concentration camps for their coloured population. The result will be four men in those camps for each man in a town exclusively reserved for white dwellers. The idea is barbaric, bizarre and idiotic, but the politicians of two countries work on that basis. The Rhodesians on top of being colour mad have gone to the extreme of defying the British Parliament which has imperial power over this British colony. As a result the Rhodesian government is rebel government, an outlaw in the comity of nations. If all African states combined to attack the Rhodesian government there should be nothing wrong in that at international law. As a matter of fact it will come to war, sooner or later, in Africa, between African majority states and the countries with a colour bar against the non-whites.

If we took up the lesser impossibilities that are being attempted by various other countries we shall find many and some in our own country too. The imposition of Hindi, the fake federalism of the acquisitive Congressmen and so forth. But we do not expect

these to lead to wars or revolutions. Common sense and facts should eventually dominate the base desires of greedy persons. And a greed like a war can be too costly to be followed to the bitter end.

Enquiry into Floods

When a great calamity sweeps over any part of India or occurs as an isolated incident like a great railway accident or a conflagration, the government concerned usually "takes steps" for the discovery of the causes of the terrible happenings and also to decide on protective or preventive measures for the future safety of the people. Taking steps sometimes reaches a clear and well defined destination; but usually does not. The reason for such failure is that the steps are taken in the form of marking time within the secluded precincts government offices or official camps. So after prolonged movements of officials within the narrow limits set by bureaucratic procedure nothing worthwhile happens in spite of the expenses that are incurred in the process. When more calamities befall the nation or fires and collisions are repeated, one experiences a helplessness that results from a belief in the inevitability of acts of God. One might feel that God did not have so much to do with the tragedies and that human agents were more guilty; but such feelings lead no where. Official steps resound everywhere again infructuously and history goes on repeating itself in as fearsome a manner as before.

The recent floods in North Bengal have caused the death of thousands of innocent persons and have destroyed all the property at the families of the victims of flood poss-

essed. Great losses have been suffered by trading concerns and the State and the suffering caused to the people has been widespread and intensive. The size of the calamity can be compared to those of great earthquakes and intensively fought wars of a localised nature. The government has ordered an enquiry that will be made now; that is, the usual steps will be taken. In the meantime the sufferers are complaining bitterly about the insufficiency of the measures taken by the government for the relief of the flood stricken population. We cannot have any precise and accurate information about what has happened and are happening. We cannot verify the complaints that we are hearing about in a round about manner. But many people have said that no effective measures were taken by the local authorities to alleviate the distress that was extensive. Not only were there no proper relief arrangements, but law and order were not maintained leading to looting, stealing and victimisation of the suffering people by law breakers of different breeds. The reports might have been exaggerated; but there must have been plenty of truth in what were said. Other reports related to the negligence of the civil authorities in giving flood warning to the people in an effective manner. It has been said that it was known hours before the flood waters entered Jalpaiguri town that tremendous torrents were coming down from Sikkim and adjoining catchment areas. Some said landslides had blocked up some of the hill streams and thus formed large lakes which later swept through the temporary dams created by falling masses of earth and assumed devastating dimensions. It was also said that warning was given to the civil

authorities about probable consequences: but they only removed their own possessions and family members from the danger zone without taking any trouble to proclaim an emergency by drum beat or in any other manner. The people were thus caught completely unawares and the heavy casualties were the result of that.

Farsightedness is an essential quality of efficient managers of human affairs. Government officials of the top class must have this quality in ample measure in order to be true protectors of the people. But, if instead of having any farsightedness they prove to be unimaginative, unresponsive to advice, callous and negligent, they must be removed. Our ministers do not even have the decency to resign when they fail to protect and serve the people's interest. Instead, they come out with long sermons which they should really read to one another rather than to the people. If our Prime Minister and our Deputy Prime Minister find repeatedly that their subordinates are worthless and they do nothing about it but make announcements which are strings of clichés and much repeated truisms; we should then have to consider in all justice that those highly placed politicians are not capable of preserving the nation's interests. If they cannot clean up the political and administrative stables they should not then undertake the jobs of Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister. The old saying about bad workmen and their tools also apply very well to ministers and their officials. For when ministers blame officials they admit their own inefficiency. There is something wrong fundamentally with the state of India. In this state highly placed officials do not cooperate with one

another for the benefit of the public. They rather try to avoid work and attempt to shift responsibility. The army authorities, the railway and the police authorities could think that they had no common duties and responsibilities. But if they thought so, would not that be fatal for the nation? All departments of the central government with all departments of all state governments should have an overall common front—the welfare of the nation. All persons from the President of India down to the least important incumbent in the least important department of any government should consider the national good as their first responsibility. But in fact only the highest ranking persons have any comprehensive outlook about the well being of the entire nation. The others think they should confine their actions and thoughts to Assam, Orissa or some other locality and then again only in regard to matters concerning irrigation or excise policy of the region. There are other ministers and officials who concentrate on spreading of Hindi in South India or the granting of loans to persons belonging to a particular trade. That the progress, health, security, prosperity and unity of all peoples of India were essential prior considerations for all who worked in any specialised capacity was often overlooked by persons with a limited outlook and vision; and out of that were born the spirit of antagonism and the desire to non-cooperate with other public servants in other spheres of work. This mentality must be changed to one of a steady consciousness of one's patriotic duty, no matter what special work one did departmentally or as a minister or official of a particular State. Minding one's own business

is a good thing so long as such minding does not make one guilty of causing injury to the nation by ignoring the urgent and overall requirements of a wider national importance.

Migration of Talent from India

Highly qualified Indians in the field of science, medicine and industrial technology go out of India in large numbers and seek jobs in other lands. They get the jobs too and many of them settle down permanently in foreign countries. Conditions of life are much better in most industrially advanced countries compared to what one finds in India. Facilities for research and for acquiring higher specialised knowledge are obtained more easily in those countries than here. Salaries and wages are extremely generous too. These are good enough reasons for migrating to Europe or America and most Indians go out of their mother country for these reasons. Yet some Indian scientists, medical men and experts try their level best to stay in this country even at a sacrifice. Many succeed in getting reasonable appointments and stay and work in the mother country, though they achieve less and do not realise their ambitions in full. Others do not get any reasonable appointments or are offered relatively unfair and unjust terms by our Universities, government institutions or industrial establishments and leave the country in search of better appreciation of their worth. In India foreigners are given jobs at inordinately inflated terms and the sons of the soil are valued at a discount. There are cases where Indians, much superior in attainments have been offered low salaries

compared to what are paid to foreigners of lesser standing. Foreigners, themselves are surprised when they find this preferential treatment in their favour in a land which has suffered a great deal at the hand of white imperialists. The recent award of the Nobel Prize for medicine to Dr. Khorana has brought this matter to the top. Dr. Khorana, apparently, left this country as he found little recognition of his merits here. He was given a very honoured reception in the U. S. A. and he carried on valuable research work in that country which eventually secured the Nobel Prize for him. There are many other Indian scientists in the U. S. A., the U. K. and in other countries who are doing very valuable work in those countries. All these men could have been assets of great value to India; but were not given due recognition and had to leave their mother country in search of more favourable places of work. We thus lost valuable talent and allowed other nations to benefit from what we did not make use of.

There should be renewed surveys of qualified Indians who leave India to work in other countries and our government should explain to us why we have not been able to make use of the services of these scientists and experts. A nation which does not allow even the export of its debased currency to other lands should take better care of its human ability and not permit the flight of talent to other places. For Human talent is more valuable than gold, silver or paper money. Our top leaders should know that and try to keep all our best men in India and arrange for them to work for the advantage and progress of India.

The Kashmir Question

Looked at in a strictly constitutional and matter of fact manner the only question that comes up in connection with Kashmir and its people is that of Pakistan's and China's illegal occupation of certain parts of that state and also that of removing the trespassers from that region of India. Sheikh Abdullah and other loose thinking politicians miss the point entirely when they discuss a Kashmir question which does not exist namely that of a plebiscite to decide whether Kashmir is an integral part of India or whether the people of Kashmir should have fresh terms and conditions of being a State in the union of states that is the Republic of India. Kashmir became a part of India by accession and after that act of accession by the lawful government of Kashmir of the time no demand from the people of Kashmir can arise lawfully and constitutionally. For no State of India can have the right to negotiate afresh its terms of inclusion in the Republic of India at any time after it had once been lawfully included in the body politic of India. If Kashmir can have a plebiscite, then so can W. Bengal or Kerala. Pre-partition India too was divided without a plebiscite and, now, if each integral part of India can have a plebiscite for deciding its relations with the sovereign state why should not the entire population of India and Pakistan have a plebiscite to determine anew whether there should be two states or one undivided India as before 1947. The people of India, Burma and Ceylon may also hold a plebiscite to consider whether there should be several separate states or a single state of India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon. If such a plebiscite were held the people of India,

would outnumber the peoples of Pakistan and even the total population of Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon and there would be a single Hindu majority State. The point is that if India could be divided into two states on the ground that the muslim minority would prefer a partition, why could not then the Hindu minority of Kashmir demand the integration of Kashmir with India? Why again cannot the Hindu minority of East Pakistan demand its inclusion in the Union of India. They have exactly the same arguments (based on truth) to support the idea of the inclusion of East Pakistan in India as were put forward falsely by the Muslim League when it demanded the partition of India in 1947. As a matter of fact the people of Pakistan, as a whole, are being ruled by a dictator and they should, therefore, have a plebiscite to decide whether 1) the Ayub government should continue and 2) whether the Hindus of East Pakistan should be allotted certain districts of that territory which will be joined with India.

Sheikh Abdullah or Mao Tse Tung should not have any thoughts about Kashmir and India any more than they could harbour thoughts of joining Uzbekistan to Pakistan on the ground that the people of the former country were muslims.

The idea of theocracy is repugnant to logic or modern law. If one person cannot have a separate constitution or legal system for himself on the ground of his personal religious faith, a large body of persons too cannot have special political rights by reason of adherence to a particular religious faith. The question of majority alone can decide such matters and the partition of India on a religious basis on the demand of a minority

body was untenable and unjust at international law when the British carried it out. Constitutional handicaps which Pakistan has imposed on minority communities and the persecution that they are being subjected to with the knowledge and connivance of Pakistan officialdom should condemn that state in the eye of all nations which claim to uphold human rights and justice. But diplomatic policy appears to override ethical principles as far as the "powers" are concerned and Pakistan goes on with its irrationalities and crimes against humanity without any challenge from these important nations. The facts of Pakistan's aggression in Kashmir are well known; but the cunning self interest of many nations induce them to condone Pakistan's deviations from the principles of political conduct laid down by the United Nations Organisation. In such circumstances, no principles, whether of logic, ethics or international behaviour can affect any political decisions of any kind. No arguments are really worth anything and force and might remain the deciding factors everywhere. India should remember that and not waste any time and energy over the Kashmir question. Sooner or later India will have to forcibly decide all matters of aggression or rebellion.

Thoughts and Thoughts

This is the age of extraordinary thoughts. And all the thoughts that crowd the brains of humanity do not necessarily come from chairman Mao T'se Tung. The peculiarities of many of these thoughts are so astounding that one has now to think of a new kind of negative genius that contradicts all ancient thoughts of accepted and time honoured value.

In high politics, in bazar cheating, in demand for increased wages and decreased work or in novelties of the world of sports, music, dance, literature or social behaviour, we find the genius of twisted thoughts operating in full force everywhere. In high level politics there are many new thoughts relating to sovereignty, liberty, rights and obligations. It would appear that occupation of the territories of other nations can be justified by queer thinking on the part of the aggressors. Wars are justified by proclaiming peaceful motives, conquests are referred to as acts of liberation and plunder as giving protection. Processions are taken out for obstructing traffic in big cities in order to convince nobody in particular and causing annoyance to the road using public, for achieving objectives which have the nature collective bargaining between employers and employees. Nobody, of course, can understand how it can help collective bargaining with the Government of India by preventing people from going back home after office hours. In music, dance or the various arts, creations come to life through the death of aesthetic emotions, forms and technique of expression. There is a fundamental emptiness behind new types of art efforts caused by ignorance and a defensive contempt and antipathy for true knowledge of the intellectual bases of artistic creation. Glorification of ill-mannered ways, adoption of strange styles in clothes, avoidance of cleanliness and hygiene and behaving like tramps seem to be the things recognised as the most impressive in society. Disobedience, indiscipline, disloyalty, hooliganism, association with treasonable activities and other anti-social tendencies characterise

the actions of certain sections of the youth of the country. As far as games and sports are concerned the majority of those who could have been the players and the athletes, only engage in rowdism at the play grounds when important matches are played. The standards are very low and the performance not worth recording. Instead of learning proper style and training for developing excellence the would be champions specialise in doing what should not be done and not doing what should be. If some one had introduced a new style of football played with two balls, coloured black and white, and allotting one to each contesting side with which alone the allottee side could score; the sheer fantasticness of the idea might attract support from a good number of persons. If one could ascribe the twin football idea to Chairman Mao, it would no doubt earn quick popularity. Thoughts and ideas, in order to be new and attractive have to be contrary and bizarre. When executed

they must produce effects which will strongly suggest imperfections and lack of precision. Also a certain haphazardness and rustic lack of orderly technique will add to the value of the work. Meaninglessness, obscenity, perversion and criminality as vehicles of progress would be appreciated by those who desire the muses to let their hair down. In the days of the cave dwellers houses were, holes in the hills. Food, clothing and ornaments were unembellished gifts of nature with no planned size, shape or other qualities. If now we discard plan and design and accept the products of human effort in the manner we accepted what nature gave us; our tastes will change along with the shapes of things that will come. The weirdness of our thoughts will struggle to fit in with the fantasies of nature. We may easily beat nature by deliberately breaking and twisting and by intentionally avoiding the paths of logic, meaning, balance and beauty.



SWAMI VIVEKANANDA AND THE RAMAKRISHNA

II

SATINDRA MOHAN CHATTERJEE

"Sir, have you seen God?"

Born and bred in a sober and dignified—middle-class family, Swami Vivekananda developed a natural immunity from the prevalent ills of the age. His physical beauty was superb. Stoutly built, he had an intellectual forehead, pearly white teeth, thick, wavy black hair, a pair of incomparable eyes and a deep musical voice. His physical charms could win any heart at a glance. *Writing about him Swami Gambhirananda says:*

"He sang in a sweet baritone, and could play on various instruments with considerable skill. In athletics he outshone others, particularly in wrestling. In debate he was unchallengable.....yet he was very simple in his habits, careless about dress, warm in his friendship and unstinted in his charity."

Consequently it was no wonder that he won the favours of Keshavchandra at an early age, and soon found a place as a member of the choir in the Brahmo Samaj prayer hall. But singing devotional songs and hearing routine sermons did not satisfy his curiosity about God. He went about asking all men of God whosoever preached or talked of Him. "Sir, have you seen God?" was his invariable query. Naturally enough, some of the persons he addressed felt shy and some surprised at this unusual question. Even Devendranath, who was called "Maharshi" or the great sage, got immensely perplexed. He could only mutter a negative reply.

The only one person who gave a reply in the affirmative to his question was Sree Ramakrishna. He said:

"Yes, I have seen God. I see Him as I see you, only far more intensely. God can

be seen. One can talk to Him. But who cares for God?"

Of course the saint's reply did not carry conviction to the Swami at first. How could a man of reason believe in such fantastic claims? So, Swamiji thought that it was nothing but self-delusion or hallucination of the mad man.

But the mad man had his special charms. He could not be brushed aside, in spite of his simplicity. Some men of high standing were gathering round him to watch him go into ecstasy and come back to consciousness. It was a sort of miracle. Principal Rev. Hastio of the General Assembly's Institution brought this miraculous power of Sree Ramakrishna to the notice of his students amongst whom was Swamiji, then known as Narendra Dutta.

At first the mad man of Dakshineswar was more fond of Swamiji than he was of him. But gradually the table turned, and Swamiji got more and more attracted. This progressively increasing attraction reached its zenith when Swamiji was engulfed by adversity on the sudden death of his father in 1884. He was then preparing for his degree examination, and his prodigal father left little for the family to fall back upon.

The destitute but sizeable family eked out its existence with the help of Swamiji's maternal grandmother. The Swami meantime graduated, took a year in Law and then gradually strayed from the family into the fold of his Master, who made him his slave by love.

How the Master moulded his life is a matter which we must leave the readers to guess. The result was that one was seen wrapped up fully in another, and Swamiji took the usual Sannyasin's vow of not touching women and gold. Then began his "Tapasya" or penance for his self-

realization. Along with him were a few other disciples, all almost his own age.

Of the two great forces that shaped his boyhood and youth, namely, patriotism and love of God, the second got the better of the first under the Master's influence. He then dreamt of God, and not of his country. And there is no doubt that he got the taste of what is mystically called Bliss or "Wirkikalpa Samadhi", an esoteric experience that changes the human mental plane altogether.

But his Master knew how Swamiji would blossom out into his fullness. He knew that he would grow to be a great banyan tree giving shelter to thousands of tired souls. He could not remain a selfish mendicant looking only for his own personal salvation. The Master said :

"You will do great things in the world ; you will bring spiritual consciousness to men, and assuage the misery of the humble and the poor."

He stressed on the Upanishadic truth that "God is manifested in everything" by uttering in a state of superconsciousness that "Jiva is Shiva" (All living beings are Gods). He also cautioned that "Religion is not for empty bellies."

The seeds of these truths and sayings were sown in the fertile soil of Vivekananda's subconscious field. In course of time, they germinated and grew up under favourable condition as sturdy plants.

The Master passed away in 1886, leaving behind him a handful of disciples to take care of themselves. Amongst them were a few callow young men, mostly students in their teens, who had left home with an ardent desire to become men of God. The Swami headed the group. But there were also a few householders, men of the world, yet devoted to the master. When these young aspirants refused to go back home after the Master passed away, a couple of wealthy householders offered to support them in order to keep the flag of Sree Ramakrishna flying. So these young mendicants were housed in a dilapidated house in Baranagore suburbs of Calcutta. By common consent, Vivekananda led this band

of young monks at the sanctuary where they devoted themselves to meditation, study and spiritual exercise.

The Swami was already familiar with the outlines of European philosophy. He now devoted himself assiduously to the study of its Indian counterpart. But soon this inactive and scheduled course of life began to hang heavy on him. He thought that, unless he made himself familiar with the thought-currents of the modern world, he would merely stagnate and end in perversity. He could never reconcile to the age-old idea of a monk's goal of earning personal salvation only. It appeared to him to be a narrow ideal and he thought that he must break through this narrowness. His brother-disciples, however, did not subscribe to the same views, atleast readily.

To get out of this rut, he made some journeys in 1888 and 1890, either alone or with a companion, to Northern India. The world outside opened a new vista, but mysticism again got the better of his rationality when he was at Cazipur in the Uttar Pradesh in 1889. Paohari Baba, a mystic saint who reportedly lived on air only, was about to absorb him completely. He narrowly escaped the calamity of giving up his loyalty to Sree Ramakrishna by, as the story has it, repeated visions he had of the saint. In plain language, his devotion to Sree Ramakrishna eventually survived his temporary weakness for mysticism, verging on apostasy.

Swamiji's restlessness, however, grew with days and he was not at peace in their Baranagore camp which, in fact, was the first Ramakrishna Math or monastery in this country. Finally in 1891 he left this monastery alone to continue his wander-years or pilgrimage.

Some four hundred years ago, Bengal produced a greater wandering mendicant in the person of Sree Chaitanya. He covered on foot almost the whole of South India and a large territory in the North. The journey occupied him for about six years when he preached his message of love and universal brotherhood. His message inspired the downtrodden with a sense of dignity at a time when corrupt Muslim rule was

sapping the vitality of the Hindu community, specially in the Eastern region.

Four hundred years later, Swami Vivekananda walked over the same territory as Sree Chaitanya did on a different purpose. Swamiji was inherently a monk in action and not a monk in meditation. Mysticism claimed him for a time, but as soon as he recovered from its spell, his instinctive-patriotism grew stronger. He wanted to see every inch of his motherland; he wanted to examine the condition in which his poor countrymen lived; he wanted to find out to what extent the soul of the country revolted against her utter subjection and degradation.

He had known the English in Bengal and had a taste of the civilization they had brought in. He knew how London grew rapidly at the cost of Cassimbazar, and why the graduates, even in his days, were finding it difficult to get suitable employment. He also watched, with a sense of distress and humiliation, the inroads made by the Christian missionaries by means of their unfair methods of conversion.

What did he think of the Englishman's efforts to civilize India? He said that in trying to civilize India, the English used three 'B's, namely, Bible, Brandy and Bayonet. The apparent result of these efforts was an increasingly crushing poverty and a greater moral degradation of the country.

With 'Jivi' in utter misery, how could the monk in action rest in peace? He had to find out a way to relieve their wretched state. So restive and desolate, the patriot monk set out on a study tour. That was the first step he took.

There is a vast similarity between Sree Chaitanya and Swami Vivekananda. Both were young mendicants, about twentyfive years of age, when they set out to traverse a large tract of India on foot. They followed almost the same route, one doing it in the reverse order. Both had the greatest compassion for the downtrodden, the scum of the society, and both strove hard to put them on their feet. Indignant with the misrule of the alien Government, both offered resistance to the evil forces. Both were emphatic

on the point that it was not only the monks who could earn salvation, but house-holders, too, stand on equal chance. Sree Chaitanya preached that 'Human being is the highest epitome of God' and Swami Vivekananda taught that "Jiva is Shiva". Essentially, their messages are identical.

The study tour of the Swami occupied him for about two and a half years at the end of which he set sail for America on May 31, 1893. During the wander-years, he devoted almost one year to the studies of the Vedas under Pandit Sankar Pandurang, a great Vedic scholar in Pore Bunder in Western India. Here his wide knowledge in Sanskrit grammar, acquired earlier at Jaypore, stood him in good stead. Pandit Pandurang was charmed with the talents of his young student and said that India needed a person of the Swami's calibre to interpret Hindu culture and religion in foreign lands. Possibly he had heard about the Parliament of Religion which was to sit in Chicago. To his student, however, the suggestion meant little or nothing until such time as he met the Maharaja of Ramnad (Madras) in early 1893.

The resolute Swami continued his march. Travelling alone as a mendicant and, living entirely on charity, he met people of all grades, high and low, rich and poor. He stopped with the poor, lived at times even with the family of sweepers, and shared the privations and indignities of the downtrodden and the oppressed classes. He found that the bulk of the Hindu community was submerged in ignorance, jealousy, poverty and the other evils they carry with them. He was greatly distressed. But he noticed, with a sense of relief, that although poverty had drained his countrymen ruthlessly, glimmering signs of a great spiritual heritage in them was unmistakable. The spiritual treasure of the community was not wholly destroyed and its soul survived beneath the wreckage.

He realized how shallow the Westernized reformers were! All their talks of reformation were superficial showy rot. Also, how impudent were our own countrymen who wanted to bring

in social, religious and political reforms without looking for the soul of the country. How much do they know of the lowly people who form the bulk of the society? They see them through their coloured glasses; they merely profess a lip-deep sympathy with them in order to serve their own ends.

They were "the empty bellies" and, Sree Ramakrishna had said, religion was not for them. No ideas or ideals, either spiritual, intellectual or moral, can grow in the barren field of poverty. Abject poverty eats up the vitality of the community and reduces it to a state of stupor. It is as much true of an individual as of a community.

Foreign critics have always been loud to proclaim from house tops that religion is the cause of India's downfall and decay. Their underlings here have also sung the same tune. It was the Swamiji who first declared emphatically that poverty was at the root of all these ailments. And this was not a statistical deduction but a realization born of his assiduous study-tour. But he was no politician, indulging in jugglery of words to serve his own end. He hated politics and wrote to his devotee Alasinga in Madras from Paris in September, 1895:

"I hate cowardice; I will have nothing to do with cowards or political nonsense. I do not believe in any politics. God and Truth are the only politics in the world, everything else is trash.

His heart was human and not political. It bled for the downtrodden, the afflicted, the poor. It bled profusely. They were the victims of grinding poverty which was caused by rule of barbarity, both alien and native. To his disciples he often lamented:

"Do you feel that millions and millions of the descendants of Gods and of sages have become next door neighbours to brutes?"

Humanism or patriotism whatever it may be called, it was not conceived politically. Its source was spiritual. It came from the spirit of service to man, the epitome of God.

His spirituality thus appears to have melted

into patriotism and it has given his action a positive direction. This, in fact, is unique. No Indian saint had the same distinction and such a wide vision. He heralded a new era and laid the foundation of new India. "India to him was the air he breathed", said Sister Nivedita and she added: "There was one thing, however, deep in the Master's nature, that he himself never knew how to adjust. This was the love of his country and his resentment of her suffering."

Though his thoughts and vision were wide enough to cover the universe, he did not lose himself in the wilderness of internationalism. Very correctly, he began his charity at home. His countrymen were his immediate charge. His neighbours must receive his first consideration.

But the problem was how to remove this appalling poverty. The problem was how to bring about a radical change in the moribund community around him. The problem was how to make Hindunism as aggressive as Christianity and Islam to resist disgraceful and degrading conversion. He had no faith in the declared mission of the alien Government. The British did not conquer India for any humanitarian purpose. They naturally wanted to reap the full benefit of their conquest. It would suit their purpose to keep the inhabitants poor, uneducated and fighting amongst themselves as long as they could.

But there were some Hindu Maharajas in the country who together ruled over about a fifth of the land. The British did not normally interfere with their internal administration. Could something be done through these satraps? At one time the Swami thought that revival of India should begin at that end. Social reforms, liberal education, and physical training on the proper lines would create a band of formidable soldiers in those semi-independent territories. These soldiers would in course of time work for British India's revival.

It is said that, like many other fiery patriots, the Swami, too, cherished the idea of an armed revolution to get rid of the foreign rule. But for this purpose, he was not at all in favour of getting any foreign help. He is reported to have

contacted even a reputed gunmaker for ammunition. All this may or may not be entirely correct, but visions of armed revolution in young Bengal even in Swami Vivekananda's days was nothing uncommon. But his study-tour must have taught him that the country as a whole was then as dead as mutton. There was not the slightest spark of life anywhere to support a revolution of that nature. What was lacking? Strength—physical and moral both of course!

Events moved very quickly. While he was turning in his mind the great problems of India and her revival, some of his admirers arranged to rush him to America with a vague idea of presenting him as an ambassador of Hindu culture and religion in the Parliament of Religion. He, too, saw the hands of God behind the move. Madras took a leading part in the matter and was ably supported by Rajasthan. The two Maharajas who took the initiative were those of Ramnad and Khetri.

Apart from these two Maharajas' personal regard for the Swami, national awakening took no small part in the matter. To Indians of those days, anything European, specially of British origin, carried the hallmark of advancement. Not to speak of material and intellectual worlds, this sense of inferiority invaded even the spiritual territory. In their colossal ignorance, even the so-called educated class regarded Christianity as the highest form of human religious conception. Even the disciples of Sree Ramakrishna could not escape this complex. Some proclaimed that, like Keshavchandra, Swami Vivekananda had a passionate regard for Christ and that Swami

Ramakrishnananda and Swami Saradananda, the two noted disciples of Sree Ramakrishna had been direct disciples of Christ in a former life! Whatever may be said of others, the Swami had no such complex in his rational mind. This is revealed in his following utterances:

"Jesus fell short, because he always did not lived upto his own highest ideal; and above all, because he did not give woman an equal place with man. Woman did everything for him, yet no one was made an apostle. This was doubtless owing to his Semitic origin."

However, both the orthodox and the progressive sections of the Hindu community strongly resented this most unwelcome inroad of Christianity. They found in the young Swami an able exponent of the modern thought and the nascent awakening of the community arising out of the conflict was a propelling force behind the scene.

Why did the Swami agree to go to America is ofcourse a different matter, but he seemed to have agreed readily. But before he went abroad, he had satisfied himself on the query with which he began his spiritual life, namely, "Sir, have you seen God?" He saw his God very vividly and proclaimed:

"May I be born and reborn and suffer a thousand miseries, if only I may worship the only God in whom I believe, the sum total of all souls, and, above all, my God the wicked, my God the afflicted, my God the poor of all races."

[To be continued]



AESTHETICISM : A LIFE-VALUE

KAMAL ROY

I

(i) "If Art For Art's Sake arises from the cancellation of ideals, the period which follows 1848 offers a perfect example of that convenient recipe."¹ A. Guerard.

(ii) "Don't you remember my telling you that one ought to make one's life a work of art?"² Henry James.

(iii) "For myself, I look forward to the time when aesthetics will take the place of ethics, when the sense of beauty will be the dominant law of life."³ Oscar Wilde.

The two Revolutions, French and Industrial, cast the zeitgeist of the nineteenth century in a new mould. Initially they released a mood of buoyant optimism but as the century advanced in years, the Victorians discovered that these forces were in fact Janus-headed. Consequently their ebullience sobered into soul-searching; their hopefulness changed into scepticism, it not into despair.

By extending the franchise to the down-trodden and the deprived the democratic Victorian age raised no doubt high hopes of realising the millennium. But at the same time by elevating the lowest common denominator to the level of the ideal, it tended to degrade culture in general, to the dismay of the literati. The phenomenal development of science left its stamp on the temper of the period: challenging the supernatural elements of Christianity scientism seemed to liberate the chafing souls from its fold and the tyranny of the Original Sin. Evolutionism, the child of the nineteenth century sciences, appeared to be a better surrogate for Christianity as it opened up a new vista of limitless and automatic progress. The Victorian Mammon-worship derived both sanction and incentive from this linear

view of history. But this new god, too, let them down for "whereas the new biology had seemed, at least for a while, to fortify a belief in progress, the new physics apparently denied the possibility of any such faith."⁴ Technology increased the amenities of life and employment potentialities tenfold but its ruinous impact was too palpable in the gradually degrading quality of life. The cumulative result of these abrupt changes of dubious value but of farreaching consequences was the complete disintegration of the spiritual values, the snapping of the traditional moorings and the permeation of every sphere of life with the spirit of crass materialism. How pervasive was the infection of utilitarianism is indicated by the life-values of the heroes of Dickens, the most representative Victorian writer: "The ideal to be striven after then, appears to be something like this: a hundred thousand pounds, a quaint old house with plenty of ivy on it, a sweetly womanly wife, a horde of children, and no work. Everything is safe, soft, peaceful and, above all, domestic."⁵ "This deification of domesticity makes life utterly drab and pedestrian: denuded of all quests for the abstract and the metaphysical, it becomes a saunter along the same known path rather than an exciting spiritual adventure in search of the unknown. So, the twin forces of democracy and industrialism succeeded in creating utopian hopes only to dash them and left, at least, the sensitive souls disillusioned and perplexed. Their spirit was maimed and impoverished for a time: but the battered revealed religion and the deceptive democracy and science could no longer dyke up their growing resentment against them. Ultimately it burst into an open revolt against the whole ethos of the age. The form of this minority revolt is aestheticism; its battle-cry, Beauty; its camp-followers, the

sophisticates and the dilettanti. In the cauldron of its complex and composite metaphysic both science and religion poured in their ingredients, a bit ironically.

II

The nineteenth century aestheticism had deep roots in the spirit of its age and though a protest against the invasion of the life of the spirit by the values of technology and commerce, it borrowed its metaphysical substratum from "evolutionism. The rigorous application of this theory to things material and immaterial brings them under the sway of time and entails the loss of their solidity and absoluteness. Developed to its logical conclusion, it implies that everything is in a state of perpetual flux and is a momentary confluence of divergent forces. The apparent stability or pattern it seems to possess is not intrinsic to it; rather it is ascribed by the mind of the beholder. Discerning the ubiquitous operation of the inexorable law of change, Pater is prompted to observe: "That clean, perpetual outline of face and limb is but an image of ours, under which we group them--a design in a web, the actual threads of which pass out beyond it. This at least of flame-like our life has, that it is but the concurrence, renewed from moment to moment, of forces parting sooner or later on their ways."⁶ Since he believes that "the chief factor in the thoughts of the modern mind concerning itself is the intricacy, the universality of natural law, even in the moral order,"⁷ he pictures the human mind as a conglomeration of the disparate deposits of the passing moments. As every moment is unique and the impression it leaves in the reservoir of the memory bears the stamp of this uniqueness, the continuity of the self and the notion of identity are thrown overboard. In other words, the soul or the self ceases to be a substance, solid and immutable, and becomes a process. More devastating in its consequences is the extension of the evolutionary theory to the spiritual plane. Pater envisages the religions "as expressions of varying phases of its sentiment concerning the

unseen world,..."⁸ Thus, at one stroke; he drags religion down from the plane of the eternal to that of the temporal and views it as only one of the innumerable products of the human mind. Stripped of its divinity, religion becomes an offspring of an historical necessity and so loses all claim to absoluteness. Inevitably, reality itself is conceived as a becoming, and not as a being, as a process, and not as a condition. As nothing is immune to change, nothing is absolute. Hence relativism becomes an article of faith with the aesthetes.

In the tug-of-war between science and religion, the latter lost much of its halo and authority. To save their age from spiritual anarchy, the self-styled Victorian prophets enunciated rival theories and varying criteria of truth which tended to cancel each other out. Their very lack of unanimity was sufficient to discredit intellect as an instrument for reaching truth, and the positivistic spirit of the time bred distrust of speculative thinking. But feeling and sensation have a positive advantage over ratiocination in that "we need no proof that we feel" and hence "our knowledge is limited to what we feel."⁹ As "nothing is more private and distinctive in a man than his feelings,"¹⁰ dependence on them creates new problems of epistemology and communication. The interposition of the smoke screen of his feeling or sensibility keeps the perceiver at a few removes from the object of his perception. Consequently the reality of the things eludes him because he knows it as it is reflected in the mirror of his feelings. So, "can we be sure that things are at all like our feelings?"¹¹ This position calls for a re-definition of reality. Our senses can perceive only concrete objects since they cannot penetrate the veneer of appearance or the facade of a thing. As a result, the reality of a thing is determined by its accessibility to the senses. This justifies the aesthetes' worship of the objective world in preference to the invisible and the subjective one, and their relegation of the abstract to a comparatively subordinate position. Wilde's assertion that "it is only shallow people who do not judge by appearances. The

mystery of the world is the visible, not the invisible," is the expression of the aesthetes' conviction that appearance is reality.

Normally we liberate ourselves from the prison of the private self through our allegiance to a transcendental or, at least, a collective value. Conversely, our exclusive dependence on feeling or sensation plunges us in the impregnable dungeons of our respective selves. The walled-in nature of the human psyche militates against any attempt to establish interpersonal communication. If "each one was alone serving his life-sentence of solitary confinement" and "there was no communication from cell to cell,"¹³ society's claim to create and impose impersonal and absolute values on its denizens is at once preposterous and presumptuous. On the assumption that every individual is a unique creation and his individuality inviolable, the votaries of aestheticism look upon him as the sole criterion and creator of his own values. Any attempt to thrust on him ready-made values which may not be in consonance with his personality is a veritable sacrilege in their eyes. The aesthetes are, at bottom, nonconformist individualists; the herd instinct is anathema to them.

In the preceding century Christianity failed to hold its own against the onslaught of science; its central tenets which made life meaningful and purposive in terms of the supernatural and the transcendental were seriously questioned. Without flying in the face of logic and the finding of science it was fairly difficult to keep alive one's faith in the revealed religion. On the other hand, it was equally difficult to construct a stable and consistent world-picture on the foundation of the ever-changing scientific data. Christianity put a strain on the aesthetes' credulity, and science failed to satisfy their emotional and spiritual urges. Naturally they could not live in a spiritual vacuum indefinitely; they felt the compulsion to evolve an ontology which would afford satisfaction to both their intellect and emotion and be at the same time without the straitjacket of the Christian dogma and the tentativeness and contingency of science. Free from these

limitations of religion and science, the vision that underlies the aesthetic way of life "reposes on no basis of unverified hypothesis, (which) makes no call upon a future after all somewhat problematic."¹⁴ Unlike Christianity, aestheticism flaunts its invulnerability to knowledge and truth; however startling may be the additions to them, its tenets remain beyond their tentacles. As a way of life it flourishes by default and is in a way a substitute for Christianity.

In the absence of a teleology which links up God, man and the universe life can no more derive any value from beyond itself. Hence life becomes an end in itself and "self-culture" its supreme goal. Aldington very pertinently observes that "the ideal of self-culture is a transference of the Christian idea of individual salvation of the soul to the sphere of literature and art".¹⁵ The aesthetes confess their inability to unravel the mystery that surrounds the origin and the goal of life. Once they admit that "what is secure in our existence is but the sharp apex of the present moment between two hypothetical eternities,"¹⁶ they are driven straight into the arms of hedonism. We have already explained why the quest for sensation, and specially the pleasurable sensations, comes to occupy the pivotal position in the aesthetic way of life. A corollary of viewing sensation and feeling as the only gateway to truth and reality is the belief "that there can be no meaning in life save such as belongs to and derives from the order of reality which the human body inhabits."¹⁷ And to grade experience in terms of intensity is to opt for pleasure. (Of course, Marquis de Sade has a different view.) For in contrast to other values and terms which demand our adherence to some external standards and criteria, pleasurable or otherwise of an experience can be assessed by the experiencing self alone. The hedonism of the aesthetes is fully consistent with their predominantly individualistic approach to life. To value an experience for its capacity to yield pleasure is to ignore all distinctions between good and evil. The aesthetes are asocial as well as amoral.

The "aesthetic religion" with "self-culture" as its motto 'demands of its devotees that to make the most of life they should be receptive to myriad experiences and fleeting sensations, the only things real amidst the welter of metaphysical and spiritual confusions. To do that successfully, purged of all prejudices and preconceptions, they should always be in a state of suspended judgment i.e., non-committed. To conform to any pre-existent pattern of existence is to discriminate between experiences.' To reject one's own experiences is to arrest one's own development. To deny one's own experiences is to put a lie into the lips of one's own life. It is no less than a denial of the Soul."¹⁸ Moreover, if one is to be constantly on the lookout for sensation, one has to alter the very texture of one's life. One has to shift emphasis from action to contemplation, from doing to being. The cult of inactivity is another important strand in the total fabric of the aesthetic way of life. This apotheosis of idleness may be a revolt against the bourgeois gospel of work, but it is more than a mere attitudinising.

Now we are in a position to appreciate the aesthetes' idolatry of art. Gluttons for sensations, they turn to it in the expectation of extracting from it the most refined and heady stimuli. Besides this, the aesthetes are escapists: their escapism is born out of the conviction that the contemporary civilization is irredeemable. In the midst of the arid desert of the circumambient world, the hermetic realm of art is the only oasis which acts as their haven. A champion of pure art in the sense that art is an end in itself, Pater is perhaps contradicting himself when he wants to make use of art as a means of escape: "...all disinterested lovers of books, will always look to it, as to all other fine art, for a refuge, a sort of cloistral refuge, from a certain vulgarity in the actual world."¹⁹ In a world plagued with rapid social and political upheavals and philosophic volte-face, unless he wants to be hustled along by these changes, a man must have a fixed point to cling to. He has to entrench himself either behind the organised religion, smothering his scepticism

if he is not religious-minded, or behind the temple of art without doing any violence to his sense of logic. The aesthetes are agnostics and so they prefer the latter alternative. Insulated from the hurlyburly of the work-a-day world, every work of art creates a new world of its own, ordered and harmonious, in the bosom of this disordered planet. The eternal human craving for permanence and order can be satisfied either by religion or by art. To live for sensation is to live in time; to accept "evolutionism" as the principle operative everywhere is to make everything the slave of time. Aestheticism quickens the tempo of life and intensifies the sense of change; correspondingly it also accentuates the desire for stability and immutability. Graham Hough remarks that this obsession with time and the desire to escape it are common to all the romantic writers: "The eager search for new sensations is one pole of romantic literature; but the other pole is this huge nostalgia for a timeless and unchanging order."²⁰ By rejecting Christianity the worshippers of art spurn three of its most valuable gifts—eternity through the immortality of the soul, self-transcendence through a mystic communion with God and through the participation in a common way of life, and free will through the grace of God. But they do not miss things entirely as they create a new god out of art.

Pater's assertion that "all art constantly aspires towards the condition of music"²¹ and Wilde's echo of the French masters that "Art never expresses anything but itself"²² are not merely a clamour for the purification of the arts; they are indicative of a deeper purpose. To treat art as a beast of burden, to use it for the propagation of ideas and ideals, moral or spiritual, political or social, is to make it ephemeral. To make art subservient to any other purpose save the creation of beauty is to chain it down to the plane of time. Conversely to exorcise art of all extra-aesthetic irrelevancies i.e., to purify it, is to transport it from the plane of time to that of eternity. If art exists for its own sake, and not

as a source of inspiration for action without its precincts, it becomes absolute and eternal, static and sterile. Forster's percipient observation on art epitomizes the aesthetes' attitude to it: "A poem is absolute. The world created by words exists neither in space nor time though it has semblance of both, it is eternal and indestructible, and yet its action is no stronger than a flower."²³ Obliterating all the differences between a work of art, a finished product, and life, a continuing process, the artists equate them: "To treat life in the spirit of art is to make life a thing in which means and ends are identified."²⁴ The next step is to ascribe to both of them the same autonomy and sterility. How far this equation is logically tenable is open to question but what is beyond doubt is that in the sheltered domain of art, the earthly paradise, they can have a foretaste of the heavenly one. Caught up in the toils of perpetual flux and so questing for permanence, here they get at least a foothold for a breathing-space. Amidst all changes art is the only still-point.

The aesthetes' worship of beauty also springs from a similar spiritual need and chimes in with the fundamentals of the aesthetic world-view. Of all the spiritual values postulated by the human mind beauty alone is both temporal and eternal, objective and subjective, relative and absolute. Pater's view that "Beauty, like all other qualities presented to human experience, is relative"²⁵ is flatly contradicted by Baudelaire who has an altogether different conception of it. He thinks that "Beauty is composed of one element that is eternal, invariable and exceedingly difficult to assess, and of another element that is relative and a product of circumstance."²⁶ He is fully corroborated by Thomas Mann: "There is an intellectual beauty and one that speaks to the senses."²⁷ Destroying the duality of the spirit and the flesh the aesthetes believe that it is possible for a man to reach the spirit along the path of the senses. And that explains the preeminent position of beauty in the aesthetic hierarchy of values.

Like other values beauty is invisible but

unlike them, it always manifests itself through a particular object and so becomes visible and relative. The existence of other values has to be assumed on faith but the reality of beauty is tested on the pulses. The sensuous beauty of a thing arrests our attention only to waft us away to the spiritual plane. The votaries of beauty set so much store by it because "beauty alone, is lovely and visible at once...it is the sole aspect of the spiritual which we can perceive through our senses... beauty, then, is the beautylover's way to the spirit."²⁸ If the work of art affords the aesthetes a sense of permanence, beauty helps to attain self-transcendence.

Pater is well aware that the acceptance of 'evolutionism' as a comprehensive philosophy also entails the acceptance of its worst by-product, determinism, which threatens man with the total loss of his much-prized autonomy. He makes desperate attempt to get away from the nexus of causality, of course, not by declaring an open war against nature but by finding out "an equivalent for the sense of freedom" and that, too, not in life but in the world of art. Unlike ancient necessity which resided outside man in the form of a "mythological personage", modern necessity has made the mind of man its abode. It is no more a personage but a network of "the central forces of the world." Pater consoles himself by the thought that, though its slave in life man can triumph over nature in a work of art. That is why art enables us to enjoy vicariously spiritual freedom. To quote him on this point: "In those romances of Goethe and Victor Hugo... this entanglement, this network of law, becomes the tragic situation, in which certain groups of noble men and women work out for themselves a supreme denouement. Who, if he saw through all, would fret against the chain of circumstance which endows one at the end with those great experiences."²⁹

Challenging Christianity on its own ground, the Religion of Beauty shows that, if not superior, at least, it is equal to the old religion.

Thus, aestheticism is not merely an artistic

credo; it is a world-view complete with its own psychology and metaphysic. The loss of faith in the institutional values and the concomitant atomization of the individual ushers it into existence. To sum up its *raison d'être* in the words of Hauser: "it not only renounces life for the sake of art, it seeks for the justification of life in art itself. It regards the world of art as the only real compensation for the disappointment of life, as the genuine realization and consummation of an existence that is intrinsically incomplete and inarticulate." "To burn always with this hard, gemlike flame, to maintain this ecstasy, is success in life" is not a sonorous rigmarole, as the debunkers of the religion of beauty think it to be, but a way of life which has some amount of philosophical justification behind it. And its vitality is proved by its persistence, in some form or other, well beyond the century of its birth. Evidently, it answers some deeply felt needs of a culture which is predominantly secular but at the same time refuses to be completely dominated by science

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DETHRONEMENT OF THE CONCEPT OF 'SYSTEM'

A.L. DESHPANDE

The existing political systems are failing us or are we failing them? No economic theory of development seems to solve our problems. No philosophy of life seems to be universally acceptable. Thus none of the systems whether in the realm of politics, economics or philosophy seems to offer permanent solution to human problems. And there is little hope that the future theories in these and other realms shall be able to solve our problems.

Since the time of Plato or even earlier, man has tried to solve his collective as well as individual problems through various systems which have given birth to a plethora of methods. His effort has always been to devise an ideal system through which to solve his problems. Democracy, Autocracy, Anarchy, Capitalism, Communism, Socialism, Humanism, Idealism, Individualism... the list would be interminable, are the offsprings of these efforts. The fathers of these various systems have always claimed that their particular system is an ideal one and their enthusiastic adherents have believed in the truth of these claims and have accepted these with unquestioning faith.

But not one of these systems is all inclusive and some one or the other has been found wanting. Is the idea of an ideal system a myth? Dr. Alexis Carrell, in his perspective study of man, 'Man the unknown' has pointed out: 'It is quite evident that the accomplishments of all sciences having man as an object remain insufficient and that our knowledge of ourselves is still most rudimentary.' Thus man is still unknown and it seems that he shall ever remain so. Man's ignorance about himself arises not from the scarcity of necessary data about his various activities but from its very abundance. The available data is so abundant that if the conclu-

sions arrived at about him are to be intelligible a selection will always have to be made because the mere existence of information does not constitute knowledge. It becomes useful knowledge only when it is assembled into an intelligible whole in the human mind and there is a limit beyond which the human mind cannot assemble the number of facts into intelligible conclusions. Moreover this choice will vary not only from person to person but from time to time due to the fact that more and more information shall be added to a already big stock of facts about man and his environment in course of time. Thus man is destined to remain unknown for ever.

In the light of the most rudimentary knowledge of man and the strong probability of its ever remaining so, how can we expect any one system to be ideal or universally acceptable? Systems exist for the solution of our individual and collective problems. When we lack in complete knowledge about ourselves how can any systems which have human beings as basis prove ideal for us? Thus it seems that we can not hope to rely on any one system to solve our problems and we have to seek some other approach to solve our difficulties.

Lewis Mumford has tried to solve this difficulty in his essay: 'Triumph over systems.' He recognises that no one system of philosophy can do justice to Life's endlessly varied needs and occasions and suggests: 'by turns one system or another must be invoked temporarily, to do justice to life's endlessly varied needs and occasions.'

Thus Lewis Mumford's approach differs radically from the former in so far as it demands an ever alive skepticism of the existing systems and a readiness to exploit any system 'to do justice to life's endlessly varied needs and

occasions,' when the former approach demanded an unflinching faith in a particular system.

The diametrically opposite approach put forward by Lewis Mumford shall demand of us a thorough knowledge of all the systems, an ability to discriminate properly as to which particular system can be profitably applied to solve a particular problem and a degree of detachment so as not to be conditioned by any one particular system more powerfully than another. In view of the extreme inelasticity of the human mind and its strong preferences for particular systems which hinder the degree of detachment demanded by Lewis Mumford's approach, it seems that the skepticism of systems as he calls the approach shall prove difficult in practice.

Ignorance, no doubt, is dangerous, but knowledge can be still more dangerous. This could be our verdict on Lewis Mumford's approach. Unflinching faith in one system which means disregard or indifference to other systems is no doubt dangerous but a skepticism of systems is likely to be still more dangerous. When we have knowledge of more than one system, there is always a possibility of unwise choice which shall lead us into still greater darkness than would our knowledge of a single system.

What then should be our approach? Could we possibly do away with the concept of method of system in the solution of our collective as well as individual problems? Could we possibly approach our problems with simplicity? Could we possibly unburden ourselves of all the

systems? What, perhaps, we can profitably do is to be aware of our problems. When we try to understand a problem with a mind that is not burdened with the knowledge of various systems, we approach it with simplicity. And when our approach is a simple one it always leads us to light. It is a psychological fact that the very understanding of the problem with simplicity shows us the way to its solution which is unlike any existing method and which is always new and appropriate and defies definition.

Ignorance, no doubt, takes us into darkness, but knowledge takes us into still greater darkness. It is only simplicity that leads us to light.

Are human beings capable of giving up this concept of 'system'? I believe they are. No doubt, they are very slow in outgrowing certain concepts to which they cling so tenaciously. But it is a fact, in course of time, they do outgrow them. Take for example the concept of 'purpose'. It was supposed by almost all ancient theological systems that life had some 'purpose' and that the world and the universe were created for man. But modern cosmology has completely exploded that myth. It has proved that our earth is a minute spark in the cosmic universe. And that it is unthinkable that the universe was created for such an insignificant being like man. Now we no longer give serious consideration to this concept. In fact human beings have, now, learnt to live comfortably without this concept and I don't think we have been any the poorer spiritually or otherwise for having given up this concept.



AN APPROACH TO I. A. RICHARDS

Y. N. VAISH

Poets, deserted by the world before,
Turn round into the actual air ;
Invent the age ! Invent the metaphor !

Archibald MacLeish

Dr. I. A. Richards is much too familiar with the Indian University and College teachers and Professors, but his popularity among them is as a critic, not as a poet. His rank as a critic is not inferior to T. S. Eliot and other eminent critics of English Literature. His two books—*Practical Criticism* and *Principles of Literary Criticism*—are widely read by the teachers and students of the Indian Universities and Colleges.

When he is a poet, he is not a critic but simultaneously he is both, i.e., he is a poet and he is a critic, because "Good theory is not there to tell the poet what he shall do, but to protect him from gangster-theories : academism, punditry, fashion, movements, modernities, and so forth. Critical theory does this best by observing the actualities of inspiration and composition." It is not the case with Mr. Richards but this trouble is with every poet. If he or she is really a poet, he or she has to face ups and downs of the theories of the critics. It is my own experience as a poet. Before the gangster-theories, a poet, either, does lose totally his or her inspiration or produces a little because the poet is mostly terrified with the theories of the critics.

Dr. I. A. Richards has composed his verses only for a few intellectuals. He seems to me an aristocratic poet, so, he composes his verses only for the aristocratic readers. No layman can understand his poems. Like William Wordsworth and Robert Frost, he does not conceive nature as a means of an inspiration. Nature was also discarded by William Blake. Even nature could not inspire me. Whenever I approach

her, I found out that my inspiration was dull. There is no change in NATURE with the dynamic change in the world. It can not reveal the human weaknesses and vices. Neither is it concerned with us nor are we concerned with it. We do only appreciate its beauty because there has been no change in Nature. It is as today as it was thousand years ago. So, the modern poetry is only concerned with we and society. And its theme is also we and society. All the poets of twentieth century, from Mr. Ezra Pound to T. S. Eliot and from Eliot to us, are trying to wash out the human weaknesses and vices in the world. The aim of the modern poetry is to awaken the spiritual and religious feelings which have died in society of the modern men :

How see oneself ?

Reflect, no mirror's skin

Throws back those rays.

And, what though you imagine,

What you deserve is not what would be
seen.

Be not too sure !

The vacant eye

Some scattering beam

May occupy,

Dream dreams there through in princely
vanity.

(*Semanticist's Dance*)

T. S. Eliot has also experienced the society which is an irreligious society of men :

Shape without form, shade without colour,
Paralysed force, gesture without motion ;

(*The Hollow Men*)

Because these wings are no longer wings
to fly

But merely vane to beat the air

The air which is now thoroughly small
and dry

Smaller and dryer than the will
Teach us to care and not to care
Teach us to sit still.

(*Ash-Wednesday*)

Poems of Mr. Richards are too obscure to follow them. Even he has given the notes to avoid the difficulty of the readers, but, even, an obscurity remains the same throughout the poem. In writing of the notes on his poems, has followed the method of T.S. Eliot's *WASTE LAND*, but he does not imitate the technique of Eliot. The technique is his own. The obscurity in his poems is more than that of Mr. Ezra Pound, T.S. Eliot, Hart Crane, H.D., Wallace Stevens, E.E. Cummings and other contemporary poets. His poems are not original as the poems of Walt Whitman are. "The poem which is absolutely original is absolutely bad;" comments T.S. Eliot, "it is, in the bad sense, 'subjective' with no relation to the world to which it appeals." Every great modern poet is concerned with the world and his vast reading and experiences make the modern poetry obscure. His poems are not included in any of the best anthologies due to the obscurity, as I think. The main cause of an obscurity in them is that Mr. Richards is highly intellectual among the living poets of the day. And so, the poems are the works of an intellect:

Every arrival this; and every departure:
Leaping from rotting strength to iron stump.
With all at stake in each blind folding jump.
Home-coming this: lighting out at a
venture.

(*Manifold Motions*)

There is an obscurity in these above lines even if there is no uncommon word. "Yet, though he may use the same words as those of ordinary conversation," writes Mr. Howard Sergeant, "or of other forms of writing, he uses them in a completely different way. He is not attempting to provide a clear set of simplified directions such as those of a police-man might give to help us reach our immediate destination safely; still less is he concerned with presenting a philosophical treatise, logically worked out. His task is to present a pattern of complex experience which

will reveal a multiplicity of meanings, and he does it by the use of poetic form in which myth, symbol, imagery, paradox, parallel, and irony all play their various parts."

Mr. I.A. Richards' poetry is not like the poetry of Mr. Ezra Pound, T.S. Eliot, Hart Crane, E.E. Cummings, Wallace Stevens and others. The poetry of Mr. Richards presents a pattern of complex experience to have a multiplicity of meaning:

As in some cabinet not far
From his show cases.
The invisible curator places,
Upon its proper shelf
Within its due division, niche or drawer,
Each choice type-specimen Self:
Its ornate, and its not so
Ornate shells,
Its vestures, sociable or else:
Its own interior shield,
Or shields: so well arranged that one
might know

All knowable in this field
Merely by due inspection:
But he displays
For public gaze or praise
Only a chosen piece
(Descry who may his process of selection);
I, as no news release.
On this auspicious day
Will here pick out
As more than enough to talk about
But a few themes:
May they, so this exordium would pray,
Be neither schemes nor dreams.

(*Introduction*)

There is no direct approach to his poetry.

The greatness of the modern poetry is that there must be an obscurity in it. "The truth is that very much of the best poetry is necessarily ambiguous in its immediate effect. Even the most careful and responsive reader must reread and do hard work before the poem forms itself clearly and unambiguously in his mind"¹ Mr. Richards goes ahead in obscurity to T.S. Eliot's *The Waste Land*. I find the same quality in the poetry

of Mr. Allen Tate. Mr. Tate does not follow the technique which is used by Mr. Richards. Like written notes on his poems to help the readers in understanding his poems but the obscurity does not come to an end at once. Mr. Richards, like W.B. Yeats, T.S. Eliot, Allen Tate and others, does not compose poems for the Paper Back anthologies.

Modern poetry (poetry of today) is not the poetry of emotion because it is not an imitation of human life as the poetry of Chaucer is. Modern poet has to restrain his emotions. If he fails to check his emotions, he fails to be a poet. The modern world is a world of a number of complexities and puzzles. Therefore, Mr. Richards' poetry is free from the language of emotion. And there is no emotional attitude in his poetry. There is no language of *soul*. The language of his poetry is the language of *cell*, because there are

Two languages :

As of the soul

As of the cell.

Take it in turn :

In new pages

Each other spell.

(*Complementary Complementaries*)

In time of composing poems, he is not confused like Hart Crane :

Whatever else there is, I should neglect.

How save what matters must ? How

compose

Postures agreeable to what I suppose ?

(*Metempsychosis*)

He is one of the most conscious poets of his time. He never praises James and John Stuart and like his contemporaries he is also against the achievement of Science :

Bright the Satanic Mills.

Not lacking innocence :

James and John Stuart

Lay by pretence,

Lay down the rules of Wherefore and

Whence.

(*Semanticist's Dance*)

While he praises Lenin :

Seek nobler thoughts. Find Lenin's aim :
To glorify the gifts of men.

Shut up the homicidal shop

And call us to the Banquet their !

(*Near The Stove*)

He has not only praised Lenin but also been fascinated by the eastern religion and its philosophy, especially Buddhism :

This Buddha sits ;

But by a limpid water

Welling by :

Which maybe more befits

Words none will utter

Whoever sigh.

(*By The Pool*)

By praising Lenin, he is not a man who follows the ideology of communism but he praises him because Lenin has glorified the gifts of men. Before him the gifted men were ignored. Mr. Richards has composed a long poem but not long on Buddha and his philosophy. In this poem his imagination plays an active part, as the imagination is not too much in his other poems. He who has been influenced by Buddhism, is not the only poet, but there are two great poets--T.S. Eliot and Hart Crane. Hart Crane was too much influenced by the doctrines of Buddhism so it was the cause of his death.

His use of symbols is different from that of W.B. Yeats and T.S. Eliot. There is no influence of the contemporary poets and their poetry on his poetry, but he is influenced by the metaphysical and eighteenth century poets. So, he makes the use of symbols from a world of Science :

Reflect indeed, for where is projector,

The lens, the lamp, the current that it's fed,

The film, the camera crew, lights, mike, and

script ?

Is this whole shooting-match but in my

head ?

But then, if so, why am I not Director ?

(*The Screens*)

because his poetry does directly launch an attack on 'a great Prince in prison lies' | His servants disaffected : | The affection and the faculties Disabled and dejected." When a poet deals with the world as it is, he does not bother himself for the symbols but the common use of words, i.e., T.V. curator, Director & etc., are themselves the symbols. The world of symbolism takes its birth in the language of conversation which is used in the poetry, there is the main cause of an obscurity in the modern poetry. Employing the language of conversation means that poetry includes the philosophy because "Philosophy, dismissed by school-men, may find employment again with Poetry : . . .", writes Mr. Richards. So, in the poetry of Mr. Richards, there is an agreement between philosophy and poetry.

Readers of his poetry can not separate them from each other.

When there is Philosophy in his poetry there is also music in it. The conversational language does not affect cadence and rhythm :

This picture I take
Is the camera's view.
Not mine : not you.

(*Complementary Complementaries*)

Hence, music is not absent in his poetry because he is not indifferent to the love of music. The music in his poetry delights a reader, even if there is an obscurity.

I. I.A. Richards : PRINCIPLES OF LITERARY CRITICISM 1 191.

Indian Periodicals

The following excerpts are from the report of the Krishnan memorial Lecture delivered in 1968 by D.S. Kothari, Chairman of the University Grants Commission as published in *Science and Culture* of July 1968 :

One evening, early 1956, Homi Bhabha, Krishnan and myself met Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He wished to discuss with us the question of preparing a report on the hazards of nuclear explosions. Bertrand Russell had written to him urging that India undertake an objective and dispassionate study of the likely effects of nuclear explosions. Such a study could make some, perhaps significant, contribution towards creating public awareness of the nuclear peril facing mankind. All this was close to Nehru's sensitive perception, and it found a ready echo in his heart.

It took about two months to write the book which was published in June 1956. A draft prepared about six months earlier was of some help. Nehru in his foreword to the book said : "I trust that this study, brief and incomplete as it is, will be of some use in directing peoples' minds to the dreadful prospect of war in the nuclear age and to the dangers of continuing nuclear test explosions." It was encouraging that the book was soon translated into Japanese, German and Russian. The preface to the German translation brought out by Krausskopf-Verlag observed : ".....History-making books are those which convey decisive knowledge at the right moment in an authentic form—unobjectionable and incorruptible, objective, consolidated and total—as the basis for the thoughts and actions of citizens and even of statesmen ! Such a one is the Indian work 'Nuclear Explosions and Their Effects'." The

second and revised edition of *Nuclear Explosions* was brought out in 1958.

Bertrand Russell in his recent book *Has Man a Future* (1961) referring to the Indian Study said that "(the) report written by thoroughly competent men of science. . . . is admirably objective and reliable, but, for this reason, it did not serve the purposes of the politicians of East or West and offered nothing of interest to sensational journalists. Consequently, it was little known and of little interest to the general public."

After analysing the nature of different kinds of energy the speaker proceeded on the development of nuclear energy for purposes of war.

The progress of civilization has depended largely upon man's ability to harness energy to meet his diverse needs. The three kinds of energy processes known are gravitational energy, chemical energy which is essentially electrical in origin, and nuclear energy. The nuclear process is some million times more powerful than any chemical reaction. It may be observed that unlike gravitational and chemical energy, harnessing of nuclear energy is not possible without deep insight and considerable progress in fundamental science as distinct from empirical arts and crafts. Gravitational energy was adequate to meet the demands of tribal life. Chemical energy (burning of coal) led to the development of nation-states. It seems that nuclear energy will lead inevitably to one world or none at all.

And went on to describe the destructiveness of these of bombs in more detail. We find that :

The radius of destruction of an atomic bomb is of the order of a few miles and the destruction is almost entirely caused by blast and heat. In the case of a thermonuclear bomb, the destruction due to blast and heat alone covers a few hundred square miles, comparable in size to the largest of metropolitan cities. This is not all. The highly radioactive fall-out (specially from a "dirty" bomb) will cause fatalities over an area of several thousand square miles and significant damage over hundreds of thousands of square miles. A thermonuclear bomb detonated close to the ground

sucks millions of tons of debris into the fire ball. For a ground burst the bulk of the fission products comes down as 'local fall-out', extending over a period of hours to days. But a small part is projected high into the atmosphere, gets widely scattered and gradually, over a year or so settles down almost over the entire surface of the earth. This is called 'global fall-out'. For an air burst, the fire ball consists only of a few tons of bomb material, and the fall-out is largely global. An atomic bomb dropped over a city will kill around ten to hundred thousand people and a hydrogen bomb dropped over a metropolis will kill around a million people (omitting fatalities caused by local fall out over a much larger area).

No power likes to fight it out when the weapons used caused cataclysmic destruction and the annihilation of entire populations in a hideous manner :

An important concept is that of *assured destruction capability*, a term made familiar by Mr. McNamara, the US Defence Secretary till recently. Assured destruction capability of a country A in relation to country B represents the level of damage that the country A can certainly inflict on country B on the assumption that it was B which *first* attacked A with as much force as it could conceivably deploy. If the *assured destruction capability* of A *exceeds* what B believes to be the maximum damage that it could accept without collapsing completely then B would be deterred from mounting a first attack on A. If the assured destruction capability of each of the two countries (as assessed by the other) exceeds unambiguously what the other *firmly* believes to be its maximum limit of acceptable damage, they would be mutually deterred from attacking one another. There will be between them a balance of terror. So long as decisions are taken rationally, they would not attack each other. To do so would be totally suicidal for both of them. But to suppose that decisions of the kind we are contemplating will be always taken rationally, is to make too big an assumption. And it would be folly to stake the whole future of mankind on such an assumption.

A comparison followed relating to the nuclear might of the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. The Speaker then went on to describe the nuclear capacity of China and that of the USA and USSR :

According to McNamara, a significant Chinese nuclear threat to the continental USA will not develop before the mid-1970's. It is unlikely that before that the Chinese could deploy operational ICBMs in significant numbers, though it may have within two or three years a couple of submarines with nuclear missiles of rather short range. The USA is planning to provide a somewhat elementary type of ABM defence consisting of about 10 missile batteries with radar installations costing about \$4 billion, with the ostensible aim of neutralizing any possible Chinese threat in the coming decade. The effectiveness of this austere ABM defence in reducing US fatalities from a Red Chinese attack in the 1970's is shown below (according to McNamara) :

TABLE

	Chinese strike first	
US fatalities—in millions (operational inventory)	X missiles	3X missiles
Without ABM		10
With ABM	0-4	1

By 1980's China's nuclear capability, of which submarine launched missile is likely to be an important component, is expected to reach a level when it could cause 'unacceptable destruction' to the super-powers.

It is important to recognise a special characteristic of the nuclear arms race. The increasing sophistication and amplification of nuclear weapons and the scaling up of defence preparedness and costs since Hiroshima have steadily diminished, and not improved, the security for the super-powers. What does this mean? A nuclear attack and the inescapable counter-

attack in the early 1950's could have inflicted casualties numbering a few millions on the two sides ; in the late 1950's the numbers could have been in tens of millions, whereas today the casualties could be of the order of *hundreds* of millions.

Despite the clear futility of the arms race there is no noticeable slowing down in the effort of the super-powers to improve and multiply their nuclear arsenals. The USA is developing a new generation of ICBMs. Multiple Independent Re-entry Vehicles (MIRV) are to replace within a few years existing ICBM war-heads. An MIRV will carry a number of megaton warheads (5 to 10) which could be directed separately to widely dispersed targets. This would increase severalfold the effectiveness of the present stock of ICBMs.

The present level of nuclear armories of USA and USSR, as commonly depicted in current literature, is given in the following table (next page) :

In conclusion the speaker came of the Conclusion

Science cannot be divided into peaceful, not-so-peaceful, and hideous science. Even Ramanujan's formula of partitions found its application in understanding the properties of nuclei relevant to the realisation of the chain reaction. It is not science which is dangerous, but it is the misuse of science which is so. The Non-Proliferation Treaty attempts to draw an artificial distinction between peaceful and non-peaceful application. We must remember that science is universal and international. Scientific discoveries by non-nuclear nations and peaceful application of science can be put by nuclear powers to military use. The Non-Proliferation Treaty would imply that whereas non-nuclear powers would be denied the development of their own techniques of peaceful use of nuclear explosions, the nuclear powers would be free to put to military use the scientific discoveries made by non-nuclear nations.

The solution to the great nuclear challenge

Nuclear Armoury, USA and USSR in 1967
(Based on *US News & World Report*, July 24, 1967)

Category of Nuclear Warhead		USA		USSR	
		No. of Warheads	Total yield (in Megatons)	No. of Warheads	Total yield (in Megatons)
Inter-continental Ballistic Missiles	ICBM	1054	1650	300	4000
Intermediate Range Ballistic Missiles	IRBM	None	None	to 500	
				750	750
Submarine-Launched Ballistic Missiles	SLBM	656	160	247	196
Anti-Ballistic Missiles	ABM	None	None	Tallin system (Galosh and Griffin missiles)	n.a.
Strategic Bombers		680	27,200	110	24,400
Space Weapons		None	None	SCRAG Orbital Weapon	30 (each)
Total		2390	29,310	2607	29,346

of our times can be found only on the basis of hope and faith, trust and confidence, courage, and wisdom. The only possible goal—to be attained by stages—can and ought to be comprehensive and complete disarmament. The world has to learn anew, and in the present nuclear context, the great lesson that Asoka, one of the greatest emperors in world history, learned in Kalinga.

Asoka (273 B.C. 232 B.C.) proclaimed in one of his famous Roc Edicts: "The country of the Kalinga was conquered by King Priyadarsi beloved of the Gods, eight years after his coronation. In this war in Kalinga men and

animals numbering one hundred and fifty thousand were carried away captive from that country, as many as one hundred thousand were killed there in action, and many times that number perished. (But) Now the beloved of the Gods thinks that, what is conquest through Dharma is now considered to be the best conquest. So, whatever conquest is achieved in this way, verily that conquest creates an atmosphere of satisfaction everywhere both among the victors and the vanquished. In the conquest through Dharma satisfaction is derived by both parties."

Foreign Periodicals

INDIA'S BABU REVOLT

K. R. Sundar Rajan, writing in the *New Statesman* brings back to life the hopeful illusions of *Pucca Sahibs* and the anti-Congress prejudices of *kachcha Communists*. He wakes up suddenly to discover the utterly loyal-to-government *Babus* have at last turned. September 19, 1968 to him therefore, is a memorable day. On that day history was made. The *Babu* who "has been zealously loyal to his superiors" and defeated even Gandhi's efforts to make a dent on their loyalty to the Raj, at last revolted on the 19th September. Mr. Rajan says "The *Babu* revolt is the most remarkable sociological development in India in recent years. He tries to discover the material causes of this remarkable social phenomenon and finds that "What really galls most under-privileged Indians is the blatant hypocrisy of Congress leaders. Mr. Nijalingappa wants the poor to remember the penniless and behave in a law-abiding fashion, but he does not tell the freedom-rich party bosses to shed their ostentation.....Many Congress bosses in the states have become millionaires, and not one man has been sent to jail for using ministerial position to build up a private fortune. No wonder even the proverbial *Babu* is refusing to be fatalistic."

All this romantic approach to an economic problem is no doubt the product of an attempted synthesis of Marxist imperialism and monarchical empire building. For the

illusions about the loyal and mild *Babus* could have inspired the white lords in Viceroy Curzon's court. These could hardly find a proper habitat in an Indian intellectual's mind in 1968. The *Babus* passed through a remarkable sociological development in 1906 and many of them, thereafter sacrificed their pensions and, even their lives in order to drive the British out of India. The extreme poverty of India was brought about in the days of Digby, Romesh Dutt, Ranade, Gokhale and many other great thinkers and writers who had recorded the facts of the planned impoverishment of India by the merchant overlords who captured political power in India. The *Babus* were then paid Rs 15/- per month and they managed to exist on that as the memories of the great terror of the post-Mutiny years were still fresh in their meek minds. Sri Aravinda and the great revolutionaries of the Punjab, Maharastra and Bengal swept the cobwebs of mild loyalty from the mind of Indians by a fiery idealism which has not been equalled by anything else after that. The bold and warlike tribes of India who were more loyal to the British than the middle class people, were cured of their eagerness to serve the British by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, who invaded India with an army of Indian soldiers during the second World War. The congress have since independence committed many mistakes, but one cannot charge them with impoverishing India. That

was done fully and with thoroughness by the imperial British. The Congress has not been able to bring prosperity to India. But who guarantees that the Marxists will do any better? The little we have seen of Mao's thoughts in action has not elated us. As to making illicit profits Indian Marxism or Moism have not made any efforts to suppress such immoralities.

CHINA'S GREAT OILFIELD

The following extracts from *Current Scene* gives one a good idea how political ideology can clash with the essential economic activities of a nation :

The September 17, 1968 issue of *Current Scene* reviews the available information on the Taching oilfield, in Heilungkiang Province. For several years production from this reportedly new and originally highly publicized field helped make China substantially self-sufficient in petroleum. With the intervention of the Cultural Revolution and the attendant disruption, production at Taching dropped off. Thus in the space of a few short years the Taching oilfield rose and fell as China's number one industrial model.

The first well in the field came in during 1959, and by 1966 Taching was regarded as having charted a new course for all of China's industry to follow. It was hailed for achieving success in production through self-reliance. In 1966 the field is believed to have produced about one-third of China's output of 10 million tons of crude oil. More than 20,000 dependents of oil workers were employed either in agriculture or community service jobs, and in 1967 this community

even reportedly produced a marketable surplus of grain. Given little or no publicity was the fact that high wages, area bonuses, free utilities and community services, and other material incentives contributed to the Taching success story.

Taching has been scarcely mentioned in the press since early 1967, and it seems clear that what was a production success for China was, to Maoist zealots, a political failure. It appears likely that Taching's fall from grace resulted from increasing awareness by the radicals that much of its success stemmed from classic capitalist enterprise methods, for example, rewards to labor and concentrated investment, and not from the feats of politically inspired workers relying largely on local resources depicted in earlier propaganda stories about the field.

HISTORY OF THE FIELD

According to the authorized Peking version of the history of Taching, Chinese geologists discovered the oilfield in northwest Heilungkiang about 1958 and test drilling began in 1959. Anna Louise Strong wrote that the first well in the field came in on September 10, 1959, one day before the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Republic—hence its name "Taching" meaning "Great Celebration." In 1960, according to Miss Strong, after Soviet experts left China and the USSR canceled contracts for sales of petroleum to China, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) sent out a call for oil workers to help in developing the Taching field. Workers and some families from Yumen (in Kansu) and other fields began arriving in the winter of 1960-61. These original settlers, according to Miss Strong, lived in holes in the ground, and later built adobe-type homes which are still the

mode. Although Miss Strong said little about costs and investment, she implied, and press pieces about Taching have usually declared, that most of this was accomplished without foreign assistance and largely with local, as contrasted with state resources.

Construction of the Taching refinery at Lungfeng, on the rail line between Anta and Saerhtn, began in April 1962. According to Miss Strong, the refinery went into operation in October 1963. She said that refinery is largely automated and much of the oil in the fields moves by pipeline. She also reported that in 1966 plans were underway to build a plant to recover gases for the production of chemicals from which synthetic fibres and synthetic rubber could be made. These plans seem to have been in addition to claims of increased refining capacity brought on stream in 1966. A petrochemical plant went into operation at Taching in 1965, using the modern "platforming" process to turn out refined aromatics, including benzene, toluene, and xylene.

According to press reports, by 1966 there were 70,000-100,000 workers engaged in various phases of oil production at Taching. Miss Strong's letter said that in 1966 at least 21,000 dependents were additionally engaged in some form of productive labor there.

She described three residential areas in the Taching Basin, each having a population of more than 20,000 persons and 30 "villages" (clusters of five or six small residential areas), most of which have a population of less than 6,000 persons. Other smaller residential areas were located near permanent work sites. Even the smallest settlement was alleged to have a kindergarten, public canteen, and a dining-hall which doubles as a meeting hall and theater. Larger villages reportedly have central shopping and service areas, primary and farm-study middle schools, hospitals, clinics, bus stations, post offices, and banks.

In some respects, Taching seems to have been politically in advance of rural communes. Although dependents carried on large-scale far-

ming operations, there were in 1966 no private plots because "nobody has expressed a wish for them; the psychology of the inhabitants is that of workers rather than that of peasants," according to Miss Strong. Her observation, however, seems a bit inconsistent with the reports that the Taching workers kept cattle, pigs and poultry; which these reports suggest they could buy and sell for their own accounts.

It is estimated that in 1966 China produced about 10 million tons of crude oil, perhaps one-third of it at Taching. In 1967, it is generally believed that output dropped both nationally and at Taching, by about 10-15 percent.

Estimates of National Output

1963	6.0	million	metric	tons
1964	7.5			
1965	9.0			
1966	10.0			
1967	8.5-9.0			

About 20 percent of Taching's output of crude oil is refined at the Lungfeng refinery. The remainder is processed at refineries in Dairen, Fushun, Lanchow, Shanghai, and Maoming (in Kwangtung). Miss Strong reports that the bulk of Taching's crude and refined products are transported by rail, mostly by tank car, but some in drums. To handle this traffic, a 250-mile-long rail link apparently has been completed between Anta in Heilungkiang and Lungliao in Liaoning, thus providing a parallel to the main Harbin-Shenyang-Dairen Line in reaching ports on the Gulf of Chihli or cities in central and east China.

The Shanghai refinery has become a major user of Taching crude oil, which is transported principally by rail, but also by tanker, from Dairen or other ports in the north to Shanghai.

From Miss Strong's description of the work-study schools, the food grown by dependents (without the incentive of private plots), soaring output of oil, etc., it is easy to see why Taching was originally singled out as a model of both industrial success and political orthodoxy. Its

much-heralded features of self-reliance, revolutionary fervor, etc., all fired by Maoism, are, in fact, still very much a part of the Cultural Revolution, witness the praise heaped on the Tsitsihar plant and other units.

Nonetheless, something went wrong. The reasons are not clear, but the following factors seem to have played a part :

(A) The men who built Taching put too much Central Government money into it, so that its "bootstrap" reputation was found to be tainted by classic capitalist enterprise methods. They may even have diverted money from other projects for use at Taching.

(B) The allowances, special benefits and other incentives granted to workers at Taching were thoroughly inconsistent with the goals of the Cultural Revolution. It is also possible that moves to eliminate these various benefits set off some of the reported labor unrest at Taching.

(C) Labor unrest and production disruptions generated by Cultural Revolution policies transformed Taching into a living and embarrassing refutation of the Maoist claim that the Cultural Revolution will in fact "stimulate" production.

Less than two years ago Taching stood at the peak of its fame. It had come to stand as a major production success, and seemed, in fact, to be the brightest spot in the industrial sector. China, had become, largely through the development of Taching, substantially self-sufficient in crude and refined petroleum. But the Maoist zealots apparently found Taching wanting, primarily because economics had been placed in command of politics.

THE ELECTION OF NIXON

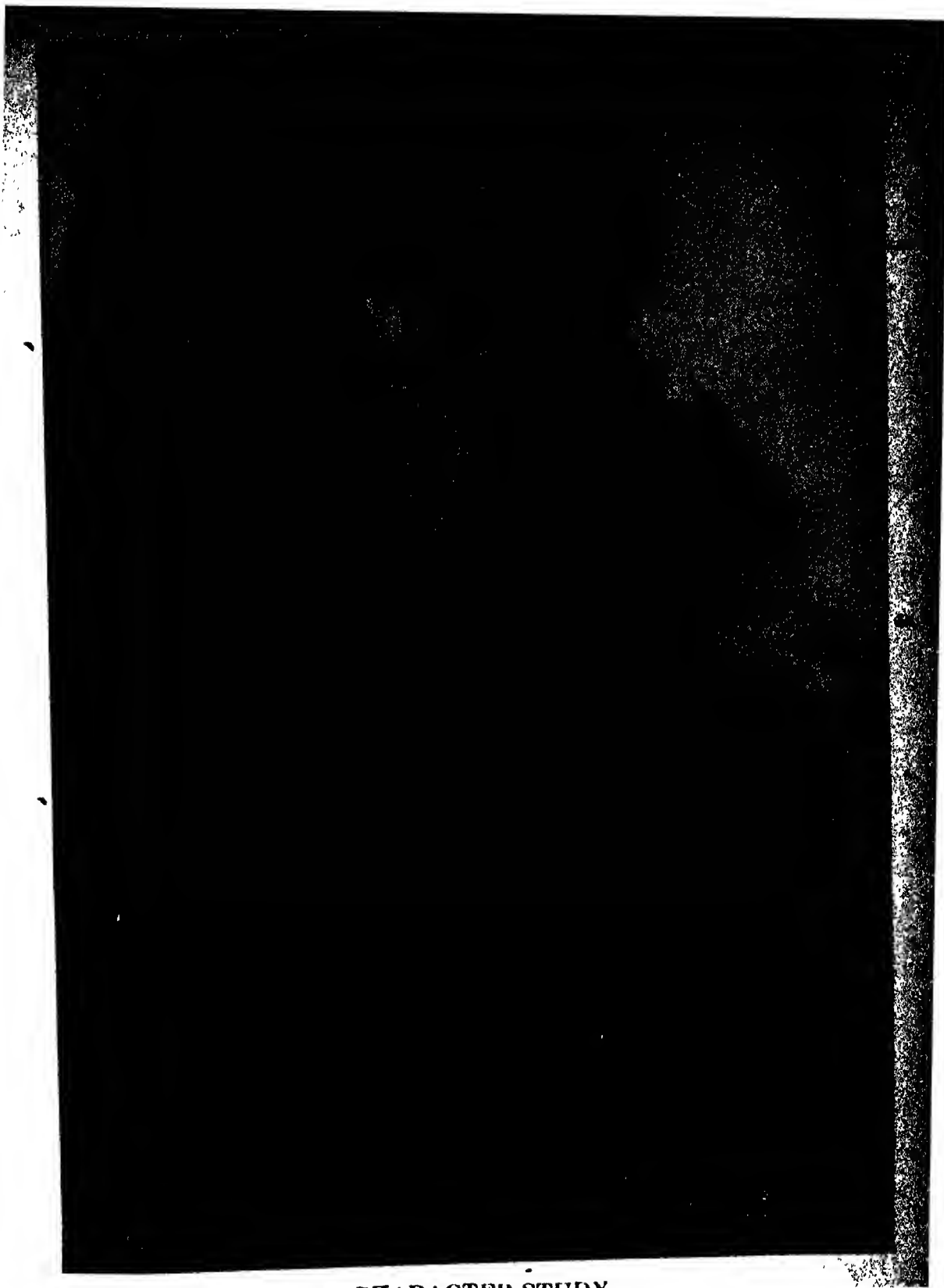
There are many opinions about the election of Nixon to the Presidency of the U. S. A. Those who welcome it and those who do not have their arguments no doubt, but the arguments are much too subtle to be stated in a clear and matter of fact manner. The Democrats have given us aid and so will the Republicans. Both will fight Communism we suppose. Negro militancy will grow irrespective of the preferences felt by the new President. There is not really much to worry about or to feel elated. But opinion is rampant nevertheless. The *New Statesman* thinks. "Nixon's judgment of men is aptly symbolised by his choice of running-mate ; a political neanderthal with a brutal taste in racist vocabulary, a colossal ignorance of political and economic subtleties, and a record not immune from charges of personal corruption. ...

"The consequences ? slower growth, higher unemployment, lower imports and a brake on the expansion of world trade. The eight years of Eisenhower-Nixon rule culminated in 7 percent unemployment, and it has taken eight years of Democrat administration to bring it down below 4 percent. There is every reason to believe that Nixon would inaugurate the same disastrous cycle again.

These fears are typical. Not over logical nor utterly free from prejudice.

Editor—ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

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CHARACTER STUDY

By

Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury

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THE MODERN REVIEW

DECEMBER

1908



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—Biswanath Sin

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—B. Dha

Milton and Iqba
—A. C. Baha

Bengali Sporting Magazine
B. M. Sankhdha

China's Foreign Policy
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THE MODERN REVIEW

DECEMBER



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WHOLE No. 744

NOTES

Communist Solidarity Threatened

Darwinian struggle for existence describes how the evolution of life on this Earth has achieved its succession of one species by another and has eventually reached the stage in which man has evolved as the most complex and intelligent form of life. Man after being physically and psychologically evolved, began to develop his acquired characters. In this process of "nurture" man experienced all sorts of teaching, training, discipline and strange interrelations. Religions, faiths, cults, theories, hypotheses and an endless variety in the sphere of institutions, organisations, political parties, dynasties, groups, cliques and conspiracies had to be adjusted into man's plan of existence. Wars, revolutions, agitations, propaganda, as well as resistance, counter revolutions, revisionism and the rest of them darkened or brightened human life as the case might have been from time to time. In this way man arrived at that stage of development which was given the name of the age of industry and scientific progress. The age saw

the awakening of a new consciousness of human rights and the peoples of the world wanted political, social and economic justice. Karl Marx predicted the growth of industrialism and the steadily increasing absorption of large masses of humanity into the ranks of workers in factories and other industrial establishments. He named these workers the proletariat and prophesied that these persons will for ever be economically in a state of bare minimum of existence. There will be therefore revolutions to redress the injustice inherent in industrialism, that is, the entrepreneurs, habit of taking away all surplus value as their own profit after paying the lowest possible wages to the workers. The workers, revolutions will ultimately establish dictatorships of the proletariat, the workers of the world will unite and everybody will live happily ever after.

The facts of economic and political history tell us that industrialism has not reduced all workers to a bare minimum of existence. A study of wages shows that in many countries to-day workers earn much

more than other professional men do. Many traders and small capitalists earn less in profits than the highest paid workers earn in wages. The countries where communism has replaced other forms of government and economic organisation, are also not the lands of no want, no exploitation and no injustice that Communism promised to convert, all countries of the world to through revolutions. The wages of workers in economically advanced non-communist countries are much higher than in similarly industrialised communist countries. The workers are not exploited by private persons; but their exploitation by the State is of a much more intensive manner. That accounts for their lower wages and lesser standard of living.

The workers of the world have not united through the establishment of Communism. There are now a wide and threefold division among Communist Countries. The major group is formed by the USSR and her immediate supporting countries like, Poland, Hungary, East Germany, Bulgaria etc. There are other European Countries which have Communist Governments, but are not close supporters of the USSR. These Countries are Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Rumania. There are Communist parties in many countries of which some support the USSR and others do not. The Chinese communists are a separate bloc altogether. The exploitation of the workers of China is so intensive that those industrial employees are really a vast proletariat living on bare minimum of existence rates of wages. The Chinese leaders are also divided in their outlook and plans of distribution of wealth. Mao' Tse-tung has his own "thoughts"

backed by his private armies of soldiers and revolutionaries. In spite of the firm establishment of Communism in China, revolutions are set in motion in that country by its leaders with a view to liquidate opposition. The Chinese have plans of establishing Communism in other countries through conquest by Chinese soldiers, instead of by internal revolutions in those places. This is a new approach, without any ideological support. The Chinese are also anti-USSR and have plans of starting a political revolution in that country through ideological propaganda and other means. Some people think that the capitalist blocs led by the United States of America help China secretly to achieve her objectives in the USSR. That the Anglo-Americans supported China's occupation of Tibet is a known fact of history. That the Chinese pact with Pakistan also has the approval of the Anglo-Americans is also a tenable conjecture. Beyond this one cannot go and one has to come to conclusions through a close analysis of Chinese behaviour.

Communist solidarity therefore does not exist and the ways of life of Communist nationals vary widely from country to country. This is very similar to what has happened in capitalist countries. We find very low wages and a basic standard of living alongside of high wages and costly paraphernalia of private and social existence in non-communist countries. We find the same in Czechoslovakia, Russia and China. Human life has not therefore found a solution to its sorrows, wants and slaveries through Communism Capitalism has no doubt a longer history of failures. But some countries among the capitalist groups have

greatly reduced the difficulties of life through social welfare and social security arrangements. Man's helplessness and basic wants no longer exist in many countries. This is a great achievement.

Playing With Currencies

A managed economy is sometimes of advantage to a nation in so far as it can help the growth of underdeveloped branches of the economy and corrects imbalances in the economic life by deliberate remedial measures. But where interference with the normal flow and movements of the economy becomes a part of political plans or ideological gestures the managers often do things without paying full and proper attention to the economic implications of their actions. Thus the nationalisation or denationalisation of this or that industry or institution may have a grave economic significance which may be ignored or belittled by the politicians ruling a country. Such non-economic pressures or influences may cause damages to the economy which are really avoidable and can not be considered to be essentially connected with economic planning or management. Trade and commerce may be undertaken with other nations in order to support political alliances ; or existing connections broken off because of diplomatic misunderstandings. Such forced establishment or winding up of international exchanges of goods etc. cannot always be economically justified ; but political reasons may induce their creation or termination. Then there are matters of a financial nature which are, more often than not, the products of political feelings or strategy. This kind of assistance, aid, credit or cash dealings are not always economically

sound ; but come into existence because of plans and designs of political origin. The various ups and downs that the different monetary systems of the world have experienced since the end of the second world war, have been largely caused by political thinking as opposed to economic planning. And the various remedies suggested from time to time have also been of the political kind. The net gain has been negligible and more problems have been created than solved by the statesmen and diplomats who have tried out these political cures for economic ailments.

Another side of this greatly complicated world problem has shown us extensive mis-handling of economic resources by the politicians to meet their own ends. They have incurred heavy expenses for their political purposes and have thereafter sought to find ways and means to meet the expenses through ever increasing loans, economically crippling taxation, cutting out expenses which have a long period effect on productivity and economic development and inflationary methods of obtaining funds. The countries which depended on American aid found the aid becoming lesser day by day and could not adjust their public finance or national credit arrangements as America became stricter in the matter of giving assistance to other nations. India, Britain and other nations have had to face devaluation of currencies because of their dependence on American aid. The difficulties that France faced arose out of her losses incurred during the recent months of acute student and labour unrest. French industries could not give support to the French economy in a normal manner for a considerable length of

time and that had its repercussion on the international exchange position of France. Two things therefore stand out prominently when one examines the exchange ratios of the currencies of the world. One is governmental mishandling of money, credit, commerce and industries for achieving political objectives, and the other is the randomly fluctuating nature of foreign aid on which most nations largely depend.

India in Olympics

The inevitable has happened : India has earned a solitary bronze medal by achieving the third place in Hockey and has come last on the list of medal winners in brackets with Greece and Taiwan. India, world champion in Hockey, beaten twice, by New Zealand and Australia ; In most games there were no Indians as competitors because the government of India did not approve of sending any but the surest earners of medals. And the government men as well as the Olympic officials of India were naturally not qualified to pronounce on victories or defeats. They were told of mighty performances by some person or other with influence and the rest followed in the accepted pattern of trusted agents helping ignorant top rankers to make decisions. In games and sports there are no certainties in the matter of performance. The best way to achieve success is to put in as many persons of good records as possible. They stimulate each other to improve on their previous achievements. Lone athletes or minimum size teams seldom succeed in doing anything spectacular. The U. S. A. got 45 gold medals, 27 silver and 34 bronze. The U. S. S. R. got 29 gold, 32 silver and 30 bronze. Japan won 11 gold, 7 silver and 7

bronze medals. These countries had large teams and their sportsmen and athletes had been training for years in order to qualify for places in the national teams. Countries which have not much achievement to their credit also put in fair size teams in the Olympics and did well. Kenya obtained 3 gold, 4 silver and 2 bronze medals. Iran got 2 gold, 1 silver and 2 bronze medals. In fact India's miserable performance has no excuse. The Ministries of Government which play with our national prestige in the play fields of the world and all those selectors of would be champions who really do all the bossing and no real organisational work to improve standards should now get the sack so to speak ; and leave the work of making world champions out of Indian sportsmen to others who can really deliver the goods. The coteries that have grown round various games and sports organisations are in many cases full of persons whose principal aim is selfish exploitation of the opportunities created by their position, and not improvement of the standards of performance. In a few cases there have been suspicions of money making too. If India wishes to occupy her proper position in the world of sport she must make better arrangements for the development of play grounds, arenas, rings, tracks, swimming pools etc. etc. and of training arrangements, competitions, participation in international tournaments : also for the supply of good food at cheap rates to youngmen and women who engage in sports and athletics. The State Departmental efforts are not good enough. Rather governmental interference in such matters is undesirable. Sports lovers of India should take up this matter in right

earnest and try to make suitable arrangements for the improvement of sports organisations and the removal of obstructions of all kinds.

Ideologies as excuses for Expansionism

Expansion of territories or spheres of influence are always declared to be the results the expanding nations, desire to spread civilisation, religion, new ideals or to establish peace, progressive institutions, liberty or human rights. When the Greeks occupied other 'peoples' lands they said they were carrying Hellenic culture to the outside barbarian world. The Romans established peace in all conquered territories. All European armies that ravaged Asia or Africa did so for the spread christianity. The Arabs preached Islam to those whom they conquered. In modern times civilisation and peace, christianity or Islam have yielded place to communism. What the Czarist armies did is now done by Russian Communists for the "liberation" of the peoples of the earth. This means exchanging the shackles of imperial overlordship for the Yoke of Communistic dictatorship. The Chinese have changed their divine domination of subject countries by imposition of Chinese imperial "protection" upon them, into giving them a new type of "freedom" which comes through acceptance of Mao T'se-Tung's tyranny. In studying the history of imperial, theological or socialistic expansionism one comes to the same conclusion in all cases. That is expansion of territories have no fundamental connection with their declared objects. Expansion is sought to create new advantages and increased power. The ideologies cited are for giving a good excuse for a bad deed.

The Russians and the Chinese have always sent their armies into other countries in the name of their great emperors or, now, for Marx, Lenin or Mao. The armies will stop advancing when they meet determined opposition and will wait for the opposition to relax, before advancing again. There is therefore no need for any arguments with the invaders. They may be idealists or just grabbers; but in any case they have to be stopped. If a nation proves to the hilt the fallacies of Mao T'se-Tung that will not save it from Chinese aggression. A bold determined and effective counter attack however will have better chances of success.

The Revolutionary Urge

Everybody understands the advantages of being an integral part of a large and well developed nation. It is quite useless from all points of view to form very small sovereign states, for the reason that the sovereignty of very small states is never self-sufficient or resourceful enough to carry on the various functions of an independent state in a proper and comprehensive manner. The most essential constituents of sovereign power are organisation for proper defence, maintenance of stable currency, trade and commerce, and the establishment of honourable foreign relations. A very small state, such as the ones that our several tribal and Party inspired cliques want to set up here and there, can never maintain defence forces of any capability, currencies etc. of any strength or foreign relations which will shed lustre and glory on the minute "nations" that will arise. In other words if these petty revolutionary movements can become sovereign powers they can only become so with

the help of the foreign enemies of India. Such help can never be secured without sacrificing some important elements of freedom and human rights. If these small groups, which are now honourable and integrated parts of the Indian nation sell their honour and sovereign rights to others in order to break away from India, they can never be considered to be anything other than the paid agents of our enemies. This reduces them to the position of dishonourable and treacherous mercenaries of those who desire the destruction of their motherland. Such persons, even if they succeed in forming apparently free political units by their treasonable activities can never live down their infamy in a thousand years. And the chances are that they will never succeed in achieving anything that will give them more freedom and liberty than they enjoy as members of the Indian nation.

The Indian government have been rather lenient with these rebellious traitors. Over long years they have killed and injured many Indian soldiers and civilians. In the operations directed towards their suppression, the Indian soldiers and police have also killed and injured many of them. Had the operations been more intensively carried out their activities could have been terminated in a summary manner. This was not done as some of these rebels were actively helped by British agents and because some propaganda was always being carried on in their favour by Pakistan and China. But these considerations were not of such importance as justified the Indian Government's easy going methods of maintaining India's sovereignty immaculate and fully established in every part of India. The slipshod way of handling rebellious activities inspired, financed and aided by foreigners, some of whom supplied arms to the rebels, encouraged other non-tribal groups to

take up arms against the government. In Bengal the so-called Naxalites and the left wing Communists of Kerala have been busy organising armed risings. The Kerala as well as the Bengal groups have access to the sea and it may be assumed that they are obtaining arms from China which are shipped to them through foreign smugglers. Some such smugglers are occasionally caught by the police too. Pakistan has an extensive smuggling organisation and these smugglers are certainly doing some of the dirty work. It has, therefore, become urgently necessary to take stronger action against all those who inspire, assist and engage in treason. It would not be a bad thing to create a special ministry to handle the serious situation that has developed. One has to go to the root of things. Much of the urge to resist and rebel against the government is instilled in immature and undeveloped minds through subtle propaganda with a make-believe covering of political philosophy. There are hundreds of persons everywhere in India who are spreading revolutionary thought in the name of trade unionism and preaching of political ideology. They must be resisted by organised arrangement. It will not be a small thing.

Colour Fever Spreads

All diseases of the body and the mind have a tendency to spread through infection, contagion or through unknown channels. They are also controllable at times and can be eradicated by adoption of medical, surgical or psychotherapeutic means. Many physical ailments that have been scourges in the past are now completely curable and are scarcely considered to be major sources of human fatalities and suffering. Plague, Small-Pox, Tuberculosis, Leprosy, and Malaria have lost much of their terror now a days. The diseases of the mind that are recognised by medical men as mental ailments are not many. There are however, many abnormal, undeveloped and unhealthy conditions of the mind which are known as mental states and conditions, but not as diseases. In describing these we may say that in

the past, human beings had been subject to a wide range of ignorant superstitions, fears, antipathies, attachments, false sense of values and mistaken notions which made them far less human than they should have been had their minds functioned normally and without distorting what came into them through sensory perceptions or became thoughts and ideas by the working of their mental processes. They saw ghosts, spirits, evil eyes, witchcraft and many things that had no real existence. They prostrated themselves, felt great adoration or destructive urges and liked or disliked persons or things without any sound reasons. Things have perhaps improved during the last two hundred years but not to a remarkable degree. We still see millions of human beings in all countries behaving in an utterly senseless manner, individually as well as in large or small groups. A highly educated community like the Germans forgot all logic or ethics under the intoxication of Nazism only thirty years ago. A few years after that nearly a couple of million persons were butchered inhumanly in our own country for no offence other than being a Hindu or Musalman by religion. The slaughter of a few cows has roused great resentment among many people but the starving to death of ten times as many cows leave the same people unmoved. Less than a hundred years ago the British made their women work in coal mines for six pence a day and working class people lived on the Clyde side six to a room and slept in shelves in the walls of the rooms. Most houses in Great Britain then had no bathing arrangements. In Russia after the revolution, efforts at collectivism caused the death of millions due to lack of food. America dropped atom bombs on unsuspecting Japanese civilians killing and maiming hundreds of thousands of people in a hideous manner. These stray pieces out of human history show clearly how unstable in mind even the best of men can be and continue to be. The recent spread of racial antipathies in many lands is another aspect of the mental abnormality of human beings. The South Africans or the Rhodesians are builders of white colonies in Africa. They want to be the overlords of numerically much greater bodies of dark skinned men and women. It is really the land of the dark skinned people, but the whites have military strength! In the United States of America twenty million Negroes are subjected to endless humiliation by the white Americans. The U.S.A. are supposed to be the home of true democracy. But democracy in that country creates disabilities for some nationals on the ground of their complexion. This is caused by the mental condition of the majority of the people of the U.S.A. Had they been fully rational and gone by facts rather than by inherited emotions this racism could never have besmirched the fair name of the people of the U.S.A. The latest entrants in the field of racialism and colour bars are the British people. They have suddenly discovered that Britain has too many dark skinned immigrants who are settling down in that country. A member of Parliament Mr. Enoch Powell has been doing propaganda to stop the immigration of more dark skinned people into Britain; and to send them back to their own countries in order to keep Britain white. This would sound absurd to those who have any knowledge of British history. For Britain has always made money by going to other lands. Her industrial greatness was built on the loot of Bengal. The British sent indentured labour from India to work in Trinidad, Jamaica and other colonies. The British also exploited India to the fullest. If, to-day, some West Indians, Indians and Pakistanis go and earn a living in Britain, Britain cannot put a stop to it in any fairness. These people are not exploiting the British. They are working hard and the surplus values of their work are enriching Britain. The British have made good use of the commonwealth idea and the immigration of dark skinned members of the Commonwealth cannot be resented by the British. Mr. Enoch Powell therefore has not a leg to stand on. And if the British persist in their unreason, the dark skinned races will be justified in taking retaliatory steps against the British. They can do so in many ways.

Provincial Politics

We have had occasion before this, to criticise the politics of the States of India. The Indian Constitution has created these states and the States have no sovereignty which they have vested in a federal union of India. Moreover the States have been set up in many case on a linguistic basis without any historical or economic justification. In short the State governments are not and have never been wholly or partially sovereign bodies. The various legislative chambers that are found in the States are set up by elections held at great cost and they function for no purpose which can be given any fundamental political meaning. They are bodies with no important legislative powers and exist only for the support or opposition of the State governments. These State or Provincial governments, therefore, are maintained at a great cost to the nation without actually doing any proportionately valuable work for the nation. They are rather the cause of much national disunity and inter-community discord for the reason that they were initially sponsored by the Congress Party for the advantage of local political personalities who had assisted the Congress in their political work. The creation of the States, as they are, has been done in order to reward Congressmen of position in different parts of India. The result was that many State governments went corrupt and politicians indulged in gainful

activities for their own advantage or for the benefit of their proteges. There were therefore divisions among them which, added to the already existing factions of the opposition created a most disturbing set up for the people of the states. These various groups and factions worked for establishing themselves in power by creating new coalitions and the smooth running of state governments became impossible. How easily and economically state governments can be run has been proved on several occasions by establishing President's rule in certain provinces. The people have missed nothing as they never obtained any sovereign rights through their use of provincial governments of the representative type.

It is therefore necessary to reorientate our ideas of local government in the light of our experience of the last several years. We think the provinces should be abolished and India divided into a few administrative zones with fewer officials some of whom might be elected too if found necessary. The various municipalities should be reorganised in a manner which will guarantee the tax payers a fair return in services for the taxes paid. In short all present arrangement for state or municipal representations are sources of mal-administration and corruption. Too many professional politicians in committees and councils with obstructive powers and authority to give sanctions, select contractors pass estimates etc. should not be there.

GANDHI AND THE JEWS

BISWANATH SINGH & JYOTI N. BHARATI

Louis Fischer records that Gandhiji while discussing the Palestine problem had affirmed that "the Jews have a good case, but Arabs too should not be wronged". Gandhiji also wrote about the Jewish problem in the *Harijan* weekly which evoked a series of protest letters from the Jewish leaders. But one thing very remarkable about Gandhiji was that if he had any opinion about a problem, he would express that fearlessly and would hold that tenaciously undaunted by the spate of protest letters. But once he was convinced that his opinion was wrong, he had the moral courage to change his opinion publicly. This was an example of his principle of *satyagraha*.

For the first time it appears he wrote about the Palestine problem in his *Harijan* on Nov. 26, 1938. In an article entitled "The Jews", he wrote: "Several letters have been received by me to declare my views about the Jew-Arab question in Palestine and the persecution of the Jews in Germany. It is not without hesitation that I venture to offer my views on this difficult question". In this article, Gandhiji suggested that the Jews in Germany should use *satyagraha* as the most effective reply to Nazi atrocities, and at the same time he also criticized the Zionism and the Jewish settlement in Palestine as unjust to the Arabs. While sympathising with the Jews, he could not but think that the Arabs had the right to live in Palestine which have become their home.

This article was followed by a spate of letters criticizing Gandhiji. The letters came

from Jerusalem, England and the USA and also from other parts of the world. In a letter to Gandhiji, Martin Buber strongly criticized him for his views on the persecution of the Jews and his advice to resort to *satyagraha* and his seeming opposition to the creation of a Jewish State of Isreal in Palestine as follows :

"Jews are being persecuted, robbed, maltreated, tortured, murdered. And you, Mahatma Gandhi, say that their position in the country where they suffer all is an exact parallel to the position of Indians in South Africa at the time when you inaugurated your famous "Force of truth" or "Strength of Soul" (*Satyagraha*) campaign. There you say, the Indians occupied precisely the same place and the persecution there also had a religious tinge. There also the constitution denied equality of rights to the White and the Black including the Asiatics ; there also the Indians were assigned to the ghettos, and other disqualifications, were at all events, almost of the same type as those of the Jews in Germany.

"In the first of your speeches with which I am acquainted that of 1886, you quoted two particular incidents—first, that a band of Europeans had set fire to an Indian village shop causing some damage, and second that another band had thrown burning rockets into an urban shop. If I oppose to this the thousands of thousands of Jewish shops destroyed and burnt-out, you will perhaps answer that the difference is only one of quantity and that the proceedings were almost of the same type. But Mahatma, are you not

aware of the burning of synagogues and scrolls of law? Do you know nothing of all sacred property of the community—in part of great antiquity that has been destroyed in the flames? I am not aware that Boers and Englishmen in South Africa ever injured anything sacred to the Indians.

"It does not seem to me convincing when you base your advice to us to practise 'satyagraha' in Germany. An effective stand may be taken in the form of non-violence against unfeeling human beings in the hope of gradually bringing them thereby to their senses; but a diabolic universal steam roller cannot be thus withstood. There is a certain situation in which from the 'Satyagraha' of the strength of the spirit no 'Satyagraha' of the power of the truth can result.

'Satyagraha' means testimony. Testimony without acknowledgement is ineffective, unobserved martyrdom is a martyrdom cast to the winds that is the fate of innumerable Jews in Germany. God alone accepts their testimony and God 'seals' it as is said in our prayers. But no maxim for suitable behaviour can be deduced therefrom. Such martyrdom is deed—but who would venture to demand it?

"But your comparing of the position of the Jews in Germany with that of the Indians in South Africa compels me to draw your attention to a yet more essential difference. True I can well believe that you were aware of this difference, great as it is, when you drew the exact parallel. It is obvious that when you think back to your time in South Africa, it is a matter of course for you that as now you always had this great mother India".

In another article, Mahatma Gandhi was vehemently attacked by a Jewish spokesman

Hayin Greenberge, which was published in the 'Jewish Frontier'. In this article he wrote "the spiritual leader of 'young India' directs us to important accusations. Mr. Gandhi blames us for not exhibiting the heroism of militant pacifism in those lands where Jews are persecuted and especially in Germany. On the other hand he accuses us of following an aggressively nationalist almost imperialist policy in Palestine and of a desire to deprive the Arab of their fatherland."

"Gandhi's first accusation is quite natural and is in harmony with his entire world outlook. His temperament does not tolerate passivity and his ethical religious convictions dictate to him the duty of heroic and active resistance, according to the Indian principle of 'Satyagraha'.

"The Jews of Germany do not possess faith in the principle. This is a matter of special predisposition which, for numerous reasons, the German Jews have not developed. The civilisation in which German Jews have lived for so many generations, and to the creation of which they have so energetically and ably contributed has not prepared them for the "Pathos" of "Satyagraha". As a result they are now defenceless".

"When Gandhi accuses German Jews of lacking that mentality, which in his estimation is the only truly heroic mentality, I am ready to concur with him. But with one reassertion which he also must accept that that this accusation should also be levelled against the millions of non-Jewish Germans who wear the yoke of the Hitler regime with impotent hatred and show no more affinity for 'satyagraha' methods than do the Jews against the millions of Italians who for years have breathed the contaminated air of their own tyranny; against the tens of millions of

Russians who exhausted their strength in civil war and do not find their way to the Gandhi method of resisting the red despotism; against the hundreds of millions of Chinese who by their military resistance aid the Japanese aggressors to ravage their country instead of following the path of non-cooperation.

"I do not question the idea implicit in Gandhi's demand that there is mutual relationships between the intensity of suffering and intensity of the moral reaction to suffering. But there is reason to assume that when suffering and insults transgress certain bounds, it is quite natural that the reaction should be a feeling of futility and despair instead of that heroism which Gandhi suggests. This is especially true when the groups concerned is historically and psychologically not prepared for such a catastrophe and therefrom looks upon it as a sudden and unexpected occurrence.

"The prophet of 'Youn India' has in this instance exhibited an unusual lack of psychological understanding. "Gandhi should have understood that it is far less simple to preach 'satyagraha' to German Jews than it is to Indian masses, even to lowest caste of 'untouchables'. We all know the evils of English rule and administration in India. But one should be wary of drawing comparisons between the situation of the Indian masses today or even twenty years ago, and the position of the German Jews today."

"A Jewish Gandhi in Germany should one arise, could function for about five minutes—until the first Gestapo agent would lead him, not to concentration camp, but directly to the guillotine.

"Gandhi's comparison between the situation of the Indians and that of the German Jews, contains an element of unfairness which

crept in against his will and against his intentions. If Gandhi demands that we practise super heroism in Germany, he requests that in Palestine we should renounce the most elementary (rights) which every people may and should claim.

"Gandhi refuses to recognise our right to a distinct territorial settlement, a right which is enjoyed almost without exception, by all the peoples of the world. Were it not so, he would see the Palestine problem in an altogether different political and moral light. For when he says that "it would be a crime against humanity to reduce the pride of Arabs so that Palestine can be restored to the Jews partly or wholly as their National Home Land," he forgets that if national honour is at a stake he should also have thought of Jewish honour. Either it is dishonourable to be a minority in a country or it is merely a question of fictitious prestige for which he can have no sympathy. If only pseudo honour is involved why should he be concerned "lest the proud Arabs" be deprived of the enjoyment of an inflated pride? But if real national honour is at stake, why should Arabs enjoy it throughout the length and breadth of the Arabian peninsula, Iraq, Lebanon, Trans-Jordan, and Egypt. Why the Jews should be deprived of this honour even in an area which occupies about one percent of the above national lands; an area to which they have historical claims and the natural right they acquired during two generations of diligent work, initiative, heroism and sufferings? From a purely legalistic point of view, it may be possible to argue with him that "the Mandates have no sanctity but that of the last war" This does not mean however that the basic idea of the Mandates and the Mandatory system as it has been practised during the past twenty years, was born from the war. The idea underlying the Mandate,

which according to the constitution of the League of Nations should be applied in territories where the population is not ready for self-government or where local interests must be subordinated to more important consideration of an international character, is potentially of great humanitarian significance.' It is prelude to that "civil society" of which Franklin wrote in the eighteenth century; it is a way to a more rational and just collective international control of the world's wealth. I am not unaware of the shortcomings with which the League of Nations is weighted down nor of its sad fate during the recent years which also brought misfortune to all humanity. The fact that a mandatory Government is responsible to the permanent mandates commission, in which the majority of the members represent governments possessing neither Mandates nor colonial possessions, is itself an advance in the direction of internationalism and the humanisation of the World.

"It is regrettable that Gandhi approached our problem without the fundamental earnestness and passionate search for truth which are so characteristic of his usual treatment of problems. He, therefore, missed the deeper implications of the mandates system. He, therefore, also failed to grasp the unequalled tragedy of Jewish existence. This is the reason why he can justify the phenomenon of five Arab States demanding in London the establishment of a sixth one on the eve of the founding of the sovereign other Arab governments in Syria and Lebanon while at the same time sanctioning the denial of refuge to Jews in their old home."

"This also explains his stand that Arab must nowhere be reduced to the status of a minority while tens of millions of Russians, Poles, Czechs, Germans and Irish and Italians live in dozens of countries as ethnic minorities

and while Jews live as a persecuted minority on the entire globe.

"With all my respect for the Mahatma I cannot help feeling that in the present instance he has betrayed his inner nature. I cannot avoid the suspicion that so far as the Palestine problems are concerned Gandhi allowed himself to be influenced by the anti-Zionist propaganda being conducted among fanatic pan-Islamists."

"His understandable and praiseworthy desire for a united front with the Mohammedans apparently misguided and blinded him to significant realities and deprived him of that analytical clarity which is a part of his moral being. Years ago, he was for the same reason, misguided into supporting of the agitation for the re-establishment of the Khalifato, an institution that is at such variance with his general views."

"Gandhi was wrong then; he is also mistaken in the present instance and the source of these mistakes seems to be the same."

After receiving so many critical letters Gandhiji clarified his statement which was published on May, 27, 1939 in Harijan. Gandhiji accepted the arguments of Greenberg's statement and wrote in an article—"The Jewish Question"—thus: "I should deal with its reply to my article on the Jewish Germany and Palestine. The reply to my article on the Jewish Germany and Palestine. The reply is very ably written. Let me say that I did not write the article 'The Jew' as a critic, I wrote it at the pressing request of Jewish friends and correspondents. As I decided to write, I could not do so in any other manner,

"But I did not entertain the hope when I wrote it that the Jews would be at once

converted to my view. I should have been satisfied if even one Jew had been fully convinced and converted. I have no sense of disappointment that my writing had not to my knowledge converted a single Jew."

"Having read the reply more than once I must say that I see no reason to change the opinion I expressed in my article. It is highly probable that, as the writer says "a Jewish Gandhi in Germany, should one rise, could function for about five minutes and would be promptly taken to the guillotine."

"But that will not disprove my case or shake my belief in the efficacy of Ahimsa. I can conceive the necessity of immolation of hundreds, if not thousands, to appease the hunger of the dictators who have no belief in 'Ahimsa.' The writer contends that "I approached the Jewish problem without the fundamental earnestness and passionate search for truth which are so characteristic of his usual treatment of the problems."

"All I can say is that to my knowledge there was lack neither of earnestness nor of passion for truth, when I wrote the article 'The Jews.' The second charge of the writer is more serious. He thinks that my zeal for Hindu-Muslim unity made me partial to the Arab presentation of the case, especially as that side was naturally emphasised in India, I have often said that I would not sell truth for the sake of India's deliverance. Much less would I do so for winning Muslim friendship."

"Mr. Greenberg thinks I am wrong on the Jewish question as I was wrong on the Khilafat question. Even at this distance of time I have no regret whatsoever for having taken up khilafat cause. I know that my persistence does not prove the correctness of

my attitude. Only it is necessary for everyone concerned to know where I stand today about my action in 1919-1920."

"I am painfully conscious of the fact that this writing of mine will give no satisfaction either to the editor of 'Jewish Frontier, or to my many Jewish friends. Nevertheless I wish with all my heart that somehow or other the persecution of the Jews in Germany will end and that the question in Palestine will be settled to the satisfaction of all the parties concerned."

In a talk with his missionary friends on non-violence and the world-crisis Gandhiji said, "It is true that Jews have not been actively violent in their own persons. But they called down upon the Germans, the curses of mankind and they wanted America and England to fight Germany on their behalf."

Mahatma Gandhi had written in the Harijan (May 27, 1939) that on reading the last sentence which was published in Dec. 24, 1938 'Harijan' one dear friend wrote to me a fiery letter and challenged me to produce my authority for my remark. He said that I had been hasty in making the statement. I did not realize the importance of the rebuke."

Gandhiji tried to produce facts in support of his statement. He put Pyarelal and Mahadev Desai on the search. But it was impossible to find out. He says, that it is not always an easy task to find support for the impressions on carries when speaking or writing. Meanwhile I received a letter from Lord Samuel supporting the contradiction of the friend referred to above. Whilst I was having the search made, I got the following letter from Sir Philip Hatog."

After receiving that letter Gandhiji withdrew his statement mentioned in Harijan—

May 27 1939—that “I have never heard one of them (Jews) express publicly or privately the desire of a war of vengeance against Germany. Indeed such a war would bring further misery to the hundreds of thousands of Jews still in Germany as well as untold suffering to millions of other innocent men or women.”

“I put greater diligence in my search. The searcher were not able to lay hands on my conclusive writing. The manager of Harijan put himself in correspondence with the Editor or the ‘Jewish Tribune’ Bombay.”

The Editor of ‘Jewish Tribuue’ sent a letter to Gandhiji which he boldly advocated—that “Jews have never urged the democracies to wage war against Germany on account of the persecution of the Jews. This is a mischievous lie that must be nailed to the counter.

If there is a war, Jews will suffer more than the rest of the population. This fact is gained from the pages of history. And the Jew is a great lover and advocate of peace. I hope Mr. Gandhi, you will refute any such allegation that is made against them.” Mahatma Gandhi got this letter and being convinced he wrote into Harijan—

“In the face of the foregoing weighty contradictions new enforced by the Editor ‘Jewish Tribune’ and of the fact that I cannot lay my hands or anything on the strength of which I made the challenged observation, I must *withdraw* it without any reservation. I only hope that my observation has not harmed any single Jew. I know that I incurred the wrath of my German friends for what I said in all good faith.”

G. K. CHESTERTON AS A JOURNALIST

B. DHAR

In any consideration of Chesterton as a writer, it is essential to take into account the fact that he was first and foremost a journalist. He was a journalist at least in three senses. In the first place, a very large portion of the immense *corpus* of his writings was published in different journals. In the second, he wrote with an awareness that he was only an amateur, not a specialist or a scholar. Indeed, he brought a layman's approach to his writings. In the third, he adopted journalism as his profession and the bulk of his earnings came from it.

Chesterton started his writing career when journalism and literature had not drifted apart. Journalists like John Morley, Arthur Quiller-Couch and Churton Collins, had won laurels in journalism as well as literature. Many journalists were invited to accept professorial chairs at the English universities. Chesterton himself, in 1904, then barely thirty, was offered one at Birmingham University which he declined for the independence of his chosen vocation. In fact, he was proud of being a journalist rather than a man of letters. His preference for journalism to literature was the result of a deep conviction. Desmond Gleeson, a close associate of G. K. Chesterton, in a letter written to Maisie Ward corroborates this fact. "It is probable, he writes, "that if there was any division between G. K. and Mrs. Chesterton it was that she would have preferred him to have been a literary man, while he was proudest of being a journalist. He did not take literature seriously, but she did. She could have

wished he would devote time to literature instead of to journalism; but she would do nothing to detach him from his favourite hobby."¹ He remained a "jolly journalist" to the end of his life.

Motivated as he was by what may be called 'cosmic utilitarianism' (a phrase used by him to describe G. F. Watts' world-view) he was too public-spirited to devote himself wholly to purely literary work alone. Born in 1874, the heyday of the nineteenth century Liberalism, he imbibed the ethos of that predominantly Liberal generation. Lord Morley quotes a Liberal contemporary (who, he says, was one of the best students and writers of that time) as saying: "Literary opinions hold very little place in my life and thoughts. What does occupy me seriously is life itself and the object of it."² These words stress the subservience of literature to life—a view which Chesterton, like his Liberal compatriot, subscribed to whole-heartedly. 'I have no feeling for immortality,' he once said. I don't care for anything except to be in the present stress of life as it is. I would rather live now and die, from an artistic point of view, than keep aloof and write things that will remain in the World hundreds of years after my death. What I say is subject to some modification. It so happens that I couldn't be immortal: but if I could, I shouldn't want to be. What I value in my work is what I may succeed in striking out of others."³ Small wonder that Chesterton with his habitual disregard of fame developed 'the passion for writing on the sand.

When, at the turn of the century Chesterton joined the ranks of Fleet Street journalists, he was, apart from his innate romanticism, bouyed up by the example of the great journalists of the earlier generation who had fulfilled through their professional integrity 'one of the functions of a church,' made journalism a profession and the press the tribune of the people. He carried on his great predecessors' work and sought to recommend it to the younger generation. Unfortunately, the correct values of journalism were being increasingly suppressed by the new Press Barons of Fleet Street. Lord Northcliffe had founded the Amalgamated Press, the largest periodical publishing business in the world. This enabled him to exercise an ever increasing influence on politics. Chesterton regarded it harmful as he upheld the wholesome Victorian ideal that in no case the "ownership of a newspaper conferred any right of dictatorship in public affairs."⁴ He criticised Lord Northcliffe for dealing in 'politics and public opinion' instead of 'pork and petrol' and for buying 'a pulpit from which ideas could have been given when he had no ideas to give.'⁵ Chesterton stood for small and independent papers and poured scorn on the capitalist trend of newspaper amalgamation. In an article in *G. K.'s Weekly* he pictured this sinister tendency as a monster, a 'fearful thing, covered with scales larger than scutcheons, and rayed with spikes standing out like spears ; carrying with it all the weapons of an army and yet one soul and one body, such as God permits to walk upon the hills of the world.'⁶ Sir Percivale, the knight, who set out to kill this Dragon symbolised the conscientious journalist who, like Chesterton, fought for the survival of small and independent papers.

Chesterton subscribes to the 'old idea' that journalist is "simply a mode of the expression of the public, an 'organ of opinion.'⁷ He

regrets that this ideal was falling into disuse. The new editor, he says, "makes up" the paper as a man makes up a fairy tale as whereas his older counterpart "used dimly to regard himself as an unofficial public servant for the transmitting of the public news."⁸ This was certainly a pernicious and undemocratic trend. He, therefore, ridicules the tendency of the editors to palm off their "made up" stuff on the credulous public. As is his want to throw out ideas and observations at all sorts of places in his writings, he inserts a trenchant criticism of such journalism in an essay entitled 'Spiritualism.' "Blessed are they ; he says, "who have not seen and yet have believed : a passage which some have considered as a prophecy of modern journalism."⁹

In an essay entitled 'on the Cryptic and the Elliptic,' an admirable caricature of modern journalistic reporting, he deals with the deterioration in the art of reporting speeches. The younger journalist treated journalism as 'a conventional art' like any other art, and himself an "original artist" who could select, heighten and falsify his material. This was in sharp contrast with the practice of the early Victorian journalists with whom the giving of "verbatim reports of important speeches" was a rule rather than an exception. Chesterton, like his Victorian exemplars was a stickler for truthfulness in reporting. In his *Autobiography*, he notes with regret an instance of blatantly falsified report in his own Liberal paper. "I remember," he wrote, "going to a great Liberal club, and walking about in a large crowded room, somewhere at the end of which a bald gentleman with a beard was reading something from a manuscript in a low voice. It was hardly unreasonable that we did not listen to him, because we could not in any case have heard ; but I think a large number of us did not even

see him.....Next morning I saw across the front of my Liberal paper in gigantic headlines "Lord Spencer unfurls the Banner. Under this were other remarks in large letters, about how he had blown the trumpet for Free Trade and how the blast would ring through England and rally all the Free-Traders. It did appear, on careful examination, that the inaudible remarks which the old gentleman had read from the manuscript were concerned with economic arguments for Free Trade ; and very excellent arguments too, for all I know. But the contrast between what that orator was to the people who heard him, and what he was to the thousands of newspaper readers who did not hear him, was so huge a hiatus and disproportion that I did not think I ever quite got over it.¹⁰

Incidents like the one cited above were symptomatic of the rot that had set in Fleet Street. Journalism was becoming a trade rather than a profession, being "conducted as quietly, as soberly, as sensibly as the office of any successful money-lender or moderately fraudulent financier."¹¹ The Press was fast abdicating its role as an instrument of social consciousness and dissemination of truth. "Political money-transactions, the purchase of peerages, the payment of election expense" and such other malpractices constituted a challenge to the conscience of the journalists who were, however, in no mood to speak out against these outrages on political decency, Chesterton's criticism of their non-chalant inaction is pertinent. "The whole modern world", he complains, "or at any rate the whole modern Press, has a perpetual and consuming terror of plain morals. Men always attempt to avoid condemning a thing upon merely moral grounds."¹²

The above criticism of the British Press was neither unfounded nor unjust. Reviewing Sir Norman Angell's book *The Press and the*

Organisation of Society, in *Scrutiny*, Geoffrey Grigson accused the contemporary British Press of precisely the same sins as Chesterton had already pointed out. "Morality", he wrote, "shares in none of the principles of modern journalism. Newspapers must be entertainingThat is the first duty.....Newspapers must foster I.C.M. of attitudes and emotions and prejudices of the mediocre in every social layer ; and they cannot tell the full truth (in so far as a daily judgment on affairs can be 'true') if the truth is unpleasant.....moral values are kicked into Fleet Street gutters by the existence of each paper as a vast capitalistic enterprise, depending on selling itself as widely as possible and greedy for profits.¹³" In a later issue of the same journal, Denys Thompson, charging the English papers like the *Times*, the *Observer* and the *Daily Express* with 'mullity', complacency and obtuseness' and 'calculated irresponsibility' condemned the British Press in general by observing: The success of opinion.¹⁴ These criticisms of the British Press accord with Chesterton's diagnosis of the ills of the contemporary Journalism.

Chesterton's role as a journalist was twofold. In the first place, he roused the public conscience by debunking error and propagating truth. In the second place, he suggested appropriate measures to arrest the deterioration in journalistic standards. The career of this last of the vanishing tribe of the Titans of free and responsible press forms a glorious episode in the story of higher journalism.

Chesterton's journalistic career falls into two clearly marked periods. The first period (1899-1912) commenced when J. L. Hammond launched him upon his regular journalistic carrier in the Radical weekly, *The Speaker*, whose editor he was. The major event of this period was his appointment as

a regular weekly contributor to the *Daily News*, then newly purchased by pro-Boer Liberals. For this paper, he wrote, till 1912, an article every Saturday and had, what he calls, 'a Saturday pulpit' and a 'congregation' larger than he ever had before or since. The *Daily News* articles are characterised by a unique gusto and an unmistakable individuality. From 1905 until his death in 1936, he contributed a weekly feature, 'Our Notebook' to *Illustrated London News*. Contributions to this paper lack the verve and gaiety of the *Daily News* articles; because Chesterton had undertaken to write for it on non-controversial topics. Two articles contributed to the *Daily News* at different periods set forth vividly his view of his profession. The first, written as early as 1902, speaks of the moral superiority of the journalist to the poet:

"The poet writing his name upon a score of little pages in the silence of his study may or may not have an intellectual right to despise the journalist: but I greatly doubt whether he would not morally be the better if he saw the great lights burning on through darkness into dawn, and heard the roar of the printing wheels weaving the destinies of another day. Here at last is a school of labour and some rough humility, the largest work ever published anonymously since the great Christian cathedrals."¹⁵

He reverted to the same theme of the romance of journalism in another essay in 1912 when the outlook for journalism was comparatively bleak:

"Nothing looks more neat and regular than a newspaper with its parallel columns, its mechanical printing, its detailed facts and figures, its responsible polysyllabic leading article, Nothing, as a matter of fact, good every night through more agonies of adventure, more hair-breadth escapes, desperate expedients, crucial coun-

cils, random compromises or barely averted catastrophes. Seen from the outside, it seems to come round as automatically as the clock and as silently as the dawn. Seen from the inside, it gives its organizers a gasp of relief every morning to see that it has.....come out at all."¹⁶

Obviously, he enjoyed his work which appeared to him to be a byword for romance and adventure. He wrote as gaily 'as a ploughman ploughs his field.' True to the spirit expressed in these passages, the journalism of this period is redolent of the poetic and the romantic. Gerald Balliett's praise of the *Daily News* articles, which constitute his best work of this period, is well-deserved. He writes; "Chesterton has never been more exuberantly himself than in the essays he contributed Saturday by Saturday, to a London Newspaper. The dew was on those essays when they appeared, and it is still there, as if new len."

As the first period of the work drew to its close, a note of asperity became audible in his writings. In the valedictory essay in *A Miscellany of Men* entitled "The Angry Author: His Farewell" he declared his intention to 'desert the illusions of rationalism for the actualities of romance.' Clearly, he despaired of his failure to achieve the desired ends. Pernicious trends threatening the well-being of the Press and the body politic were gaining strength. It was at this time that he wrote for the *New Witness* his moving poem 'When I came back to Fleet Street.' It was no longer the Fleet Street of the past when the journalists lived and acted as free agents in its intoxicating and Bohemian atmosphere. It was now a prison peopled by the "prisoners of the Fleet" who had been deprived of their freedom of will and action.

The second period in Chesterton's journa-

istic career began after his break with the *Daily News* in 1912. He had for long disagreed with the editorial line ; but the final rupture came with the publication of his verses on cocoa in the *New Witness* :

Cocoa is a cad and coward
Cocoa is a vulgar beast.

Since the *Daily News* was owned by Mr. Cadbury (the manufacturer of 'Cadbury's Cocoa') the references to cocoa was sufficiently displeasing to the owner. After his break with the *Daily News*, Chesterton wrote for the *Daily Herald* for a short spell. About the quality of his articles in this paper diametrically opposite views have been expressed. They have been at once criticised for their hysterical violence and praised for their extraordinary courage. Both the views are partially correct. Mr. Raymond Postgate, who holds the later view, says, "What he wrote in this period ranks with the letters of Junius as among the best polemical English writing and deserves reprinting."¹⁸

After severing this connection with the *Daily Herald*, Chesterton never wrote regularly for any national paper. He was however associated with *Eye-Witness* and *New Witness* (both founded by his friend, Belloc and his brother, Cecil) since their inception ; still he did not write anything except light verses for them until he found writing for the post-war commercialised press difficult to reconcile with his intellectual and moral independence. The changed atmosphere of Fleet Street left him no alternative except to use the *New Witness* as his platform. In 1916, when Cecil joined the army, Chesterton took over as editor. When this paper was extinct in 1925, he founded *G. K.'s Weekly* three years later. The editorial policy pursued by this paper was the same as that of its predecessor, *The Eye-Witness*. Speaking of the editorial ob-

jective of *The Eye-Witness*, Desmond McCarthy says, "the value of *Eye-Witness* lay in providing a place where certain truths of advantage or of necessity to the public could be told and that it aimed particularly at narrowing the difference between the comments on public affairs which were spoken and those which were printed."¹⁹ In pursuit of this aim, Chesterton stepped up his campaign against monopolies and political jobbery with unabated vigour. His criticism helped smash two bills—the Mental Deficiency Bill and the Canal Children's Bill in the twenties. During these years of strenuous campaigns a group of writers and intellectuals gathered round *G. K.'s Weekly*. This group formed nucleus of the Distributist League, which came into being in 1926 with the avowed purpose of the moral, economic and political regeneration of the British people through the restoration of small property and the preservation of the freedom of the farm, the family and the individual. In fact, Chesterton made *G. K.'s Weekly* the mouthpiece of the little man's philosophy.

Besides his keen desire to see the public life purified, he also wanted his country to have a responsible press. In order to achieve this end, he suggested some useful measures to curb the yellow press :

First, an editor found guilty of having published false news "should simply go to prison."²⁰ This will put down this harmful tendency.

Second, news likely to affect morals adversely "should be stamped out of every newspaper with the thickest black of the Russian censor. Such cases should either be always tried in camera or reporting them should be a punishable offence."²¹

Third, the practice of signed articles "should be introduced to curb the tendency

of the unscrupulous journalist to "use the authority of the paper to further his own private fads and his own finances."²²

Fourth, the names of the editor and the proprietor (share-holders also, if they own the paper) "should be printed on the paper."

Fifth, letters containing "definite and practical complaint should be necessarily inserted in any paper."

He was particularly enthusiastic about the efficacy of "signed writing." He rejected all arguments in favour of anonymous writing because they smacked of expediency and the desire to play safe. In the hands of the responsible and incorruptible editors of the early nineteenth century, anonymous writing had its utility in that it endowed the periodicals with "a lasting corporate personality." In the changed scene of Fleet Street, the journalists tended to be irresponsible and venal if they could cover up their tracks with the help of anonymous writing.

Chesterton's concern for the health of the British Press was shared by more and more people as the journalistic abuses multiplied. One of the forthright critics of the press, Sir Norman Angell wanted journalism to be made a 'chartered profession with a professional code of honour and a status equal to that of law and medicine.'²³ To ensure correct presentation of the news, he recommended *Inter alia* the creation of a State Press, managed by a 'journalistic judiciary'....independent of the Government of the day and fashioned much as the B. B. C.'²⁴ Chesterton would have certainly admired Sir Norman Angell's zeal for the reform of the press, but he would have been the last man to countenance the idea of a State Press. He would have asserted like the great political journalist Junius

that "the liberty of the press is the palladium of all the civil, political and religious rights of an Englishman."

For a whole life-time Chesterton spearheaded the movement for the reform of the press. But during his life no tangible results were obtained in the form of concrete measures. The idea of the reform of the press caught on after the World War II. The public mind began to be exercised over the growing power of the newspaper chains and the misdemeanour of a few journalists. In response to a popular demand, the British Government set up in the year 1947 a Royal Commission on the Press which was charged "to inquire into the control, management and ownership of the newspaper and periodical Press and news agencies, including the financial structure and the monopolistic tendencies in control."²⁵ The Commission "recommended the establishment of a general council of the press to safeguard the freedom of the Press; to encourage the growth of the sense of public responsibility among all engaged in the profession and the well-being of those who practise it."²⁶ In July 1953, the press council came into being with the cooperation of the seven organisations representing different interests in the British Press. Had Chesterton lived to see this consummation, he would have certainly hailed it as a useful measure aimed at promoting journalistic values.

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COOPERATION AND MODERN INDIA

SUBHASH CHADRA SARKAR

The need for a particular programme can be evaluated only against a particular context. A programme which may be suitable in a particular situation may not be productive of any good result in a different situation. Therefore our appreciation of the need and utility of cooperation also has to take into account the particular situation in the country.

Contrary to the general feeling the foundation has been laid in the country for economic development and social welfare. During the first three plans (1951-1966) investments totalled rupees 20'591 crores which led to an increase of about 87 percent in national income and to an increase of about 30 percent in *per capita* income. Expectation of life went up from 32 years to 50 and the number of children in the schools trebled. Factory production went up by 162 percent and large-sized steel mills, fertilizer plants, heavy machinery plants, oil refineries and locomotive works were set up—some of them among the most modern in the world. Pro-

duction of coal went up from 32.8 million tonnes in 1950-51 to 71 million tonnes in 1966-67; steel ingots from 1.47 million tonnes to 6.6 million tonnes; iron ore from 3 million tonnes to 19.3 million tonnes; electric motors from 99,000 H. P. to 2,080,000 H. P.; nitrogenous fertilisers from 9000 tonnes to 311,000 tonnes; railway wagons from 2900 to 33,800; petroleum products from 0.2 million tonnes to 11.7 millions tonnes; and machine tools from a value of Rs. 34 lakhs to Rs. 2650 lakhs. The availability of electricity in terms of installed capacity rose from 2.3 million KW in 1950 to 12.57 million KW in 1967; one out of every ten villages in the country is supplied with electricity today as against one in every 150 in 1950. With an estimated production of 95 million tons in 1967-68—an all-time record foodgrain production in the country will have registered a 73 percent increase over 1950. There has been a similar up-swing in the production of many consumer goods. The following table provide a summary :

TABLE—I
Showing production of consumer goods in 1950-51 & 1966-67

Sl. No.	Items	Unit	1950-51	1966-67
1.	Cotton Cloth	Million Metres	3398	4202
2.	Sugar	'000 Tonnes	1134	2900
3.	Tea	Million Kgs	277	370
4.	Bicycles	Numbers	99,000	1,719,000
5.	Radio receivers	"	54,000	760,000
6.	Sewing machines	"	33,000	401,000
7.	Electric fan	"	1,99,000	1,363,000
8.	Cigarettes & Cigars Million		24,000	56,804
9.	Razor Blades	"	107	8,845
10.	Watches and Time-pieces	Numbers	Nil	450,000 (1065-66)
11.	Automobiles	"	16,500	75,100

During the sixth decade (1950-51 to 1960-61) the *per capita* availability of cloth rose by 68 percent and of food by 17 percent. The availability (per 10,000 persons) of sewing machines rose by 455 percent, radio receiver by 400 percent, electric fan by 350 percent, bicycle by 700 percent and doctors by 7 percent.²

This boost in production has inevitably led to an improvement, however halting it may be, in the average standard of living of the people as is given by the statistics on *per capita* income available for consumption which rose by 1.1 percent per year between 1950-51 and 1960-61. The additional national income generated during the decade 1951-61 was Rs.19000 crores. Out of this, Rs. 2,550 crores were used in increasing the government expenditure and another 2.520 crores represented the additional domestic savings in ten years. These two items aggregating Rs. 5,070 crores may be considered to have been used for purposes of development and expansion of investment to promote future economic growth. The balance available for increase in private consumption was Rs. 13,930 crores for the whole of the ten-years period. A good part of the additional national income had to be used to provide the new additions to the population with same *per capita* consumption as in 1950-51. Simple calculations show that Rs. 8,560 crores were absorbed to provide the new entrants into the population during the decade with a *per capita* consumer expenditure at the rate of 1950-51 for an appropriate number of years. Finally, the balance of Rs. 5,370 crores was the net amount available to increase the average *per capita* consumption of the whole population.

Distributing this amount over the average number of persons over the decade, we get Rs. 2.5 as the share of each person per year in the increase in consumer expenditure. With Rs. 219 as the consumer expenditure per person in the base year (1950-51) the rate of increase was about 1.1 percent per person per year.³

The fact that some gains have been achieved in the past decade and a half should be taken into account not to gloat over the past performance but to make an estimate of the tasks that lie ahead for us and to derive courage and confidence in our ability to fulfil the same.

With all the rise in the *per capita* income in the country it is still among the lowest in the world. The housing deficit at the beginning of 1966-67 was estimated at 74.1 million houses—11.4 million in urban areas and 62.7 million in rural areas. Seventy percent of the people in the country are still illiterate. Many children of school-going age cannot find a school to attend. Free primary education is yet to be universal. The number of the unemployed is rising which now includes a substantial proportion of educated persons, not a few with engineering degrees as well. Ninety percent of the villages are yet to see electricity and millions in the countryside have yet to starve. Over 38 percent of the national income is still derived from agriculture as compared with 49.1 percent twenty years ago. The rise in the proportion of contribution made by Mining, manufacturing and small enterprises has been extremely tardy by only 1.1 point in twenty years. The following table⁴ illustrates the matter :

TABLE—II

Net domestic product by sector or origin—percentage distribution

Industry	1948-49	1950-51	1955-56	1960-61	1965-66	1966-67
1. Agriculture, animal husbandry and ancillary activities@	49.1	49.0	47.9	46.4	39.0	38.3
2. Mining, Manufacturing and small enterprises	17.1	16.7	16.8	16.6	18.2	11.2
3. Commerce, transport & communications	18.5	18.8	18.8	19.3	20.3	20.2
4. Other services@@	15.5	15.7	16.5	18.1	23.3	24.4
5. Net domestic product at factor cost	100.2	100.2	100.0	100.4	100.8	101.1
6. Net factor income from abroad.	-0.2	-0.2	-0.0	0.4	-0.8	-1.1
7. Net national product at factor cost	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Preliminary estimate.

** Quick estimate.

@ Including forestry and fishery.

#@ Comprising professions and liberal arts, government services (administration) domestic service and house property.

Does this percentage distribution of the origin of net national product have any meaning? It does have. For there seems to be a positive correlation between the relative importance of industry in the total national product and economic development which is our goal. The more important a role industry plays in the national product, the more developed the country is. If the countries outside the Communist bloc are grouped into three categories such as industrialised, semi-industrialised and less developed it is noticed that the contribution of agriculture, forestry and fishing is less than 20 percent of their national income in countries of group I, 20 percent to 30 percent in group II and more than 30 percent in group III. The contribution of industry is about 30 percent or more in group I countries, while it is less than 20 percent in the less developed countries.⁵ A keen student of economic development has noted, "The difference

between the rich and the poor countries and regions of the world are and have been essentially the differences in their degree of industrialisation. It is true that there have been marked differences in agricultural development as measured by their agricultural output *per capita*. But these latter are really insignificant as compared to the differences in the industrial output *per capita* of the rich and the poor countries. Thus the USA whose *per capita* income (Rs. 11,000 at current prices in 1959) is nearly 37 times that of India (Rs. 300.00) has *per capita* industrial output (Rs. 3300.00) that exceeds India's *per capita* industrial output (Rs. 50.00) by 66 times although its *per capita* agricultural output (Rs. 700.00) is only 4.5 times that of India (Rs. 150.00). United Kingdom, another economically advanced country, has a *per capita* income (Rs. 5,000.00) which is 16 times that of ours, but its *per capita* agricultural output (Rs. 300.00) is only twice that of

ours while its industrial output (Rs. 1900.00) is nearly 40 times as much. Obviously the poor countries are far behind the rich countries industrially rather than agriculturally.⁶

The task before the country is to achieve industrialization. There has been considerable loose talk about giving attention to agriculture in complete obliviousness of the increasing dependence of agricultural production on industrial development. Better agricultural implements and larger availability of fertilisers, pumps and electricity are primarily functions of industrialization. Colin Clark after a statistical analysis has concluded that 'the most important concomitant of economic progress is the movement of working population from agriculture to manufacturing and from manufacturing to commerce and services.'⁷

The essence of industrialization lies in the application of higher technology. An increasingly greater attention is being paid to the role of technology in economic discussions. Professor Stephen Enke in his brilliant book, *Economics for Development*, writes, "Events in the Western world during the past one hundred years suggest that something that might be termed 'technology' may well be a fourth factor in addition to labor, 'land' (natural resources), and capital. During this period there was at least a threefold increase in the populations of the advanced nations. Their *per capita* incomes also increased severfold.....Physically, natural resources are as limited as they always were. But they have come to have new uses, exploration for resources has become more effective, and distant mineral, soil and climatic assets have become economically useful through better transport. These changes are attributable to technology.....Agricultural techniques also made enormous strides during this period....

Research revealed the principles of nitrogen fixation and the proper use of fertilizers. Biologists developed new strains of seed, such as, northern wheat and hybrid corn. Selective breeding of livestock increased yields of meat, milk and eggs. The Industrial Revolution also aided in agriculture. The farm implement industry enormously increased rural labor productivity.....⁸

Phyllis Deane, who has made a special study of the first industrial revolution in the world writes that "there are certain identifiable changes in the methods and characteristics of economic organization which, taken together, constitute development of the kind which we would describe as an industrial revolution. These include the following relative changes : (1) widespread and systematic application of modern science and empirical knowledge to the process of production for the market ; (2) specialization of economic activity directed towards production for national and international markets rather than for family or parochial use ; (3) movement of population from rural to urban communities ; (4) enlargement and depersonalization of the typical unit of production so that it comes to be based less on the family or the tribe and more on the corporate or public enterprise ; (5) movement of labour from activities concerned with the production of primary products to the production of manufactured goods and services ; (6) intensive and extensive use of capital resources as a substitute for and complement to human effort ; (7) emergence of new social and occupational classes determined by ownership of or relationship to the means of production other than land, namely capital.

These interrelated changes, if they develop together and to a sufficient degree, constitute an industrial revolution. They have always been associated with a growth of population

and with an increase in the annual volume of goods and services produced.⁹

It is industrialisation alone that can bring about fast and sustained increase in the annual volume of goods and services produced in a country—an increase which is the first precondition for the development of socialism which is defined as the implementation of the principle of, from each according to his ability to each according to his work. Undoubtedly in some countries an increase in the annual volume of production is still possible without industrialization. But their factor endowments are different and their example is of no value for India. R. Hicks has made the point clear. "The countries of the world fall into two groups—manufacturing countries and primary producing countries but it is not the same thing as the distinction between developed and under-developed countries as there are primary producers which are not under-developed. These are countries which have natural resources that are so abundant, relatively to their population that they can do better by exploiting those resources than they could do if they turned to manufacturing."¹⁰ In India the pressure of population on the resources is very high and the vast majority of the people has been condemned to a life of abject penury and humiliation.

The relevance and value of any movement—including the cooperative movement—in the country have to be judged against the extent to which it facilitates this central task of liberating the productive forces. It is well-known that institutional factors exercise an influence over productive forces. The joint stock companies facilitated industrial revolution in England. Phyllis Deane has brought out the significance of the emergence of the joint stock companies for the industrial revolution in England. She writes, "In effect,

the salient feature of the English capital market in the late eighteenth century and for more than the first half of the nineteenth century was that it was highly imperfect. Perhaps indeed it was more imperfect when the industrial revolution got into its stride and entrepreneurs began to specialise than it had been in the mobile unspecialized eighteenth century economy where men and their funds, moved freely from one industry to another. In the newly industrialized economy saving tended to be generated by the industries—even by the enterprises—which invested them.....To some extent this imperfection of the capital market was an institutional problem. Until the Joint stock Company Act of 1856 established limited liability, corporate enterprise was a rare form of organization.....The characteristic unit of production was the family firm, and the characteristic saver was a member of the family or a friend of the family. Nor indeed did the small entrepreneur want to seek funds outside his own company and his own friends, for this would have involved him in undesirable obligations to strangers. Even the promoters of large-scale projects like canals were often reluctant to let shares go to individuals who had no direct interest in the project.....To obtain funds on (the necessary) scale the railway promoter had to be able to tap a wider reservoir of savings and to go on making fresh calls on their wider reservoir. This required corporate enterprise, and public issues of stock which was afterwards freely traded in; and this again was the way it was done."¹¹ If the cooperative movement can perform a similar function in mobilising savings in the country then only it can be said to be performing a positive role.

Now what has been the role of the cooperative in fact? The most widespread

cooperative activity in the Southeast Asian countries including India is agricultural credit.¹² Even in this limited area the role of the cooperative movement has been strictly defined. The Deputy Chief, Agriculture Division of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and Far East (UN/ECAFE) writes, "Notwithstanding the recent expansion in institutional credit, credit needs of farmers in most of the developing Asian countries are still being met through non-institutional sources at relatively high rates of interest, and supplies of institutional credit are limited."¹³ The situation in India did not materially differ from the general pattern for Asia. In 1961-62 the total amount of credit provided by cooperatives came to Rs. 267 crores or 25.8 percent of the total borrowings of cultivator households in 1961-62.¹⁴ An authoritative comment says, 'Among the main weaknesses of the cooperative credit structure are a high level of overdues and inadequacy of owned resources, especially deposits. Taking the primary credit structure, overdues totalled Rs. 77.31 crores in 1963-64 and formed 22.5 percent of the loans outstanding. In the same year, the total deposits of primary agricultural credit societies stood at Rs. 26.06 crores, or only 5.9 percent of their working capital with deposits per society and per member standing at Rs. 1243 and Rs. 11 respectively.'¹⁵ At the end of 1964-65 industrial cooperatives in the country totalled 51,000 in number with a value of sales of Rs.117 crores,¹⁶ compared with 12,232 registered factories with a productive capital of 5,257.30 crores and an output of Rs. 5,595.60 crores.¹⁷

The small number of the cooperative societies does not adequately reflect the weakness of the movement. A study of the working of a few cooperative farms in in Uttar Pradesh and Punjab brought out

that "many of the cooperative farms have come into existence due to such reasons as taking advantage of financial assistance given by the government and evasion of tenancy legislations."¹⁸ Share capital played a minor role in the capital structure of cooperative societies, and loan capital held an important place. Agricultural departments and cooperative banks were the main suppliers of loan capital¹⁹; in other words they were deriving most of their finances from the government. If the cooperative farming societies had failed to fulfil their task of mobilising capital, they showed no better result in promoting technological innovation in agriculture or in integrating agricultural and industrial development.²⁰

So long as the cooperatives remain as spoon-fed organizations, depending for sustenance on governmental munificence they cannot be considered to be playing a constructive role in building up a more plentiful and egalitarian social order which is at the core of the socialistic pattern of society. The Draft Fourth Plan takes this point into consideration when it says, "it must be emphasized that cooperation, as a form of organisation of economic activity, is a crucial factor in the achievement of the social objectives of Indian planning. Obviously this requires that the cooperative structure becomes increasingly efficient and self-reliant and able to stand on its own in competition with the private sector and without leaning on special assistance from government."²¹

Frankly the immediate prospect for the cooperative movement is not encouraging. Not because cooperation as a principle has become out-moded or irrelevant, nor because there is a dearth of good men to encourage the movement, but because of the absence of proper population to take up the movement. The vast majority—over seventy percent—of

the population is illiterate and as such cannot take any meaningful part in cooperation which calls for an educated—fairly highly educated citizenry. Perhaps it would be easy to find a correlation between the extent of literacy of a population and the extent of the effective popularity of the cooperative movement. The more educated the population is the greater is the chance of cooperation becoming popular and successful. The relation between education and economic development is yet to be fully recognized in this country. But almost in every case industrialisation was preceded by the spread of education. Professor Rostow has noted that, "In the American North the spread of public primary education in the first half of nineteenth century was a quite massive factor in society's modernization; and the engineering bias of training at the United States Military Academy provided a highly useful corps of men who played a strategic role in the construction of the American transport network. In Germany, the technical schools represented a wider and more conscious effort to provide the human capital for industrialization. In short, the educational process, formal or informal, consciously created or casually introduced, represents an essential primary toward an educated society but only at a snail's pace which ridicules all talk of planning. It is not often realised that in absolute size the illiteracy is higher than ever before. It has become fashionable to blame population growth for every deficiency in society; but certainly it is reasonable to ask if any other country had ever considered it beyond its capability, as we seem to have, to provide for the education of a people growing at a rate of 2 percent per annum.

At this point perhaps the question becomes insistent if any useful purpose is served by making special efforts to disseminate the

message of cooperation when in the immediate future no significant result is to be expected from the cooperative effort. The answer is an emphatic yes. For the time has come to broaden the scope and context of education that is to be imparted to the people, if they are to cope with the growing complexities of life with any hope of success. Indeed the fact of existing inequalities between the Indians and the westners as well as among Indians themselves and the uneven rates of growth of the prosperity and happiness of the peoples in these places (as well as within India) have imposed on us the responsibility to take initiative on several fronts simultaneously. Along with the knowledge of the Three R's, we need to increase the dissemination of skills and knowledge of organization. The workers engaged in the cooperative movement have been doing the same; the teachers in the cooperative training centre and the trainees are all engaged in the accomplishment of the same task of national uplift which should be the concern of educators, journalists, the administrators and the politicians but which, paradoxically enough, seems to figure so little in the calculation of most of those in positions of authority. As is implied in the foregoing analysis, the task of the cooperative worker is the more difficult because he has to convey not only knowledge but skill and the art of initiative. It is a matter of no small satisfaction for us that the noble ideals of the movement which, however, is languishing because of the peculiar interaction of social inaction and bureaucratic indolence. But then cooperation is not the only field which is so afflicted. The inadequate progress to which I made a reference in the beginning shows that the languid mood is characteristic of the social existence in general and not of any particular sector. Perhaps as our efforts grow in volume and intensity they would attain the critical force

to provide the necessary momentum for a change. All of us have to believe in this possibility and work for its realization. As an eminent scientist has said, if it is true that we cannot predict the future, "futures can be invented. It was man's ability to invent which has made human society what it is."²³ Professor Dennis Gabor who teaches applied electronic physics at the Imperial College of Science and Technology in the University of London, writes, "The first step of the technological or social inventor is to visualize by an act of imagination, a thing or state of things which does not yet exist, and which to him appears in some way desirable. He can then start rationally arguing backwards from the invention, and forward from the means at his disposal, until a way is found from one to the other. There is invention if the goal is not attainable by known means, but this cannot be known beforehand. The goal of the technological innovator is attainable if it is physically feasible, but for the realization he would be dependent, just like the social inventor, on human consent. The difference is that while in the past many technological inventions failed tragically by not being able to obtain consent, this is today not only easy but often far too easy. For the social inventor on the other hand, the engineering of human consent is the most essential and the most difficult step, and I do not think that this has become more easy in democracies where the masses must be persuaded, instead of perhaps one enlightened monarch."²⁴ We need not go very far to know the difficulties of social engineering in the face of the failure of such measures as the Child marriage prevention act, the dowry prohibition act, the imposition of ceilings act, the batakari law and land reforms measures in general, the laws of female inheritance and divorce and the health protecting laws. However there

is nothing to get discouraged. For as a man's greatness is indicated by the triumph over difficulties a nation's greatness also depends on its ability to master adversity. In the words of Professor Gabor, "We can no longer afford to be pessimists" in the nuclear age where even a momentary slip on the part of an individual can bring about the end of the world, and certainly of mankind. I should like to conclude by inviting your attention to Bertrand Russell's observation: "There is no reason why in the ages to come the sort of man who is now exceptional should not become usual, and if that were to happen, the exceptional man in the new world would rise as far above Shakespeare as Shakespeare now rises above the common man"²⁵. We only need to be patient and persevering to convert this dream into reality.

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THE BIRTH-DATE OF SHER SHAH

SREE HARI PRASAD NAYAK

(The original name of Sher Shah was Farid. Once he had killed a man-eater (Sher) and his name had been called Sher Khan. Later on when he became Emperor of India he took up the title of SHER SHAH.)

The death of Sher Shah happened on the 12th of Rabi-ul-Awwal in the year 952 Hizari. According to Christian era it was 1545 A.D. All the historians accept this date of death of Sher Shah. It is only a book styled, 'A CONTEMPORARY DUTCH CHRONICLE OF MUGHAL INDIA' where the death of Sher Shah is mentioned in the year 1550 A.D. or 960 Hizari. The writer of the aforesaid book writes :

"In the year of Christ 1550, or 960 Mohamedan style, Sher Khan or Sher Shah, the Pathan King and ruler of the whole of Hindustan died of gout in the fort of Gwalior leaving behind his son Firoz Khan, who was 12 years old."*

The information given above is based upon a manuscript translated into Latin by Joannes De Laet (Antwerp, 1631) as 'Fragment of the history of India gathered from Dutch sources and rendered into Latin.' The cause of the death and the date as well are in-correct and un-historical. None of the historians accept it. Sher Shah did not die of gout, but of injuries received during an explosion of gun-powder at Kalinjar in Bundelkhand. He died in 1545 A.D. posi-

tively. There is no doubt about it. Sher Shah left two sons behind him, Adil Khan and Jalal Khan. Jalal Khan ascended the throne and took up the title of Islam Shah (Salim Shah) after the death of Sher Shah. Firoz Khan was Islam Shah's son who ascended the throne at Gwalior in 1554 at the age of twelve.

Undoubtedly Sher Shah died in the year of 1545, but there is a great deal of uncertainty with regard to the date of his birth. It is a matter of great regret that we could not gather as yet any correct information regarding the birth-date of Sher Shah, who was really 'the champion of Sur dynasty and the Morning Star of Indo-Muslim national revival.' 'TARIKH-I-SHER SHAH' of Abbas Khan Sarwani does not give any date of his birth. Muhammad Kasim Hindu Shah Ferishta also ignores the point. There is no birth-date mentioned in 'A Dutch Chronicle of Mughal India.'

There is one chart attached with an article called : 'BADSHAH-DARPAN' written in Hindi by late Vartendu Babu Harischandras, where the birth-date of Sher Shah is put on the Tadjab 871 Hizari (1466 A.D.). According to this chart, Sher Shah died in 953 Hizari at the age of 74 years 8 months and some days. The source of this information has not been mentioned in the article

* A Dutch Chronicle of Mughal India published by Susil Gupta (1) Ltd., Calcutta-page 11

in question. Pandit Netra Pandey has not given his own view regarding the birth-date of Sher Shah. He says only that 'some one accepts 1472 A.D. and some one 1426 A.D. as his birth-date.' According to Dr. V. D. Mahajan, 'Farid is said to have been born in the Punjab in 1426.' Professor Radhakrishna Choudhry's opinion is that 'Sher Shah was born in Bejoura in the year 1472 A. D.' Other English historians write 1485-86 as his birth-year. Lt. Colonel Sir Wolseley Haig writes in the CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA that 'Sher Shah was born some years before 1489 A. D.' Sher Shah was born in 1489 A. D. subject to the confirmation put by Charles Kincaid.

In 'TARIKH-I SHER SHAH' Abbas Khan Sarwani writes that, 'Sher Shah was born in the reign of Sultan Pahlol, and they named him Farid Khan.' The 'TARIKH-I KHAN JAHAN LODI' says he was born in Hisar Firozah. Ferishta also writes :

"The original name of Sheer Shah was Fureed. His father was Hussum, an Afghan of the tribe of Soor, and a native of Roh in Pishawur. When Bheilole Lodi ascended the throne, Ibrahim Khan, the father of Hussum Soor, came to Dehli in quest of military service."*

The birth of Sher Shah took place in the reign of Sultan Bahlol Lodi, it is a historical truth.

Bahlol Lodi was the founder of the Lodi dynasty. He belonged to the Sahu Khail section of the Lodi clan. Bahlol Lodi ascended the throne of Delhi on the 19th day of April, 1451 A. D. His death took place in the year 1489 in the month of July near Jalali. So the birth of Sher Shah happened in these years (1451-1489).

* History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India-Vol II by Briggs (R. Cambray & Co., Calcutta) Pp.98

Ibrahim Khan Sur, the grandsire of Sher Shah came to Hindustan from the Sulaiman range situated in Afghanistan with his son Hasan Khan Sur, the father of Sher Shah. They came to Delhi in quest of military service. The date of their entrance into Hindustan has not been mentioned by any of the historians and so it is really a difficult task to know the actual age of Husan Khan Sur, the father of Sher Shah. It is a fact that Ibrahim Khan Sur first entered the Imperial service when Bahlol Lodi was the 'Sultan of Dehli.'

Ibrahim Shah Sharqi was the greatest King of the Sharqi dynasty. He ruled for about thirty-four years from 1402 to 1436. It was during his reign that Jaunpur got the title of 'SHIRAZ OF INDIA,' Ibrahim Shah Sharqi was succeeded by his son Mahmud Shah in 1446. He invaded Delhi in the absence of Bahlol Lodi. Sultan Bhalol Lodi was at Depalpur when he heard the distressing intelligence of the seige of Delhi. Bahlol prayed for the help before the Afghan chiefs. The Afghan chiefs considered his request sympathetically.

'The Afghans of Roh came, as is their wont, like ants and locusts to enter the king's service.' In this invasion, Mahmud Shah Sharqi was defeated badly by Bahlol Lodi with the help of Afghans. After this victory Sultan Bahlol Lodi commanded his nobles saying :

"Every Afghan who comes to Hind from the country of Roh to enter my service, bring him to me. I will give him a JAGIR more than proportioned to his deserts, and such as shall content him."*

* The History of India : The Muhammadan Period (Sher Shah) published by Susil Gupta (India) Ltd., Calcutta, Third Edition 1957 ; page 17

After this announcement, Afghans in numbers came to Hindustan. Abbas Khan Sarwani writes :

"When the Afghans of Roh heard of this, and saw the favour and affection of the king towards them, they began every day, every month, and every year, to arrive in Hind, and received JAGIRS to their heart's content."*

In these years Ibrahim Khan Sur and Hasan Khan Sur, the grandfather and the father respectively of Sher Shah Sur came to Hindustan from Afghanistan. Sir Wolsely Haig also writes :

"During his long struggle with the kings of the Sharqi dynasty of Jaunpur, Sultan Bahlul Lodi recruited his forces with bodies of Afghans from Roh, the highlands of the Sulaiman range, whose leaders received assignments in India for the maintenance of their followers. Among them was one Ibrahim Khan of the Sur tribe.†

It is not possible for Ibrahim Khan Sur to come to India before the year 1457. So the birth of Sher Shah took place after 1457 A. D. positively.

Sultan Mahmud Shah Sharqi died in 1457 A.D. After his death, his son Bhikhan ascended the throne under the title of Muhammed Shah Sharqi. A treaty was conducted by Ameers of Jaunpur between Delhi and Jaunpur. But after some time the civil war broke out in Jaunpur in connection with the heir of the throne. During this time the Sharqi officers conspiring against Muhammed Shah put him to death, and

placed his brother Hussain Shah Sharqi, who had fled to Kanauj, on the throne. This incident occurred in 1458. Hussain Shah Sharqi was the last ruler of the Sharqi dynasty.

During the reign of Hussain Shah Sharqi, the relations between Delhi and Jaunpur became disagreeable. The rivalry between them came to a head and a prolonged war ensued. Hussain Shah Sharqi concluded a four years' truce with Bahlol Lodi in 1458 A. D.

In the year 1473, Hussain Shah attacked Delhi from Jaunpur. Again a treaty was performed by Sultan Bahlol Lodi due to some unavoidable circumstances. Hussain Shah Sharqi came back to Jaunpur. It seems that after the period (1473 A.D.), Ibrahim Khan Sur came to India with his son Hasan Khan Sur.

Muhabbat Khan Sur and Daud Sahukhail left Afghan for Hindustan on or after 1458 A. D. (during the time of Hussain Shah Sharqi then the ruler of Jaunpur). Bahlol Lodi allotted in JAGIR the parganas of Haryana and Bahkala, etc. in the Punjab. When they have settled themselves permanently, then Ibrahim and Hasan came to India for the sake of military service and they settled in the pargana of Bajwara (Bejoura). According to the historical situations avail, it is a fact that Ibrahim and Hasan had come to India after 1473 A.D. So the consideration should be effected regarding the birth of Sher Shah which took place after the year 1473.

Hasan Khan Sur had eight sons, of whom only two Farid (Sher Shah) and Nizam Khan were the legitimate sons of an Afghan mother ; the rest were illegitimate sons and were born of different concubines. None of the historians have written whether Hasan Khan Sur was married or not at the time of his depar-

* The history of India : Sher Shah (Susil Gupta, Calcutta) 3rd Ed. Page 17

† The Cambridge History of India : Vol IV (S. Chand & Co., Delhi) page 45

ture from Afghanistan. But the relative circumstance indicates that Hasan Khan Sur was not married at all on leaving Afghanistan. Abbas Khan Sarwani clearly mentions that 'Ibrahim Khan Sur with his son Hasan Khan, the father of Sher Shah, came to Hindustan from Afghanistan.' The wife of Hasan has not been mentioned with them. It might be possible that Hasan was married in India with an Afghan girl. So we cannot presume the birth of Sher Shah before the year 1475.

It has been mentioned above that Sher Shah was born in Hisar Firozah. 'TARIKH-I SHER SHAHI' witnesses :

"After some time had elapsed, Ibrahim Khan left Muhabbat Khan and entered the service of Jamal Khan Sararg 'Khani, of Hisar-Firozah.'"*

In Hisar Firozah, Hasan Khan Sur was blessed with a male child who had been named Farid (Sher Shah). So it is a fact that Sher Shah was born after 1475 A. D. His birth-place is undoubtedly Hisar Firozah, and not Bejoura.

After the death of Masnad-i-'ali Tatar Khan, Sultan Bahlol Lodi gave the government of Lahore to Umar Khan. This Umar Khan gave several villages in the pargana of Shahabad as a JAGIR to Hasan Khan Sur, the father of Sher Shah Sur. After some time Hasan Khan took his son Farid (Sher Shah) to Umar Khan requesting him to employ Farid in his service. But Umar Khan refused to do so due to his (Farid) tender-age, saying : 'Farid is now a little boy ; when he is fit for my service I will employ him.†

The above occurrence happened before the

* The History of India : Sher Shah : 1957
page 18

† Ibid

death of Sultan Bahlol Lodi positively. Bahlol Lodi was dead in the year 1489 and so Sher Shah was a little boy some years before 1489. A question can arise that Hasan Khan Sur would have been taken his son Farid Khan to Umar Khan even after the death of Bahlol Lodi, i. e. after 1489 A. D. But 'TARIKH-I SHER SHAHI' speaks the truth. After this happening (when Farid has been taken before Umar Khan), Abbas Khan Sarwani writes :

"Several years after this, Ibrahim Khan, the father of Hasan Khan, died at Narnaul. Hasan Khan, when he heard of his father's death, left Shahabad, and coming before 'Umar Khan, who was with Sultan Bahlol's army, requested leave of absence to condole with the members of his father's family and retainers..'"

Undoubtedly the said occurrence happened in the reign of Sultan Bahlol Lodi. As Umar Khan had told clearly that Farid was a little boy, so the age of Farid at that time was nine to ten years approximately. Before 1489 A. D. Sher Shah was a little boy of nine to ten years so the birth of Sher Shah took place in the year 1480 A. D. The supposition of the birth of Sher Shah in the year 1486, is pretentious. Sher Shah was of only three years of age in 1489 (if his birth took place in 1486) when he went to seek the service of Umar Khan. This is not acceptable that a boy of three years of age can go to serve anyone. The same is the case with the year 1467 as the birth-year of Sher Shah mentioned by someone. On or before 1489, the age of Sher Shah was twenty years. This age is quite reasonable for employees. But a man of twenty cannot be called a little boy. Sher Shah was a Pathan and his physical constitution permits him to join the service even in the age of fifteen to twenty. It is true that the birth of

* Ibid page 19

Sher Shah took place some years before 1486. So 1480 should be accepted as a birth-year of Sher Shah.

After the death of Bahlol Lodi, his third son Nizam Khan was proclaimed king of Delhi under the title of Sikandar Lodi on July 17, 1489 A. D. He defeated his elder brother Barbak Shah who at that time was the ruler of Jaunpur and then Jaunpur was taken under the Delhi-supremacy.

Hussain Shah Sharqi put his army in motion and marched against Sikandar Lodi. Sikandar Lodi, on hearing of his intentions, crossed the Ganges to meet him; and the battle broke out between Jaunpur and Delhi near Varanasi (Banaras) in 1495 A. D. Hussain Shah was again defeated and he fled to Bihar (province). He died in 1500 A. D. in a village named Colgong (Kahalgaon) in the district of Bhagalpur and with his death the Sharqi dynasty came to an end. During these years (1495-1500) Sher Shah annoyed with his father, went to Jaunpur under the service of Jamal Khan. After that Hasan Khan, the father of Sher Shah went to Jaunpur for some essential reasons. According to Abbas Khan Sarwani, 'it happened after some years, that Hasan Khan came to Jamal Khan;' but Ferishta writes: 'three or four years had elapsed when Hussun Khan came to Joonpoor.' Sher Shah devoted much of his time in Jaunpur to the study of history and poetry, in the pursuit of which he received encouragement from Jamal Khan's liberality. Sarwani also writes about it:

"Farid (Sher Shah) employed himself in studying Arabic at Jaunpur. He also studied thoroughly the KAFIA (a work on grammar), with the commentaries of KAZI SHAHABU-D

Din, and the biographies of most of the kings of ancient times. He had got by heart the SIKANDAR-NAMA, the GULISTAN, and BOSTAN. etc., and was also reading the works of the philosophers."*

Of course three to four years have been devoted in studying so much. When Hasan Khan Sur reached Jaunpur, all his kinsmen reproached him for his ill-behaviour towards a promising young boy like Sher Shah for the sake of his concubine. They remarked that Sher Shah young as he was, gave promise of a future greatness. In those days Sher Shah was near about twenty years of age. There is an interval of three to four years approximately in going to Jaunpur of Sher Shah and Hasan Khan. Sher Shah went to Jaunpur in the year 1495 and Hasan Khan followed him in near about 1500 A. D. In 1500 A. D., Sher Shah was twenty. This age is quite sufficient for a young man (as he has been called young man by kinsmen of Jaunpur). So Sher Shah was born definitely in the year 1480.

"In 1480 A. D. the age of Hasan Khan Sur was near about thirty years, because Hasan Khan became old in the reign of Ibrahim Lodi. It can be witnessed with a letter written by Sher Shah to Daulat Khan. The contents of the aforesaid letter run thus:

"Alian Khan (Hasan Khan) is old, and his senses are failing him, and he is spell-bound and infatuated with a Hindu slave-girl."*

Later on Hasan Khan died in the reign of

Ibid—page 21

Ibid—page 3

Ibrahim Lodi. At the time of death, Hasan Khan was undoubtedly of 70-75 years of age. So it is a fact that Hasan Khan was of 23 years of age at the time of entering Hindustan first time. There is no doubt about it that Hasan Khan was married in India. If it will be supposed that Hasan Khan was married before the departure from Afghanistan it means that the birth of the first Issue (Sher Shah) had taken place in Afghan and the name of Farid (Sher Shah) should also be mentioned by Abbas Khan Sarwani, along with Ibrahim (grandfather) and Hasan (father) at the time of reaching India. But the want of the mention of the name of Sher Shah proves that Hasan Khan was not married at that time and his marriage had been performed in India. Besides, all the writers accept that the birth of Sher Shah took place in India during the reign of Sulan Bahlol Lodi.

It has been previously mentioned that the father and the grandfather of Sher Shah came to India after 1473 A. D. It took some years in settling themselves permanently in India. After that the marriage matter had been fixed.

In the year 1473 another truce for three years between Sultan Bahlol Lodi and Hussain Shah Sharqi was arranged, but this treaty could not last for long. Bahlol Lodi proved himself perfidious and so in March 1479, Hussain Shah Sharqi having recruited his army, waged war, but Hussain Shah was defeated again badly. So the marriage ceremony of Hasan Khan Sur was performed undoubtedly in 1479 A. D. after the month of March. So it is true that Sher Shah was born in 1480 A.D.

Due to some unavoidable circumstances, Sher Shah had to enter into the service of Bihar Khan (Bihar Khan Lohani), the ruler of South Bihar. It was before 1526 A.D., the death-year of Ibrahim Lodi. One day Sher Shah went out in hunting with Bihar Khan, and he killed a man-eater (Sher) with his

sword. "Bihar Khan, who on the death of Sultan Ibrahim had assumed the title of Sultan Muhammed" and had caused coin to be struck, and the KHUTBA to be read in his own name throughout the country of Bihar, gave to Farid Khan, on account of this gallant encounter, the title of 'Sher Khan'. Later on Sher Khan when he proclaimed himself Emperor, had been called Sher Shah. It could be presumed that this unforgettable adventure had been conducted by Sher Shah at the age of 46.

On the 17th May, 1540, Humayun was defeated by Sher Shah near Kanouj. This time the result was decisive. Humayun was compelled to fly to Persia via Agra and Lahore. For the next fifteen years, Humayun was a wanderer and an exile. From 1540 until 1545, Sher Shah ruled the empire. His accidental death took place on the 22nd May 1545 A. D. Unfortunately the reign of Sher Shah was too short.

Sher Shah became Emperor of India in his old age and he had repented for it. Ferishta tells about it in this way :

'It is said that Sher Shah being told that his beard grew white, replied, 'it was true that he had obtained the throne in the evening of life ;' a circumstance he always regretted, as it left him so short a time to be of use to his country, and to promote the welfare of his people.'*

Sir George Dumber also has illustrated

† History of India : Vol-1 page 174

* Veer Vinod : Maharana Ratan Singh (Part I) published by Raj Yantralaya : Udaipur—Page 138

the above story told by Ferishta.† Kaviraja Shyamaldas writes in his voluminous book titled, 'VEER VINOD' :

"Whenever he (Sher Shah) sees his beard white, he repents that he has got the throne in the evening of his life.*"

Almost all the historians have accepted that the reign of Sher Shah had commenced in the evening of his life.

The Coronation Ceremony of Sher Shah, as an Emperor of India had been performed on the 25th January, 1542 A. D.

If Sher Shah was born in the year 1480, he was undoubtedly more than 62 years of his age on after 1542 A. D. At this age the beard grows white definitely. So 1480 is the actual birth-date of Sher Shah Sur, who is a comet on the scene of our history.

Last witness can be given from 'PADUMAWAT' written by the poet Malik Muhammad of Jayasi during the reign of Sher Shah.

Malik Muhammad Jayasi was the contemporary of Sher Shah. During his reign, Jayasi had compiled his famous book of verse entitled; PADUMAWAT. Going through this book, it can be proved that Sher Shah was born after 1473 A. D., the birthdate of Malik

Muhammad Jayasi which has been proved by the writer of this subject (see JAYASI KA KAL-NIRNAY) Hindustani : Allahabad.

The poet Jayasi was patronised by Sher Shah. There is one KARVAK in this book in which the poet has remembered Sher Shah, the SHAHE-VAKTA.

*Shershahi Delhi Sultan
Charauu Khand Tapai Jasman.
Oh! Chhaj Chhat O Patu
Sabraja mui dharahi lilatu.*

* * *

*Din ashis Mohammed Karahu
judahi jugraj.
Pathsahi tuhm jagke
jag tumhar muhtaj.*

(Padmabat Doctor Wasu Deb Saran Agrawal No. 13)

In the GHATTA of the above KARVAK, the poet Jayasi blessed (ASIS) Sher Shah and said, Reign thou from age to age. Thou art the Emperor of the World. The World is a beggar at thy door."

ASIS (blessings) can be given only by elders to their youngers. So it proves that Sher Shah was undoubtedly younger to the poet Malik Muhammad Jayasi. In the above article, I have proved that Malik Muhammad Jayasi was born in 1473 A. D. So there is no doubt about it that Sher Shah was born after 1473 A. D. and so 1480 A. D. is the proved birth-date of Sher Shah by all rounds.

* Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India—
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MATRILINY IN MINANGKABAU

JOSEPH MINATTUR*

Matriliny in Minangkabau in Sumatra may be an indigenous institution. But a study of its details will not fail to impress one with the striking similarity between Malabar matriliney and this institution which has its off-shoot in Negri Sembilan in Malaysia. The very name Minangkabau where the institution flourished and continues to retain its influence appears to have been derived from Malabar. In spite of the various legends one hears about the origin of the name it is not unlikely that it originally meant the portion or division of land allotted to *Menoki* (Malayalam, a superintendent). *Menoki* was also a baronial title in North Kerala. *Menokibhagam* (the chief's or superintendent's portion) may have been corrupted to *Minangkabau*.¹

Descent by the female line may be regarded as one of the characteristics of Austro-asiatic civilization.² It is found among the Khasis of Assam, an Austro-asiatic community. The Garos of Assam as well as the Jaintias who are closely related to the Khasis also follow matriliney. Considering that matriliney was not unknown to the Austro-asians, it is not suggested that this social institution was introduced into Minangkabau from South India, where it was prevalent in the area now comprised in the state of Kerala; but the probabilities of such introduction cannot be ruled out when one recollects that in various parts of Sumatra, Malayalis settled down along with other South Indian immigrants. This may be seen from the old clan names in Sumatra. One comes across in the subdivision of Marga Simbiring of the Karo Batak names like Colija, Pandija, Nelijala, Pelavi and

Tekang. In this company it is not difficult to recognize Melijala for Malayalam³, corresponding to the present day Kerala, Pelavi for Pallava and Tekang for Dekhan. But it has to be admitted that there is no proof that these South Indian settlements preceded the institution of matriliney in Minangkabau.

The proximity of Melayu to Minangkabau may be a more relevant factor in indicating relationship between Malabar matriliney and the Minangkabau institution. It appears that the name Melayu was derived from *Malaya*, the Sanskrit name for the range of mountains bordering the eastern districts of Kerala.⁴ Melayu is generally regarded as one of the oldest Indianized states in Sumatra. If the settlers could give a name of their choice to the region, their influence may have been considerable. This again does not tend to prove that they were instrumental in introducing matriliney in Minangkabau.

Their influence on the institution, however, is easily recognizable. The people of Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan refer to a number of features of their matrilineal system by Indian words, some of which are the very words used by the people of Kerala to denote their own institutions. For instance, Minangkabau *bako* denoting patrilineal relationship is heard in Negri Sembilan as *baka* and in Kerala as *vaka*. *Harto pusako* of Minangkabau and *Harto peska* of Negri Sembilan have in them *saka*, Sanskrit *Sakha*, meaning branch, used in relation to the branch of a matrilineal family group in all the three areas under consideration. The same *saka* appears in

Minangkabau in the phrase *Kato Saka* or *kata pesaka* in the sense of sayings. Some names denoting certain institutions and territorial units in Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan appear to be exact translations either into the local language or Sanskrit of Dravidian names used in Kerala. For instance, one comes across the strange expression *ebu bapa*, which means father-mother, and which appears to be a translation or adaptation of Malayalam *ammavan*, meaning "he-mother". *Negri* is given a specialised meaning in Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan, and stands for Malayalam *nadu*.⁷ In Kerala one is familiar with such phrases as *nadum nagariyum*, literally country and town, but used indiscriminately in the sense of territorial units.

The word *peru* is of special interest. It means name in Kerala and may include the name of the family by which a person is identified as the member of that family in the same way as a surname in the West helps to identify a person. *Parui* (womb) in Minangkabau and *perut* in Negri Sembilan stand for the matrilineal clan to which one belongs.

The expression *orang semenda* used in Negri Sembilan may be a derivative from Malayalam *sambandhararan*, the expression used in relation to a man who has entered into a marriage relationship in the Kerala matrilineal society. *Sambandham* is from Sanskrit and means bond or tie and hence marriage. *Karan* is a Dravidian suffix indicating a person who belongs to or possesses what is connoted by the preceding part of the word. Hence *sambandhakaran* is one who is bound or wedded. Applying the usual rules of Malay grammar, one would have *karan sambandha* or *aran sambandhak*. It is not unlikely that instead of accepting *karan sambandha*, the Malay adopted a semiarticulated 'k' at the end of *Sambandha* and assumed that *aran* was the substantive. Later *k* may

have been dropped and *aran* altered into *orang*. It may be observed that the *g* in *orang* is seldom distinctly heard. Wilkinson commenting on the word *orang* in this Dictionary writes: "It is also used in national, descriptive or tribal names like 'man' in Englishman."⁸ *Karan* in Malayalam serves the same purpose.

The most commonly used word to denote a woman in the Indonesian and Malay languages is *perempuan*, which appears to be a Dravidian derivative, from the Dravidian, *penpirannavar*, meaning one who is born a woman as distinguished from *anpirannavan*, one born as a man. If one applied the usual rules of Malay or Indonesian grammar to the Dravidian compound *penpirannavar* and also dropped the last two syllables in the compound, it would not be hard to come by *pereempuan*. If it is assumed that matriliney was indigenous to Minangkabau, it is probable that this local institution was influenced by South Indian settlers who were familiar with a similar system and who, when in Minangkabau took wives from there and adopted certain local customs, were interested in creating a synthesis of the local institution with their own. Even if no conscious attempt at synthesis was made either by the settler or by the local community or by both, the Minangkabau and the Kerala institutions appear to have acquired and retained many points of similarity which may not be due to chance coincidence. The fact that the same words are used in both the countries to connote some of the characteristics of this social structure points to a relationship that cannot be dismissed as purely accidental. It is not likely that old indigenous institutions would be fascinated by foreign names at first sight. To adopt foreign names for an institution, the institution must have been introduced, or thoroughly subjected to the impact of the foreigners or at least so often mentioned by the

local people when speaking to the foreigners that the former found it easy to refer to it by its foreign name. When one knows from one's understanding of Southeast Asian history that South Indians settled in Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula and that some sections of the South Indians followed matriliney and some of the matrilineal in Sumatra and Negri Sembelan are called by names of Indian origin, it is difficult to rule out South Indian influence on these institutions.¹⁰⁾

The *bau* and *bu* endings in place names like Rembau, Jelebu, may have once been *bhaga*; *Rem* (*Rama*?) *bhaga*, *Jela* (*Jala*) *bhaga*. *Lembaga* originally appears to have meant a territorial division. *Bahagian* in Indonesian and Malay vocabulary indicates that the Sanskrit *bhaga* was not an unfamiliar word in the region. It is not uncommon in some Dravidian languages to form compounds from Sanskrit and Dravidian words. For instance, in Malayalam one comes across a compound like *manalaranyam* where Malayalam *manal* (sand) is combined with Sanskrit *aranya* (forest) to mean a desert (literally a wilderness of sand).

- 2) George Cordes, *Les Etats hindouises d'Indochine et d'Indonesie*, P. 25 et see.
- 3) See J. Minattur, "The Khasis", *The Modern Review*, Calcutta, May 1955.
- 4) Malayalam usually denotes the language of Kerala, but with the addition of *nadu* and the resultant dropping of the final in the first word, (i. e. *Malayalanadu*, but more often, *Malanadu*, the land of the hills) it may stand for the State of Kerala.
- 5) See J. Minattur: "Malaya-What's in the Name?" *Revue du Sub-est Asiatique*, Brussels, 1965, No.3
- 6) *Nagara* in Sanskrit means a city. In Malay *negre* would usually connote a country or settlement. *Negri Sembilan* appears to denote nine settlements.
- 7) *Nadu* is usually used in the sense of principality or province, but sometimes used to specify a district; also used to connote the country as opposed to town.
- 8) *Per* in Malayalam means giving birth.
- 9) Wilkinson, *A Malay-English Dictionary*, P. 821
- 10) See for more details, J. Minattur: "Indian Influence on Malay Customary Law", *Journal of Indian History*, XLII, iii (1964), P. 783.

WORDS, WORDS, WORDS

SAMARENDRA KRISHNA BOSE

"Words, words words,"—thus the greatest verbal artist of the world expresses his feeling of disgust and disappointment at the inherent poverty and emptiness of words. Hamlet enters reading, and Polonius asks him, "what do you read, my lord?" The reply of Hamlet is brief but full of deep significance. It is "words, words, words." Being himself the greatest magician of words the world has ever produced, Shakespeare is certainly the best person to know the incompetence of words to reveal the inmost depth of the human mind.

Rightly has it been said that silence is more eloquent than speech. There are moments when we become painfully aware of the inadequacy of words to express our emotions and sentiments. They then really lie too deep for words. So the same character in the same play of Shakespeare utters, just before closing his eyes for ever, the most profound piece of wisdom: "The rest is silence."

Yes, there is not the slightest doubt about that. We can give expression only to comparatively superficial ideas, feelings and sentiments of the mind by means of words. But the rest is, ever and everywhere, silence. The mother who has lost her only child becomes mute; lovers in the moment of perfect union remain silent; the sage in the hour of losing his identity in the Ultimate Reality is in a state of speechless trance. Words will only spoil the profundity of such feelings. Such deep emotions and ecstasies can only be experienced, not expressed. When the heart is full, the lips are sealed. Of all times, it is at such moments that we feel the futility of words most.

Poets and philosophers have always felt the limitation of words, because it is they that have ever been confronted with the problem of expressing the inexpressible. Of all men, therefore, they have pined for words most. It is Chesterton who has observed, in his usual epigrammatic manner, that men starve for words more than for food. There may be exaggeration in the remark, but certainly such men do exist; or, to be more precise, such moments do come in the life of men when hunger for words prove stronger than hunger for food. When the imagination is excited, the mind feels an urge to give expression to images and emotions seen and felt by it. The mind under the sway of imagination grows extremely restless and comes near madness. Even ordinary persons turn poets in some degree when such mood comes on them. Different poets and thinkers have

described this condition of the mind in different phrases and expressions, but they all point to the same quality. Plato has called poetry "fine frenzy", Shelley "harmonious madness", while Shakespeare has bracketed together "the lover, the lunatic and the poet." In the inspired moment the greatest concern of poets and philosophers is to find suitable words to give vent to emotions awakened in the mind because only in self-expression can they regain peace and balance. Practically the same thing has been said by the earliest of English critics in his famous work *The Arte of English Poesie*: ".....to suppress and hide a mans mirth, and not to have therein a partaker, or at least wise a witness, is no little grief and infelicity... And yet it is a peace of joy to be able to lament with ease, and freely to pour forth a mans inward sorrows and the griefs wherewith his minde is surcharged." Chesterton's observation, therefore, seems more than justified.

But however much poets and thinkers may grope after suitable words to express the feelings aroused in the mind in the moment of inspiration, they soon realise that words are most weak and imperfect medium for the purpose. They can bring out only a small fraction of the artist's original experience. Justly has Shelley said in his *Defence of Poetry*, "...the most glorious poetry that has ever been communicated to the world is probably a feeble shadow of the original conceptions of the poet..."

But still we must admit that literary artists, especially poets possess the skill of expressing things far better than ordinary men. Addressing poets Browning says,

"Your brains beat into rhythm, you tell What we felt only;"

Thus, according to him, poets have the capacity for expressing what appears inexpressible to those "Who never have turned a rhyme." And it is true. Words gain in significance when they are charged with rhyme. Rightly has Mr. Hudson observed, "Merely to arrange words in a definitely rhythmic order is to endow them, as by some secret magic, with a new end subtle emotional power—to touch them with a peculiar suggestiveness which in themselves, simply as words conveying such and such meanings, they do not possess."

Words gain still greater meaning and significance when they are put to tune, Shake-

peare, the world's unrivalled juggler in words, knew this well. So, whenever there arose the need for expressing the inexpressible, he took recourse to music. Mr. Wilson Knight has made painstaking research in the matter and has discussed in a very illuminating essay how the greatest poet and dramatist of the world always relied upon music to describe that which is indescribable in language. But even then there are bound to be emotions and intentions which are too deep and subtle for words. Then the only possible course is to resort to silence. Being gifted with the unique genius for expressing in words whatever are capable of signifying, Shakespeare knew this more than any one else, and so uttered, through the lips of his immortal character the immortal maxim: "The rest is silence."

If this be the testimony of the world's supreme verbal artist regarding the limitation of words, how much more helpless others must feel in making articulate emotions and sentiments lying in the core of their hearts!

There is another important factor to be taken into consideration in respect of words. The edge of everything becomes dull by constant use and words are no exceptions in this regard. Words lose their significance and poignancy by long and indiscriminate use. The Irish poet and dramatist, W. B. Yeats, has repented that the language of his verse-dramas is not, like Shakespeare's, a natural growth out of contemporary speech. He has observed, "People to day have no artistic and charming language except light persiflage, and no powerful language at all, and when they are deeply moved they look silently into the fireplace." We have grown too much sophisticated and our language has lost the exuberance and spontaneity it once possessed. Comparative philology shows how almost every word owes its origin to descriptions of natural things, or to pictures. With the gaining of currency the pictorial suggestions of words wear away. They gradually degenerate into mere counters for the game of conversation. Thus they become dull and jejune, and lose their strength and effect. H. Candwell (the pen-name of Christopher St. John Sprigg) has, in an interesting essay, shown how in a state of excitement men take recourse to metaphors, similes, personifications and exaggerations for expressing emotions for which the language of every-day life proves inadequate. "Our ordinary language", he observes, "is full of familiar, sometimes outworn, figures of speech drawn originally from the everyday

life of town or country, office, farm, or factory They must all once have been spoken for the first time, and when first spoken were vivid and imaginative. 'Whispering corn', 'biting wind', 'flashing eyes', and 'thundering hooves' have sunk by use from the level of poetry to that of popular fiction or speech."

Shelley, therefore, justly regretted, "One word is too often profaned". The 'One word' is, needless to add, *love*. If that word had appeared too vulgar to express the nature of pure and divine feeling Shelley cherished for Mrs. Jane Williams, how much more profaned has it become by rough and indiscriminate use to which it has been subjected since Shelley wrote thus! Thanks to the wide currency given to the term 'love' and its equivalent in other languages ('*Prem*' in Bengali and '*Mohabbat*' in Urdu) by means of gramophone records and cinema-films it certainly fails now to suggest that sweetest of all human relations which it once did. It has now come down to the level of thousands of other humdrum words used in course of the business of daily life. That which was once uttered in almost inaudible whisper in the ears of the sweet heart, is now shouted from the housetop by means of loud-speakers. And naturally the most delicate member of the vocabulary has not been able to bear the strain! "To fall in love" has become so commonplace an expression that, taken on its face-value, it would justify Shelley's claim, "The granite frame of the universe is interpenetrated with love"; and Jesus' commandment, "Love thy neighbour as thyself" would seem to have been obeyed to the letter!

But alas! What a gulf of difference between what is said and what is meant! The louder the profession, the more empty is the feeling. Truly has Alexander Pope said, "Words are like leaves and where they most abound: Much fruit of sense beneath is rarely found". Goneril and Regan waxed eloquent on their love and respect for Lear, but Cordelia remained reticent. The reason is obvious: "The shallow murmur, but the deep are dumb". -

Silence, therefore, is really golden; while speech is, at best, silvery. Words can never do justice to the deep and profound feelings of the mind. Such realisations may be better communicated, if communicated at all, by silence. There is, as yet, no other medium for the purpose. So whenever there is the need for expressing the inexpressible, there is nothing but silence to fall back upon. Truly has Hamlet said, "The rest is silence."

GEORGE ORWELL AND THE PROBLEM OF POWER

S. S. PRABHAKAR

For George Orwell the manifestations of power in several spheres of human activity always hold great fascination. He analysed incisively the sway of power, in its various forms, over man's psyche, bringing to the task his famous 'inspired common sense and power of steady thought'.¹ He sought, too, in his own queer way, to suggest a remedy for the ubiquitous worship of power—a disturbing feature of the modern age.

His first novel, 'Burmese Days', set in a small Burmese town, Kyauktada, deals with the social power sought to be exercised by an amorphous group of minions of British colonialism in India. An outward symbol of their superiority over native 'niggers' seems to be their self-imposed alienation from the natives; social intercourse with any one outside the circle of the pukka sahibs was totally barred. In the end, they undoubtedly succeed in the perpetuation of their alienation: the establishment of their power. The door is slammed on the admission of the natives to the exclusive club. But it is a victory won, in spite of themselves, and is scarcely different from defeat!

The well-meaning efforts of Flory to induct Dr Veerasamy into the club and thus bring a sense of reality and significance into their lives are ineptly destined to fail. But the final humiliation of Flory due to the is as much tough-line advocates, like Westfield, as it is due to unprincipled schemers like U Po Kyn. Orwell visualised the agents of power as concrete and opposable as well as hesitant and self-divided phenomena.

A further stage in Orwell's anatomisation of power-worship is to be seen in his third novel, 'Keep the Aspidochelone Flying'. Here the agent exercising power is no longer concrete and visible; it is now an elusive concept, invisible and for that reason all the more unrelenting and devastating in its strangle-hold on man's way of living and thinking. The

awful thralldom of money,' as Orwell wrote elsewhere, is the theme of his analysis. Gordon Comstock, with a faint touch of Ivan Karamazov, declares a spirited protest against Mammon, throws up a fairly comfortable job and indeed goes truly down and out. But in the end he is shamed into burning incense at the altar of Mammon; the aspidochelone must be kept flying, symbolizing the middle-class compromise with the imperatives of zestless living.

'To abjure money', he realized painfully, 'is to abjure life'.² He also realized that, when he had blasphemed against money, he not only had to face misery, but also 'a frightful emptiness, an inescapable sense of futility'.³ Ostensibly the pregnancy of Rosemary precipitated his capitulation, but, even if there was no baby, his surrender had been foredoomed. Orwell reveals rare subtlety of analysis, when the victims of power are shown not merely to chuck up the sponge but also to delight in it, for the peculiar sensation Gordon felt, in the hour of his defeat, was neither rage nor boredom, but relief! The capacity for 'doublethink' is no longer far away.

'Coming Up For Air', on the other hand, deals with the power of modernism in its various dehumanizing aspects. And the frantic efforts of George looking to escape are foredoomed, too. He flees from the town, but the village of the heart, like Auden's, is long dead. Modernism has spread everywhere; its power is complete and uncompromising. Here also power is viewed as an abstract concept, invisible and yet unrelentingly pervasive.

In 'Animal Farm,' 'with his emotions..... held in check by his reason at a fine point of balance',⁴ Orwell deals with the struggle for political power, its acquisition and ultimate and inevitable abuse. For the retention of power the leaders of revolution do not hesitate to throw overboard the ideals of revolution. The fable significantly ends with a total rever-

sal of postures: the dissolution of ancient antipathies in the common pursuit of the retention of power, viewed still as a down-to-earth phenomenon, for achieving personal ends. The annihilation of self, visualized in 'Nineteen Eightyfour,' is yet a considerable way off.

But it is, however, only in 'Nineteen Eightyfour' that Orwell conducts a fairly thorough enquiry into the causation and motivation of power at various levels of its manifestation. The various strands of his prescient analyses of his earlier novels have been here gathered together and are woven into the texture of the nightmare-vision with a disproportionate concentration of all the worst manifestations of power. The result, as John Strachey remarks, 'is the most intolerable of all the pessimistic, inverted utopias';

Here power is not merely a conceptual abstraction; it has attained to the dizzy heights of mysticism. Power is no longer a means to personal ends. O'Brien, in his subtle, metaphysical exposition of the rationale behind the power-worship of the Party, declares, 'we are not interested in the good of others; we are solely interested in power.... The object of power'.⁶ At this stage, the agents of power exercise it over the individual by making him suffer grotesque persecution.

The ascent to mysticism of power is worked out carefully in its various stages and depicted with admirable particularity of imagination. The seizure of political power by Big Brother and the Party is a natural first step accompanied by the dissolution of domestic insularity perpetrated by the ubiquitous thought-police and diabolically competent tele-screen. The annihilation of all personal elementary sentiments is then a natural corollary. It is in these circumstances that the clandestine love-making between Winston and Julia seems a major triumph: 'their embrace had been a battle, the climax a victory. It was a blow struck against the Party. It was a political act.'⁷

The next step is the appropriation by the Party of the few cubic centimeters inside your skull—the thralldom over the very thought-processes of individuals. It is of a far greater 'insidious intent' since it seeks to diminish the range of thought by either totally discarding or narrowing the semantic-breadth of the existing vocabulary. 'The purpose of Newspeak was not only to provide a medium of expression for the world-view and mental habits proper to the devotees of Ingsoc, but to make all other modes of thought impossible.'⁸ The new language accordingly provides no words for traditional concepts like freedom, love, religion and the like. Consequently, such heretical thoughts become 'literally unthinkable at least so far as thought is dependent on words'.⁹ A thought-control of such magnitude seems much more sinister than the hypnopædic methods of pre-conditioning an individual before birth, visualized by Huxley in 'Brave New World.'

The highest point in the mysticism of power, and the most frightful, is reached when the individual is not merely made incapable of a heretical thought; he is made capable of thinking and believing contrary 'view-points at the same time: 'to know and not to know, to be conscious of complete truthfulness while telling carefully constructed lies, to hold simultaneously two opinions which cancelled out, knowing them to be contradictory and believing in both of them; to use logic against logic.'¹⁰ This is described as 'doublethink' in the Newspeak. The repudiation of rationalism, resulting in the power-worship of modern times—'the new religion of Europe'—is to Orwell's mind the worst aspect of modern political institutions.

It is thus evident that Orwell's main pre-occupation throughout his writings had been the ever-widening thralldom of power, at various levels, over the expanding areas of human consciousness. His conclusions had been invariably defeatistic: all his antago-

nists to power, like Flory, Gordon and Winston, were no match for the adversary and finally capitulate. The final impression left by a study of his novels is apparently one of utter hopelessness. Almost all the critics who wrote about Orwell complained against this serious deficiency in his writings, in particular, 'Nineteen Eightyfour.'¹²

Nevertheless, it is possible to catch the glimpses of a faint hope, striving to emerge from the encircling gloom. In his essay on Swift he wrote : 'the most essential thing in Swift is his inability to believe that life..... could be worth-living. Of course, no honest person claims that happiness is now a normal condition among adult human beings ; but perhaps it *could* be made normal.'¹² It is extremely doubtful, therefore, that a writer, who is so critically conscious of such an inability, in other writers, would fail to anticipate that a similar charge would be levelled against him too. The reason for presenting the world of Nineteen Eightyfour entirely devoid of hope cannot, therefore, be his inability to believe that life could be made worth-living. The explanation may be sought elsewhere.

In the case of 'Nineteen Eightyfour', the explanation is not difficult to find. The vision evoked is meant to serve as a warning to mankind of the terrible future that lay in wait for it, if certain tendencies of the modern age were not checked in good time. He would surely have failed in his objective, if he had made his vision too soft. But all the same a positive message could at least have been indicated. One could only wish that he had built up the stray hints of positive remedial measures for the evils of power-worship he threw in various of his writings, into a plausible frame-work of a fairly consistent credo.

Nevertheless, the few available indications are sufficient to show that his positive attitude to life does contribute to a sense of artistic

fulfilment, though in a limited way. His method seems to proceed from the depiction of the fact that happiness is not now a normal condition to a determination to make it one : the nightmarish utopias and his numerous pamphlets share this common objective.

The remedy he *did* offer was the least expected of him ; restoration of religious attitude. On the surface, he was impatient with all ritualistic religiosity, but, as John Atkins pointed out, he was a deeply moral man. He was convinced that 'the modern cult of worship is bound with the modern man's feeling that life here and now is the only life there is.'¹³ He also declared : 'somehow the religious attitude of life must be restored.'¹⁴ In fact, his distinction lies, too, in his insistence that religious attitude should be restored as a ballast against the new soul-sullyng cult of power. Despite his impish cavil at religion, which gives his writing that intemperate atheistic look, he seems to have realized, like his Dorothy in 'A Clergyman's Daughter,' that 'even though you do not believe, it is better to go to church than not ; better to follow in the ancient way than to drift aimlessly in rootless freedom.'¹⁵

Consistency was certainly not a virtue Orwell valued greatly : hence the insuperable difficulty in determining just where he stands on several fundamental problems, which are even now contending for our souls. But the saving feature in him is his integrity of vision expressed in a tone of disarming sincerity, which makes his investigations into the cult of power of lasting value.

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1. Tom Hopkins : "George Orwell", British Council, 1953 : p. 1
 2. George Orwell : *Keep the Aspidochelone* Flying' Penguin : p. 253
 3. Ibid : p. 253

4. "George Orwell : A literary study" : John Atkins : John Calder
5. John Strachey : 'The Strangled cry' in in 'ENCOUNTER' Nov & Dec, 1960
6. George Orwell : 'Nineteen Eightyfour' : Penguins : pp. 211-12
7. Ibid : p. 104
8. Ibid : p. 241
9. Ibid : p. 241
- 10 Ibid
11. For instance, Henry de Villose' reviewing 'Nineteen Eightyfour' in 'The Adelphi', July-Sept, 1949, pp. 327-30, complains that Orwell "Produces neither a moving story nor prophetic warning, but a clever, brutal fantasy."³
12. George Orwell : 'Inside the Whale and other and Essays'. Penguins : p. 134
13. George Orwell : 'As I Please' : Tribune, dt. 3-3-1944
14. George Orwell in 'Observer', quoted by John Atkins in his 'George Orwell : A literary study.'
- 15 George Orwell : 'A Clergyman's Daughter' Penguins : p. 220

PROFITABILITY OF PUBLIC UNDERTAKINGS

P. C. TRIPATHI

Antagonists of the public sector always keep their statistics ready for the draw. An investment of Rs. 5360 crores by the end of 1968-69. Of this, Rs. 3542 crores is to be in departmentally run commercial undertakings such as railways and the posts and telegraphs, the return here being only 5%. Of the remaining investment Rs. 1341 crores are going to be the capital outlay of the enterprises which are classified as "running concerns". These are to give a return of only 0.6%. Compare this with a return of 10 to 15% in private sector enterprises. Hence the urgent need for making public undertakings profitable.

Everybody will concede that there is such need in India. Public undertakings should be made to pay adequately. But can we, with clear conscience, indict public sector on this criterion alone (that is the rate of return on capital in the public and private sector)? The answer is NO for three reasons. One is that public sector undertakings have not been set

up with profits as the sole criterion. The second is that it is not fair to assume that the public sector manager is free to be primarily concerned with maximising profits. And the third is that there are many fallacies of interpretation in drawing a comparison between public and private sector undertakings.

In a public enterprise profits are not the sole criterion. They are not the *raison d'être* of a public enterprise. Although this is not always explicitly stated, the decision to set up a public sector undertaking is governed by a host of considerations, economic, political and social. Among purely economic considerations we may include the need to set up basic industries which have essentially long gestation periods and low initial rates of return on investment. The low returns of these industries materially influence the aggregate profits of the public sector as a whole. But they also prove that a low return is not a universal phenomenon in the public undertakings.

Thus for example, whereas public enterprises like Hindustan Steel Limited, Heavy Engineering Corporation, Neyveli Lignite Corporation, Indian Oil Corporation, National Coal Development Corporation, Bharat Heavy Electricals, Fertiliser Corporation of India and so on have not exhibited adequate profitability, certain other units like the State Trading Corporation, Minerals and Metal Trading Corporation and Bharat Electronics have earned reasonably good returns to escape the wrath of a profit and loss account conscious critic. Among social considerations employment ranks the highest and not infrequently the labour force is much larger than is really necessary for efficient production. Fair prices are also an objective in certain types of commodities like drugs and fertilisers. A concern for egalitarianism leads to make the public undertaking a model employer by spending huge amounts on housing and other fringe benefits. A case in point is the Hindustan Steel Limited. It has cost the Company as much as Rs. 70 crores to build its townships. Last though not the least important considerations affecting the decision to set up a public sector undertaking are the political ones. Thus, the Government under pressure may decide to locate an enterprise in a region not so rich in factor-endowment.

It is not always possible to identify and quantify these non-economic considerations. All the same, they surreptitiously push up establishment costs, over-head costs and the transport costs for the enterprise. The result is that the return on capital as a criterion for evaluation of public sector management performance becomes grossly unfair in as much as the social and economic benefits which result from these non-economic considerations are not reflected in the performance evaluation of the enterprise.

Coming to my second point, namely, a public sector manager in India should not be thought of as free to be primarily concerned with maximising profits I will tell my readers about some of those influences which run counter to the idea of profits.

1. In a public enterprise success is considered synonymous with exploitation. If a manager pays too low a price for a raw material, he may be charged with exploiting the suppliers or discriminating against smaller units of production. While pricing his finished products he may be charged with exploiting the consumer.

2. In a public enterprise the concept of risk does not exist. And decisions are delayed for fear of making mistakes. A manager's performance is judged not by his quick decisions but by his ability to stay on the right side of his superiors in the Ministry and not to get anybody into trouble, least of all himself.

3. While negotiating wages with labour unions a manager can depend not on productivity in the enterprise and the capacity of the enterprise to bear additional wage cost, but on such factors as the relative political strength of the Labour and Industry Ministers and the extent to which the manager is a political animal.

4. The manager is under continuous pressure from State Governments designed to influence his employment policies, his expansion decisions, his purchase decisions. And there are many types of local pressures that he must be wary of.

5. There is a built-in prejudice against profits because it shows up the inefficiency of other state enterprises. And in this game a manager cannot let his tribe down. A very enthusiastic manager will arouse jealousy in his countesparts.

The obvious corollary of all this is that even if we could import supermanagers from Mars, the environment in the public sector would be so hostile to their natural instincts of maximising profits that they would make little impact on the public sector's contribution to plan resources.

Coming to my third point, namely, there are many fallacies of interpretation in drawing a comparison between public and private sector undertakings, the following facts should be noted :

First, while making a comparison with the private sector, it is conveniently forgotten that the incidence of mortality rate is much higher in private than in the public sector. For instance, during the period 1961-66 as many as 8493 companies ceased to work and as on March 31, 1966 companies numbering 2649 went into liquidation. The shareholders and the society have to bear the brunt of such misadventurism.

Second, whereas the acquisition costs of private enterprisers were low, public enterprises were established during inflationary period. Thus for example, the Hindustan Steel Limited had to buy its plant and machinery at a very high price so much so that its block capital

works out to Rs. 2800 per ton of steel as against Rs. 1060 to Rs. 1330 in the private sector steel units.

I have to some extent overstated my case. I do not, for a moment, intend to defend inefficiency in the public undertakings because such an attempt would be an offence against the nation. One must concede that there is ample room for the management of the public sector to improve itself even within the existing unfavourable milieu. The Report of the Committee on Public Undertakings in Punjab is a sad commentary on the deplorable state of affairs of the Government-run corporations in the State. In the case of Punjab Export Promotion Council, for example, the Committee was surprised to find that in most of the meetings held by the Corporation not more than 2 or 3 out of 13 directors attended. "One proposed and the other seconded every item and the meeting was over", the Committee records. An extra-ordinary meeting was held "solely for the purpose of appointing the daughter of a big industrialist as a sales girl in the Corporation's retail stall in the New York World Fair. The participation of India in that fair appears to have been motivated by travel opportunities and recreation. Powerful and influential persons succeeded in sending their sons and daughters to the United States at Government expense. They spent the hard-earned foreign exchange for their personal needs." Instances of this kind can be multiplied without number.

Delays in implementation, production shortfalls, excessive inventory holdings and other similar failings can be overcome to a great extent by streamlining management. A study of 22 running concerns has revealed that they lock up working capital by storing materials sufficient for 11 to 15 months' production. This is criminal waste - a consequence of plethoric cheap credit. There is also need for intensive market research. The

experience of many public undertakings shows that when they go into production, which is quite a few years after the blue prints have been drawn up, the demand pattern has changed. For example, when the National Coal Development Corporation who asked to go ahead with its plans of coal production, the Third Plan coal target was 97 million tonnes. The actual demand at the end of the Plan period, however, was only 67 million tonnes. Similarly, the Heavy Engineering Corporation complains that it does not have adequate orders on its books. The Indian Drugs and Pharmaceuticals plant at Hardwar finds that there is sufficient production of penicillin at Pimpri and in the private sector and that in any case penicillin is gradually going out of vogue because of the discovery of more effective and potent antibiotics. The international price of penicillin is so low, moreover, that the Hardwar plant with its heavy investment cannot compete in the world market.

Again, our many public sector firms have barely heard of linear programming. Cash-flow analysis is still a new concept. And top-managements are still typically unfamiliar with the usefulness of such devices as the critical path method and Pert techniques. In fact, many of the state-owned units will need a good deal of managerial skill if they are even to break-even, let alone ensure a sizable return on the investment. But, alas, our predominantly bureaucratic manager is too old to learn all this. What is worse, he cannot be available to run the unit for a reasonably long period to ensure continuity. He will pay as much attention to a Rs. 2-crore project as to a Rs. 10 crore-project. Why should he not? He has been a civil servant all through his life manning different posts and doing different jobs with the average competence of a generalist. Here also he is a generalist first and a manager afterwards.

Current Affairs

AMERICANS AND FIRE ARMS

Americans are very fond of owning guns. And they are also rather prone to pull triggers without careful consideration of consequences. The three killings of recent dates, those of the two Kennedys and of Dr. Martin Luther King, have drawn public attention to the American habit of buying fire arms. They can do this with the greatest ease in so far as millions of weapons and ammunition are sold to the citizens of the United States by post. Recent laws aiming at prevention of easy purchase of arms have not affected all weapons. Pistols and revolvers are purchased by observing some formalities but rifles can be bought with the greatest ease. There are many million Americans who possess fire arms. These people kill thousands of fellow Americans every year with the help of their fire arms. No one can deny that of every 10000 persons shot dead, 90 per cent would never have been shot had it not been easy to obtain fire arms in America. The attention of all civilised persons is therefore drawn to the urgent necessity for controlling the sale and the possession of arms and ammunition. Protection of human life is an essential part of civilisation. It is now believed by all sensible persons that Americans are quick tempered and unreliable where the use of guns is concerned. Gun control has therefore become very necessary for the people of the U. S. A. There might have been

times when the people needed guns for self protection but those days have gone and the people do not require protection in that manner any longer.

Mr. NIXON AS PRESIDENT OF U. S. A.

The election of Richard Milhous Nixon to the Presidentship of the United States of America begins another spectacular chapter of the life of a very successful and capable politician of that country. Born in 1913 in California in a Quaker family Mr. Nixon became a lawyer and joined the Republican Party. He went to the Congress after the end of the second World War and was a prominent member of the un-American Activities Committee which pressed for the prosecution of Alger Hiss who was sent to jail for his involvement with Communists in some manner which was not very clearly presented to the world at large. Hiss was President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and many people doubted the authenticity of the charges made against him. Nixon became a Senator from California in 1951 and was Vice-President of the U. S. A. under Eisenhower from 1953 to 1961. He contested Kennedy in the presidential election of 1961 and lost. He therefore rejoined his legal practice.

Mr. Nixon is holding out high hopes to the Americans of national unity, international peace and pursuit of an economic policy which will defeat any chances of a trade-slump. We do not know how he will

manage to establish peace on earth and also keep industries going as they are with warlike conditions prevailing in many places. Racial clashes donot appear to be disappearing, rather white people in other countries are joining the ranks of the sponsors of apartheid. Nixon also has some ideas of creating a state of peaceful coexistence between different political parties. What common front will he be able to establish to achieve this ?

ANTI-RUSSIAN DEMONSTRATION IN PRAGUE

What the grown up people of Czechoslovakia successfully avoided was suddenly precipitated by the youthful elements of the nation. The Czechoslovak people had shown amazing patience, and forbearance in the face of an unwarranted aggression on their sovereignty by the Warsaw Pact countries led by Russia. The Russians had been trying indoctrination, brain-washing and the creation of conditions which would produce ideologically approved reactions in all minds. But they have never really succeeded in achieving anything that produced the ideal Communists in very large numbers. This has been the case with religious fanaticism too throughout the ages. The hard core fanatics of all religious communities slowly yielded place to normal human beings. For the hard core types are not stable mutations biologically speaking. Their peculiar reactions were imposed from outside and were not passed down to their successors in the manner of inherited characteristics. So with communism too, the ordinary man succeeded his uncompromising predecessors. The Russians thought the Czechoslovaks were revising the code of communism, the Chinese thought the Russians were betraying

the cult and the ethically inspired constructive socialist groups in many countries thought that the communist states were giving up their humanity in order to achieve an organisational perfection that would convert men and women into computer driven automats. The Czechoslovak youngmen and women tore down Russian flags and shouted anti-Russian slogans. They marched in procession up and down the main roads of Prague, defying the members of the Russian forces, who, of course, had done nothing to stop all this upto the time of writing. The youths of Czechoslovakia cannot really fight the Russian army. Their outbursts should be taken as nothing more than outbursts. Whatever action the Russians will take will be on a State level and one does not expect any change in the policy followed by the Warsaw Pact nations at this stage, just because some youngmen and women have made a display of anger.

SCIENCE AND PROGRESS AT A DISCOUNT

Sometime ago it was discovered in Britain that Science studies were no longer quite so popular as they had been in earlier years. Boys and girls no longer displayed any preference for science as they did before. In the past America had been the land of dreams for scientists. The best scientific scholars from the different countries of the earth went to the U. S. A. to seek better facilities for higher studies and research work. A good scientist always found what he wanted in America. It seems things there have changed and good scientists are no longer in demand in that country. The British centres of scientific research are now getting some of their men back from U. S.

laboratories. We cannot imagine what will happen to Indian Scientists with no facilities in this country, colour bar in great Britain and recession in the U. S. A.

It would appear that Indian engineers remain unemployed in their thousands. Indian doctors have to accept honorary posts in hospitals in order to get acquainted with their future patients. Indian authors, artists, teachers and other professionals find it hard to sell their goods or services and all things Indian are passing through a period of slump. One of the reasons which cause slumps is over trading. The American slump in scientific research may have been caused by too many persons engaging in unprofitable research work. Over trading means trading in excess of what profitability may justify. The slump in general therefore suggests a lack of faith in carrying on normal economic activities. For those who buy, sell, manufacture, employ or organise suffer from a justifiable fear of incurring losses if they carried on their activities normally. The basis of slumps or booms being largely psychological one has to put heart into trade and enterprise in order to boost things back to normal and to revive the economic morale of the nation. This cannot be done by politicians and the tycoons of the bazar whom nobody trusts. This fundamental psychological fact of trust and belief is very important in social progress. Its basis is ethical and people must be honourable, incorruptible, free from base desires and greed to succeed as leaders of the nation, guides to society and helmsmen of great undertakings. In short personal character comes first in men at the top and only men of character can stop the nation from drifting aimlessly into disaster in a misguided manner.

Quibbling and cooked up arguments for rationalising sins and crimes can bluff some immature minds for a little while ; but cannot really bring back to life the lost faith and trust which alone can act as the main spring of whole hearted progress.

INTELLECTUAL ASSESSMENTS OF LIFE

When we read newspapers and other journals we find a lot of speculative and conjectural sophistry which pampers our sense of intellectual awareness of deep and complex social problems by the use of text bookish language. We are told that certain persons who go about without any clothes are really trying to come closer to those cosmic forces which we call spiritual in the absence of any clearer way of defining them. We ask ourselves, whether those naked seekers after spiritual communion have hungers other than those of the soul and, if they have, are those desires of the ordinary fleshy kind. Also we ask, why this public exhibition of their soul's yearnings ? Could not one be in tune with the Infinite while remaining physically in seclusion ? And then, when we calculate social gains resulting from all the taking off of garments we find nothing much under the spiritual heads. Then we read about obscene poems and indecent pictures. They are really, we are told, superb examples of a realistic approach to life. But we say to ourselves, why must reality be discoverable only by peeping through key holes and by making an unnecessarily detailed inspection of those aspects of life where "two is company and three is none." Certain artistic urges deserve and require to be communicated while others are not so. If they come into the picture at all they should act purely decoratively and

not to appear luscious to those who seek excitement of a kind which has not such a high place in life. Admittedly religious texts or temples may occasionally permit the use of the sex motif for their own purpose. That purpose is not the entertainment of aspiring lotharios. Other sophistries are connected with definitions of obscenity, purity and so forth. Everybody knows that obscenity can be visual, auditory or sensed only by the intellect. Odours can be revolting and so can be the touch of persons suffering from skin ailments. One can call such smells and touches obscene by stretching a point. But they would be realistic too and, as such claimed to be valuable communications to certain types of mind. In any case obscenity for obscenity's sake can be an intellectual cult; but the majority of human beings will resist its spread, like they try to resist the spread of bubonic plague. All diseases of the body and the mind are realities but have no gainful value to living human beings. That is because diseases try to destroy or injure life. There are and can be other realities which destroy and injure life such as drugs, suicidal tendencies, criminal tendencies, insanitary filth, unhygienic habits, obscene poems and indecent pictures. There can be test tubes full of pure microbes or pure water. This purity merely describes the unmixed nature of the things referred to. Pure thoughts, pure ideals etc refer to the moral value of the thoughts and ideals. Moral value means the ability to benefit those to whom the thoughts and ideals are communicated, and not destroy or injure their lives.

THE GENERATION GAP

Consciousness of Rights has affected different sections of humanity since time

immemorial. In ancient society Hellens and Barbarians, Roman patricians and commoners, Aryas and Das people, conquering tribes and others fought over rights. Later on castes, classes, dynasties, clans, trade guilds and other interests contested for establishing their claims. In modern times we have seen struggles for gaining power between overlords and vassals, empires and dominions. Men and women, the nobility, the gentry and the ordinary people; capitalists and workers, the rich and the poor, whites and non-whites, and lastly between those who are mature in age and those who are yet the wards of parents and guardians. President Nixon of the U. S. A. calls this clash of age "the generation gap" and wants to close it in order to bring unity among all Americans. Whether he will be able to achieve this objective is very doubtful. For there can never be any peace between the pampered and the pamperers. Nor between those who are unduly arrogant and those who resent that arrogance. Youth defies the older generations either because they are pampered or on account of the stupidly self-assertive ways of some grown up persons. Friendly behaviour is the basis of all unity. Yielding to unreasonable pressure or haughty refusals to argue and discuss are both bad for friendly relations.

In India young people are in the habit of putting all blames for all short comings and wants on the grown-ups. If they fail in their examinations, the school or college authorities are held responsible. If they do not get enough money from their parents to spend on good things as well as bad, the grown-up persons who have any connection with fixing parents' wages and amenities are

held responsible. The political parties come into the picture quite easily. For ruling parties being responsible for salaries, wages tram or bus fares, price of text books, standards of examinations, food supply and everything else; are the targets, for those who desire more, better and easier things and arrangements. Where opposition parties have had control of social affairs and failed to make things better, oppositions of oppositions, that is, yet further extreme, of opinion had come into existence to prove that there could be yet more drastic possibilities. In fact youth does not approach its problems in a direct manner but goes by a round about path to obtain redress. But the natural habit of youth is to make a direct move. The round about paths of quibble show the presence of advisers who are hardened politicians and not youngmen or women. It is necessary that some one pointed out to the younger generations that they should devote more time to studies and less to agitation: take more physical exercise and smoke fewer cigarettes and visit cinemas less often. Their parents too should be shown the way to earn more and waste less. For with all our wants we find people taking every opportunity to work less and squander money in an aimless manner. Puja subscriptions, daughters, marriages, shraddhs, naming ceremonies etc. point to throwing away money. Unwillingness to engage in extra work is evident everywhere. In very rich countries, students earn quite a bit of extra money by putting in work in various manners. Two hours work should enable an intelligent youngman to earn a couple of rupees. Why are there not any arrangements for such earnings? kintting, tailoring, needle work for girls and

envelop making, book binding, car cleaning bazar service, book selling, bicycle delivery of goods and many other types of work can be profitable. In any case, uproar and imitation civil war does not solve any problems. Those who are known as the authorities should also be judged by the results of their work. Favouritism can put useless men in charge of difficult work. But influence cannot create ability in incapables. We should therefore get rid of those inefficient persons in authority who try to throw their weight about without having any ability to convince young men and women of anything whatsoever. Age no longer convinces. But ability does. So only those who have acquired knowledge over the years and can attract the young to them should be put in charge of educational institutions. We have mentioned before this on several occasions that young people will keep off politics and give up their intensive participation in agitation and civil commotions; if wider and comprehensive arrangements are made to give them facilities for games and sports and open air life. The Calcutta Maidan used to be a large enough open space when the population was less. Now we require much larger areas to provide recreation to the million young persons who live in the Metropolitan area. This can be arranged if extensive parks are constructed in the adjoining areas of the great City. Barrackpur Trunk Road. Dum Dum Highway, Diamond Harbour Road, the Bombay Road and the Grand Trunk Road, can lead us to open spaces which can accommodate hundreds of play grounds, sports tracks, swimming and rowing channels and picnic gardens. Early morning and afternoon bus services can be arranged at cheap

return fares by augmenting the State Transport arrangements. Five three thousand acre areas can be acquired within three or four crores of rupees. Development should not cost more than a similar amount. Transport arrangements and other facilities ought not to cost more than a couple of crores. In short, if about ten crores of rupees are spent on this there should be a play ground for each and every school or college besides large numbers which will be taken up by clubs and other institutions. A million persons paying half-a-rupee per head makes half a million rupees per month. This makes sixty lakhs of rupees per annum.

This amount can be realised by surcharge on fees and other payments made by persons in the ordinary course. This is six per cent on ten crores. Besides, the hiring charges and admission fees realised should be considerable. A State guaranteed loan can be raised and should be subscribed easily. Other cities can follow this idea too and soon wherever there are concentration of students there shall be provisions for play grounds.

Play grounds, sports training tracks and just outdoor life should change the outlook of youngmen and women. It is not normal for young people to take to street fighting against the police all for nothing. They do so in India, because they have no alternative ways available to them by which they can get a "kick" out of life. The dull and drab existence they have, they ascribe to the apathy of the grown up people and the government. The grown up people and the government, therefore, should make an effort to make life more interesting for the young. The political leaders at least provide fights for them. So they go for politics. Give them games, sports, outings and picnicks, and we

are sure. they will spend their time in the way they should.

KENNEDY ONASSIS ALLIANCE

It is really nobody's business when someone marries some one without violation of any principles of morality and social practice. The marriage of ex-Mrs. Kennedy and Mr. Aristotle Onassis violates no principles and people should not express opinions about the marriage as it is none of their business to harbour any on the subject. But if politics develops round this alliance and Greece becomes a sphere of influence of the U. S. A. as a result of this marriage, then world opinion would perhaps begin to acquire shapes and colour round a purely private affair of two hearts. The politicians of the U. S. A. have developed certain ways which are not very nice. Any excuse will be good for a diplomatic gate crashing; and the marriage of the widow of a President of the U. S. A. with a top ranking tycoon of a politically shaky country will no doubt offer an opportunity for creating new bonds of friendship and new avenues of reaching advantageous conclusions for American hopes and plans of world domination. Mr. Onassis moreover is an ambitious man who may have his ideas about mobilising American aid for his own advancement into spheres other than those of shipping or ownership of casinos. Aristotle Onassis is a national of Greece which provides openings into the Iron Curtain of Eastern Europe. If traditional forms of government become weak in Greece, other forms may try to develop strength. That would call for diplomatic adventure and political gamble. The U.S.A. like to sponsor both.

CHINA ENEMY OF ALL NATIONS

We hear of many thousands of Naga hostiles who had trekked over to China, received military training, procured arms there and come back to India to fight against the Indian authorities. This has been going on for years and the Chinese had taken the initiative in getting Naga rebels to go to China to secure arms and to acquire the skill to use the arms. The Chinese, of course, deny their part in the organisation of armed rebellion of the Nagas. But such denials mean nothing; in so far as clear evidence exists to prove China's participation in the Naga rebellion. The Chinese more over are in the habit of treacherous activities in other countries. In Indonesia the Chinese had supplied arms and funds to anti government forces and the Indonesians had chastised the Chinese by ferocious attacks on Chinese shop-keepers and other Chinese persons and establishment. The Chinese had been training anti-government forces in Burma and had organised armed forces of Burmese communists in the border regions of the Sino-Burmese frontier. The Burmese know this and have no good feelings towards the Chinese for their inimical activities against a friendly nation living at peace with them. The Chinese are slowly becoming an enemy of all nations which according to Chinese plans of expansion should come within the Chinese Communist sphere of influence. The activities of the Chinese to supply arms and money to their fifth columns in other countries are quite well known to the governments of all adjoining states. The Chinese organise rebellions, civil agitation, trade union disputes, strikes etc. and even set up political

parties which apparently work within the constitutions of the countries in which they operate, while in fact their sole object is to destroy peace and stable government in order to start Communistic revolutions. Slowly all-surrounding countries are becoming conscious of the insidious part that China is playing in the internal affairs of other friendly countries. The total military strength of all the neighbouring countries would be quite substantial and the chances of the formation of an-anti Chinese block of Asiatic nations should not be ruled out. The Chinese threat of nuclear arms too will not last any longer. than the nuclear monopoly of America had existed over all other countries after the first atom bombs were exploded by them for a military purpose. Other Asiatic nations can make nuclear bombs and arrange to deliver the same at specified points at a distance. How all this will develop will depend largely on Chinese deviations from the set principles of international behaviour and conduct. The way China is proceeding will inevitably force all Asiatic nations to combine and resist China's might. When that will happen China will soon discover that a North Korea here or a North Vietnam there will be no protection against the joint strength of many nations. Even assuming that China will have a population of 750 millions, the combined population of India, Indonesia, Malayasia, Thailand, Burma, Ceylon, and Cambodia will be very near that figure. If Japan becomes anti-Chinese, as she would probably be on account of Chinese activities for building up a Japanese Communist Party, the Asiatic anti-Chinese bloc should be quite formidable even assuming Pakistan's collaboration with China.

APOLLO VII

The successful flight in a round the earth orbit for many days by a satellite projected into outer space by rockets with a human cargo and the return of the same safely back to earth under control of the human flight personnel, is an achievement which brings the Moon quite close to the earth. The only problem will be to land on the Moon in a craft which will be equipped with not only landing instruments but also with rockets of sufficient strength to take off again from

the Moon and rejoin the mother space craft which would be in orbit round the Moon. These are arrangements which are matters of quantity rather than anything requiring innovations of scientific aids. The Americans have achieved something which may give them a lead over other countries in the matter of travelling to the Moon. Now if they can send men to the moon soon enough their lead will stay with them. Too much delay may enable other countries to snatch the lead from the U. S. A.

note
3/1/54

DISCIPLINARY ACTION AGAINST SJ. SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

So much has already been written by so many persons on the disciplinary action taken by the Congress Working Committee against Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose and so many days have already passed since the action was taken that it would not be proper for us to inflict on the public another long note on the subject—particularly when the whole world is faced with issues of the gravest character. Suffice it to say that in our humble opinion the action taken was neither constitutionally correct nor consonant with expediency. We could have stated the reasons for our opinion but refrain from doing so. We shall not complain if the majority of our readers or even all of them think we are wrong, though we think we are right.

—*The Modern Review*, Sept., 1939, p. 261

note
3/1/54

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA AND THE RAMAKRISHNA ORDER

III

SATINDRA MOHAN CHATTERJEE

"The salvation of the poor of India"

Why did the Swami go to America is a natural question that crosses everyone's mind. It appears to have no simple answer. Like P.C. Mazumdar representing the Brahma Samaj, Dharmapala representing the Buddhists, Muni Atmaramji representing the Jainas, he did not go there as a regular delegate to represent Hinduism in the Parliament of Religion. In fact, neither did he carry any letter of authority or introduction from any religious body in India nor were even the dates and programme of the sittings of the Parliament known to the people who sponsored him. He appears to have jumped, without much planning, into a boat in which a first class berth was reserved for him and set sail for a journey the purpose of which was not very clearly defined.

Most biographers have quoted the Swami's own assertion to his two brother-disciples at Abu Road railway station to explain the purpose of his visit to America. It runs thus:

"I have now travelled all over India...."

But alas, it was agony to me, my brothers, to see with my own eyes the terrible poverty and misery of the masses, and I could not restrain my tears! It is now my firm conviction that it is futile to preach religion amongst them without first trying to remove their poverty and sufferings. It is for this reason—to find more means for the salvation of the poor of India—that I am now going to America."

Herein is echoed the great saying of Sree Ramakrishna that "Religion is not for empty bellies"; herein is resounded Swamiji's philosophy that spiritual salvation of India is inseparably connected with the removal of her abject poverty. But how was he to procure the sinews of his war

against poverty from America?

The absence of any reference to the Parliament of Religion in the above utterance is significant. To represent Hinduism in that assembly was perhaps not his objective, certainly not a primary one. It circumstantially developed to be a vital factor in his enterprise in America. It made him famous overnight.

Although Chicago was his immediate destination, and a formal representation at the world religious conference his apparent purpose, he never thought of returning to his homeland as soon as the assembly was over. Circumstances, of course, helped his stay in America but his determination to search the world for a remedy of his country's evils ran through his blood.

Writing to Haripada Mitra, one of his disciples, in December 1893 from Chicago, the Swami said:

"I came to this country not to satisfy my curiosity, nor for name or fame, but to see if I could find any means for the support of the poor in India. If God helps me, you will know—gradually what those means are."

To Swami Ramakrishnananda he explained his mind a little more explicitly in his letter written from the same place on 19th March 1894. He wrote:

"We as a nation have lost our individuality and that is the cause of all mischief in India. We have to give back to the nation its lost individuality and 'raise the masses'. The Hindu; the Mahomedan; the Christian; all have trampled them under foot. Again the force to raise them must come from inside i.e. from orthodox Hindus.

"To effect this, the first thing we need is men and then the next is funds. Through the grace of our Guru, I was sure to get

ten to fifteen men in every town. I next travelled in search of funds, but do you think the people of India were going to spend money? I have come to America to earn money myself and then return to my country and devote the rest of my days to the realization of this one aim of my life."

This aim has been further explained in his letter of 20th June 1894 to Dewanji Shahib in which he said that his aim in crossing over to America was to collect—at least a little money to set in motion the wheel of his proposed organisation devoted to the cause of rejuvenating India. His mission, he explained, was to spread education among the masses which alone would put them on their feet. This would be done through a band of young men who were forming themselves into a group with Sree Ramakrishna at their centre. He added :

"Let these men go from village to village bringing not only religion to the door of everyone but also education. So I have a nucleus of organising the widows also as instructors to our women."

So, judging from what he wrote, even after he had fairly settled down in America, the main object of his visit was undoubtedly to get some money to carry out his noble mission in India on his return.

But of all foreign countries why did he choose America for this purpose?

As is well known, the Swami was a very good student of history. He possibly looked at the world map, and made a complete mental survey of conditions then prevailing in each of the principal countries of the East and the West.

A resume of his survey may perhaps explain his choice.

In the East, both China and Japan were the scenes of persistent European intrusion during the Nineteenth century. Among the various European nations, namely, the Portuguese, the Spaniards, the Dutch and the English, who fastened like leaches on Southern China shores, the English were the most tenacious. The successive

failures of the trade missions did not damp their zeal. They were cunning, too. Like wine in India, they found out a ready market for Indian opium in China and the import of this drug quadrupled within fifteen years. Prohibition introduced by the Chinese Government proved useless and the corrupt Chinese officials actively helped the English in smuggling the soporific drug. Strong steps were taken by the Chinese Government and the captured prohibited goods were burnt. The result was the repetition of what happened everywhere. The Queen of England sent out British navy to protect the traders; and poor China failed to resist the British onslaught. China thus lost the so-called "Opium War". She was for the first time forced to make a treaty with a Western power in 1842, and was unable to prevent this pernicious drug traffic. It was nothing short of a national calamity

But that was only the beginning of China's misfortune. The signal of the open door was not missed by other greedy powers and America, France, Norway, Sweden, and even Belgium forced their way. Russia and Japan joined the party later. More and more pressure was brought to bear on helpless China, and more and more concessions were obtained from her. About the end of the century, China lost almost her own self. She lost control over her external trade and tariffs. She lost her hold on her internal organisations and finances. Even her trans-country railways were financed and run by foreigners. She was practically deprived of her sovereignty, and she continued her precarious existence at the mercy of a greedy gang of Eastern and Western powers.

Japan, like China, lived in seclusion in spite of a few Western leeches sticking to her shores until about mid-nineteenth century when America suddenly demanded opening of some of her ports to American ships. The demand followed the usual pattern of a tactical fight between a bully and a weakling. What the "Opium War" was to China, America's demand for friendship was to Japan. Japan had to yield to an "Unequal treaty" and her doors were forced open not only

for America but also for all enterprisers of the nation, the abominable serfdom, was abolished. West. freed nearly forty-five million serfs, representing about half the population. These landless slaves, with no means of livelihood, were given lands from the estates of their former landlords under a special arrangement. The seed of democracy for the first time thus germinated in Russian soil.

But Japan felt and, rightly so, that unless she makes herself strong, she would have to meet China's fate. She thought that the only way to do it was to introduce in the country Western ideas of reconstruction. So Japan "began to run after Western ideas as fast as she could." In fact, she made a complete "volte-face". Old feudal system was discarded. Administration was set up on French pattern, army on German principle; and navy on British model. European industrial practices were introduced and encouraged. The result was that in the course of a short period of twenty years, Japan was entirely a changed nation.

Her first show of strength was with China. By gaining an overwhelming victory over her, Japan proved to the Western powers before the end of the century that "Yellow Peril" was seriously to be reckoned with. This show of military prowess enabled her to revise her "unequal treaties" with the Western powers. It enabled her to retain her integrity. It saved her from falling to pieces. But the military success lured her from ambition to ambition. In her outlook she was thoroughly Westernized; first by English Utilitarians, second by French democratic writers and third by German nationalistic influence. She had, by the end of the century, hardly anything Asiatic left in her.

In other words, the Swami could not think of getting any relief either from China or Japan. Did he then turn his mind to Russia and the African countries?

During the earlier part of the nineteenth century, Russia practised strict isolation. A "stringent intellectual quarantine" was imposed to prevent infection by liberal ideas across the Western frontiers. The University education was controlled, progressive political ideas were discouraged, and influence of international liberalism was guarded against. In habits and thoughts the nation was guided through the narrow channel of nationalism.

Then about the mid-century fresh air began to blow over country. The greatest canker of the

About the end of the century, the mental horizon of the Russian intelligentsia was overcast with the philosophy of Nihilism. This movement grew in the Universities as a purely academic exercise, but it ended in terrorism. The movement called in question "The autocracy of the Tsar, the authority of the State, the sanctity and truth of the Church and the obligations of the society." According to its philosophy; a shoe-maker's contribution to the world was greater than that of Shakespeare or Goethe, for shoes were more needed than poetry. Nihilists wanted to free the human society of all obligations and control and leave it to the natural forces of evolution. They wanted to replace religion by exact sciences and family life by free love.

In other words, the intellectual and religious worlds of the Russians at the end of the century were in great turmoil.

* Although Africa; the dark continent, is so near Europe, yet the bulk of it was unknown to the Europeans until late nineteenth century. The treasures of Africa were thrown open to the European gaze by the numerous fortune hunters and missionaries. Among them Stanley was supreme and his books; namely; "How I found Livingstone" (1872), "Through the Dark Continent" (1878), "In Darkest Africa" (1890) whetted the appetite of greedy Europe.

The dinner gong was rung by the Belgians, Congo was the first fare consecrated and consumed in the holy name of exploration and civilization.

The French and the Portuguese arrived at the dinner hall followed by the Italians, the Germans, the Spaniards, and the Englishmen. The ravenous vultures' feast proceeded with great eclat. Each one justified others' demands and rights. It was a mutual justification society of plunderers and usurpers. The fare, however, was adequate to

satisfy everyone's appetite. So, surprisingly enough, the feast proceeded without much squabble or fight.

The dark continent was thus explored and amicably partitioned among the various races of Europe. The white man's burden was considerably increased. Africa's national wealth and potentialities eluded the children of the soil. The British got the lion's share. After the first world war in 1918, she held a belt of continuous territory from Cairo to the Cape!

So the Swami could not think of getting any succour for India either from Russia or from the Dark Continent. He must have then turned his attention to old Europe.

The history of Germany in the nineteenth century is the history of Bismarck, the greatest man that age produced. It was he who created the German Empire, a militarist federal empire in which Prussianism ruled supreme. The Prussian King became the Federal President, and Bismarck, the Prussian Minister, became the Federal Chancellor.

Bismarck considered Germany as a "satiated" country. So he devoted himself to the cultivation of internal peace and development. But his period was not at all free from internal strife. His tough fights with the Roman Catholics and the Social Democrats gave him little respite at home. He started by expelling the Jesuits from Germany and controlling priesthood through the Government, but ultimately he lost the battle which was more political than ecclesiastic.

But even omnipotent Bismarck had to retire. He was forced to do so as a result of his disagreement with the young Kaiser. Ambitious Kaiser did not agree that Germany was a "Satiated" country. He felt that she was capable of infinite expansion and that she must take a high place in world-politics.

About the dead end of the century, Germany started scrambling for overseas colonies like England and France. To protect the colonies she had to re-inforce the navy. England viewed this step with great suspicion. France was a common enemy of both England and Germany. But as a result of this suspicion, England

gradually came closer to France and finally made friends with her. Kaiser's policy of expansion sowed the seed of the first world war which started in 1914.

The end of the nineteenth century saw the growth of industrialism in Europe. It also saw the inception of the working-class movement, very largely based on the preachings of Karl Marx, a rotatable personality of the age. It saw the growth of militant nationalism, and inaugurated the movement for the emancipation of women.

The whole of old Europe was full of aggressive nationalism, although, on the face of it, there was a show of international understanding. Mammon was universally worshipped, and religion became the other name for good social order. Military competition turned Europe into armed camps of fighting races. Conscription was first introduced in France, followed by Germany. England continued to watch the developments with apprehension. Therefore, the question of getting any relief for the poor in India from old Europe did not arise at all.

America had, however, somewhat different tale to tell.

Until about the beginning of the twentieth century, America lived in seclusion. She made her influence felt internationally only during the first world war.

The whole of the nineteenth century was a period of internal reconstruction for her. She kept her aloofness partly by choice, but largely because she was far away from the arena of world activity. This isolation enabled her to develop herself so rapidly and powerfully within such a short period.

Americans represent a conglomeration of heterogeneous immigrants from various countries of Europe. The first to arrive were the Pilgrim Fathers who reached Plymouth in December, 1620 in the famous ship "Mayflower", and founded a settlement there. Streams of immigrants followed and, to begin with, the majority of them came from Germany, Great Britain and Ireland. This heterogeneous colony severed its connection completely with the mainland of Europe. Beginning

life on a clean slate, this peculiar collection of men and women developed a strong sense of unity among themselves. About mid-nineteenth century, greater number of further immigrants came from Russia, Poland, Italy, Austria, and South-Eastern Europe. These arrivals necessitated continual territorial expansion to the West and, during the years between 1844 and 1848 the United States of America nearly doubled her territorial area.

This New World accommodated nearly forty million immigrants of diverse nationality during the nineteenth century. The diversity of the people was apparent. Moreover, they were the discontented sections of all nations. Without a common tradition, culture and law and, with their religious beliefs and philosophy of life widely divergent, they were in perpetual conflict not only with their new environment but also with their fellow settlers. This continual fight gave them a rich fund of vitality, resourcefulness and individualism which they could never inherit from their old and discarded nationhood.

But how such differing elements were forged into a single whole entity is a miracle. It is a great political, social and economic experiment. President Monroe's famous doctrine enunciated in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, amounted to "Hands off America" and it roused national consciousness. And this new spirit found expression in literature, law and philanthropy. The new age was ushered by Emerson, Poe, Whittier, Longfellow, Whitman and others.

Upto 1880, America was mainly an agricultural country. But soon after she changed her complexion and became largely industrial. Fortunately she was economically self-sufficient, except for a few commodities. So she could well protect her industries by raising adequate tariff wall. Her industrial development was thus rapid and spectacular.

Taking stock of the world situation at the end of the nineteenth century, Swamiji could not have selected a more suitable country than America for gaining some help for the poor of India. The vagaries of racial prejudice and the canker of slave baiting as prevalent in America did not

make much noise in the outside world. Even where it did, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" which was published in America in 1852, perhaps assured the doubting minds that the country was full of the milk of human kindness.

But it might have been as well that Swamiji's American visit was really accidental and not of his own choice. But one thing seems pretty clear. The indignities suffered at the hands of the supercilious European missionaries became too heavy for a section of the Indians. Due to political subjugation it found little expression in the country. As soon as an opportunity showed itself, the indignant section of Indians wanted to prove to the West the glory of their faith. Good reception of Keshavchandra in England perhaps also increased national pride and confidence. But Keshavchandra was the Evangelist of Now thought in the East and not an interpreter of orthodox Indian religion and philosophy. In Swami Vivekananda the indignant section saw the picture of a full-grown Hindu. So it took the ready opportunity to send him to the platform of the world religious congress.

But whatever ideas might have worked behind the scene, Swamiji was determined to devote himself not so much to carrying on religious work in America as in exposing the evils of grinding Indian poverty aggravated by British colonisation. His mind was awfully bitter about the English which he confessed in no uncertain terms. "No one", he said, "entered England with so much hatred for the English as I did". Perhaps he thought that the Americans, who had then emancipated themselves from the same British yoke, would profoundly sympathize with the unfortunate Indians.

Swamiji was a good debater and orator from his early youth. In exposing the British misdeeds, he relied mostly on his own gift of the gab. His oratory and debating capacity were of such high order that Surendranath Banerjee, the renowned orator and politician of Bengal, saw in him "The greatest public speaker India had ever known". Moreover Keshavchandra's success on the platform in England gave him further confidence.

Like Roma Bai the idea of raising some noise in the West, it would create a tremendous recurring contribution from this fabulously rich country might have also crossed his mind. What, however, were his exact thoughts would of course never be perfectly clear. But he was doubtless confident of one thing. If he could make a little

din in his own country. In several letters he expressed the view that a little overseas recognition would make him famous here overnight. And, he was perfectly correct.

[To be continued]

MILTON AND IQBAL

A.C. BAHAR

In the History of Literature there is no dearth of 'idle singers of an empty day' who look upon poetry as an after-dinner little hobby. On the other hand, there are philosophers, poets and moral teachers who bore the reader to distraction. And we have it from T.S. Eliot that the worst fault that poetry can commit is to be dull. Literature does not offer many examples of poets who have placed new ideas and new ideals before the world, whose poetry is a passionate interpretation of life and yet the aesthetic appeal of their work is not undermined by the burden of their message. Milton and Iqbal have struck me as two such supreme poets whose works embody prophetic vision and yet they are artists par excellence.

These two master-minds were born in different times and climes and wrote in different languages, yet their similarity of outlook and purpose will strike any student who is interested in a comparative study of literature. They are amongst those luminaries whose appearance on the literary horizon is a land-mark in literature. Iqbal as well as Milton possessed so strong a personality that they cannot be merged in the age but stand apart and dominate their respective centuries. Both of them exercised tremendous influence on generations of poets and their work is a perennial source of inspiration. It is also true

that both these poets have been the subject of heated controversy and uncharitable criticism, and many unkind things have been recently said about them.

The first thing that strikes the readers of Iqbal and Milton is the spiritual bias of their poetry. Both of them are idealists who dedicated their muse to lofty aims and noble purposes viz., elevation of the human soul. Their poetry has a very chastening and ennobling effect on our minds and lifts us out of our baser selves. They hated the growing materialism of the age and presented new values before society. Invoking the sweet memory of Milton as supreme example of selflessness and courage, Wordsworth says :

"We are selfish men,
O raise us up, return to us again,
And Give us manners, virtue, freedom,
power."

The contrast between soul and stomach in Iqbal's poetry is Carlylian and this oft-quoted verse is a typical specimen of his idealism.

"O Heavenly bird, death is preferable to worldly possessions that retard the upward flight of your soul."

Milton as well as Iqbal had a very high idea of the calling of a poet and made great preparations for the realisation of their great mission in life. The story of Milton who "Scorned delights

and lived laborious days" is well known. He aspired to the highest poetry—"to something so written to after-times as they should not willingly let it die." And Iqbal says about the aim of poetry :

"Maksud-i hunar soz-i-hayati-abdi hai,
Yeh Ek nafas ya do nafas misal-i-sharer'kia."

(From Zarb-i-Kalim)

"Art aims at permanence,
This momentary spark like flicker is not enough".

Both were conscious of the dangers to society from morbid poetry. In Iqbal's view, a single verse of a bad poet can prove more fatal than all the havoc caused by Changez Khan. He raises his voice of protest against the cheap poetry of morbid sex-ridden poets in these words :

"Chashm-i-Adam se Chhupate hain makamat-i-buland,
Karte hain rooh ko khabida, baden ko

bedar ;
Hind ke Shair-o-suratgar-o-Afsana Nawis,
Ah baicharon ke asab per aurat hai sawar."

(From Zarb-i-Kalim)

They conceal lofty regions from man's gaze,
They lull the soul to sleep and stir up sensual appetite ;

The poets, painters and fiction-writers of India-

Alas are sex-ridden, the poor souls.

In a similar vein, Milton warns "The danger inherent in the writings of libidinous and ignorant poetasters lies in their ability to teach ill." The true poet's business, on the contrary, is to teach the good. According to the theory that Milton as well as Iqbal propounded and practised, the poet should move men to virtuous action. The end of poetry is not only knowledge and pleasure but action as well. Thus the poet's aim is three-fold viz to teach, to please and to move. Art and Literature are powerful agencies for quickening the dormant potentialities of people. For Milton as well as Iqbal poetry is not an end in itself but a means to an end—that is good of society.

Both these poets gave the message of love

and sacrifice, hope and action. But the message is not all. The more remarkable thing about the poetry of Iqbal and Milton is that on the one hand it provides food for the soul and at the same time it constitutes a feast for senses. We seldom come across poetry which is so thought-provoking, so elevating and yet so musical. Their verse is "alive with promethean fire" and at the same time their social and ethical teachings have in them germs of a Renaissance of culture.

Milton considered himself to be a prophet destined to play an important role in remoulding the thought of his age. Even in his early period at Horton Milton visualised himself as a prophet-in-the-making. Towards the end of his poem "Penseroso" he aspires : "To something like prophetic strain."

In 'Paradise Lost' he imagines himself to be inspired by the Heavenly Muse for the fulfilment of his difficult task.

Iqbal, too, considered poetry to be a part of prophecy (Shairi juzvaist az pagham-teri) and makes the following claim for himself :

"Meri navai parishan ko shairi hai samagh,
Kih main hoon mehram-i-raz-i-daroon-i-maikhana."

(From Bal-i-Jabriel)

Do not look upon the outpourings of my heart as mere poetry,

For I am one who knows the inner secrets of the tavern."

They are our poets, and prophets.

Both Milton and Iqbal were religious poets. Milton was a devout Christian and his Paradise Lost is "The fruit of a Puritan's prologed meditations on the bible ; it paints the visions the Bible has given him." Iqbal too was a devout Muslim and drew inspiration from the prophet, the Quran and God. But the important point to remember here is that faith in their respective religions did not make them parochial or sectarian. On the other hand, their poetry has a broad human appeal. Milton was influenced by Reformation as well as Renaissance. He is essentially a humanist. So is Iqbal. Like Milton, the poetry of Iqbal, too, is replete with referen-

ces to religious myths and beliefs. But it is perfectly natural for a poet to be influenced by the religion in which he was born, and by the culture of the society in which he moved. That is true of some of the greatest poets of all times like Dante, Kalidas and Tulsi Dass. As Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has put it: "The true test of the greatness of a poet is not whether he is the exponent of a particular faith, but whether the spirit of his exposition is universal and not parochial; that is, whether he had struck in his poetry such a note of genuine universalism as would make his appeal also to others, who did not share his religious beliefs". Judged from this sound critical standard, there is much in the poetry of Iqbal as well as Milton that appeals to non-Muslims and non-Christians. They are religious indeed, but their religion is progressive and dynamic; its essence being not dogma but morality.

In fact, far from being communal or fanatical, they are both heretical in several ways. Milton allowed himself complete liberty in reinterpreting the Bible, and unlike many other Christians, he looked upon Christ as son of God but not God Himself. Iqbal, too, incurred the wrath of orthodox Mullas by his unorthodox views. "The import of Iqbal's method of transformation of legends and symbols in order to besoul them with new ideas and thus to adapt them to the advancing spirit of time, is an important point which has been always overlooked by the critics who accuse him of communalism". Incidentally, no less heretical is his statement: "Heaven and Hell are states, not localities; their descriptions in the Quran are visual representations of an inner fact i.e. character." We come across a similar statement in Milton's *Paradise Lost* (Book I).

"The mind is its own place, and in itself,
Can make a Heaven of Hell, a Hell of Heaven."

Again both denounced the hypocrisy and external ritualism in religion, and emphasized the purity of hearts. Says Iqbal:

"Masjid to banali Shab bhar main iman ki
hararat valon nain,

Men apna purana part hai barson main
nimazi ban na saka."

(From *Bangi-Dira*)

"The religious zealots erected the mosque over-night; But the old sinful heart could not be converted for years."

Milton asserts in the very beginning of *Paradise Lost* that a pure heart is the real temple of God:

"O Spirit that dost prefer
Before all temples the upright heart and pure..."

In *Lycidas*, he lashes against the corrupt clergymen of his time in these words:

"Blind mouths; that scarce themselves
know how to hold
A sheep hook, or have learned aught else
the least
That to the faithful herdman's art
belongs;
What recks it them? What need they?
They are sped."

He calls the priests Blind Mouths because they are spiritually blind. They are gluttons, leading selfish lives. And this is how Iqbal criticises the false conception of religion:

"Ae Mardi-khuda tujh ko woh kuwat nahi
hasil,
Ja beth kisi ghar main, Allah ko kar yad."
(From *Zarb-i-Kalim*)

"O man of God: Thou art bereft of power,
go and sit in some isolated hut and recite
thy prayers".

Both these poets were great patriots and lovers of liberty. In *L'Allegro* Milton refers to the Goddess of Liberty as "The mountain Nymph, sweet Liberty". We know how Milton threw himself heart and soul into the national struggle against the forces of tyranny. For twenty years he set aside the realisation of his great dream as an epic poet and he took to writing pamphlets in prose in order to produce awakening among his

country-men. Iqbal, too, was a great lover of liberty. He tells us that :

"Bandgi main ghut ke reh jati hai ek joo-i-kamab,

Aur Azadi main behr-i-ibekran hai zindgi".

(From Bang-i-Dira)

In bondage life is reduced to a small gutter ; In liberty it expands into limitless ocean.

"Bandgi Nama" in which he addresses his countrymen, is an epic against slavery. In Bang-i-Dira poems like "Sadai Dard" and Taswir-i-dard reveal the poet's mental agony on finding that his own land of birth was a victim to all sorts of communal discords and dissensions, and like a true patriot he warns the Indians of dangers of disunity.

"Na samjho gar t-ut gar gae ai Hindo-
stan walo, Tumhari dastan tak bhi na hogi
dastanon main"

(From Bang-i-Dira)

"O Indians, you will perish if realization
does not dawn upon you,

Even your name will be blotted off the
book of life."

In "Pam-i-Mashruk" Iqbal's verses written on the slavery of India put him in the category of those prominent personages who played an active role in extricating India from foreign yoke. Again Love of Indian Culture is the warp and woof of his great epic "Javed Nama" in which he shows the greatest reverence for Shivaji, the great Indian Spiritual Head, Bhartari Hari, Gautama Buddha and the Nehru family. There is hardly any other Urdu or Persian poet who has looked at ancient Indian Culture with so much respect and profited by it to such an extent as Iqbal has.

Like Milton, Iqbal also displayed his poetic spirit in verse which is concerned with eternal values. Both possess an international outlook and their verse is a source of inspiration to men of every caste, or faith. As poets they represent not any segment but the whole of mankind. Iqbal claims to be a citizen of the world in these verses :

"Darvesh-i-khuda mast na, sharki hai na
Gharbi, /Ghar mera na Dilli, na Safahan na
Samarkand. /Kehta hun wahi bat samajhta
hun jisai haq, /Nai ibla-i-Masjid hun na
tehzib ka farzand."

(From Bak-i-Jabriel)

"A God fearing man belongs to neither
East nor West, My homeland is neither
Dilli, nor Safahan nor Samarkand. My
words spring from the depth of my heart,
I am neither crazy about Mosque nor
obsessed with the modern civilization.

This theme recurs in his poetry ;/"Havas
nai kar dia hai tukre tukre nau-in-Insan
ko, Akhuwat ka biao ho ja, mohabbat ki
Zaban ho ja, Yeh Hindi woh Khurasani,
veh Afghani wor Turani, Tu ae Sharminda-
i-Fahul nabha kar bekran ho ja".

Greed has split up mankind into warring
camps : so speak the language of love and
teach the lesson of brotherhood, he says.
These distinctions of Indians, Afghans,
Turanians and Khorasanis are arbitrary, he
adds. A limitless sentiment of human
brotherhood finds expression in the
quatrains of Armughan-i-Hejaz which is
the last gift of this great poet to mankind.

Both Goethe and Matthew Arnold have
emphasized the fact that greatness in poetry comes
from the depth of thought. From this point of
view, Iqbal and Milton occupy a very high posi-
tion among the great poets of the world. As a
practical philosopher, Iqbal's main contribution
thought is his development of the concept
of Ego. The entire emphasis of his thought is on
self-realization.

As in Milton, the evolution of personality is
the main theme of Iqbal. "That which fortifies
personality is good : that which weakens it is
bad." And this great emphasis on the ego some-
times made him admire even the Devil. As in
Milton, Iqbal's Satan is also more interesting and
dominating a figure than other characters. In
Bak-i-Jabriel when Jabriel asks Satan -

"Kho diya inkar sac tu nao makamati
-Buland,

Shasham-i-yazdan main farrishton ki rahi
kia abroo".

(From Bal-i-Jabriel)

"Because of your intransigence, you have
been expelled from Heaven,

You have degraded angels in the eyes of
God." Satan gives the pointed reply :

"Hai meri jurat se musht-i-khak main
zauk-i-namoo,

Mere fitne jama-i-aklo khirad ka taro poo,
Gar kabhi khilwat muyasser ho to poochh
Allah se,

Kisa-i-Adam ko rengeen kar gia kis ka laho,
Main khatakta hoon dil-i-yazdan main
kante ki tareh,

Tu Fakat Alah hoo, Allah hoo, Allah hoo."

"My daring example teaches men to rise,
My pranks form the warp and woof of
reason,

If you are ever granted an exclusive
interview

with God, you may ask Him-

"Whose blood and tears have made the
story of man colourful ?

I am a constant thorn in the flesh of God,
You can do nothing better than chant
Hymns all the time."

It may not be correct to say that Milton
lavished all his art, care and sympathy on the
great rebel of heaven but the fact remains that
Milton does sometimes express heroic sentiments
through the lips of Satan, as in Paradise Lost
Book I :

"What though the field be lost ?

All is lost, the unconquerable will."

Or again "Fallen Cherub, to be weak is
miserable,

doing or suffering." This cult of strength
finds equally poetic expression in Iqbal's poem
entitled Abul Mueri in Bal-i-Jabriel, where the
roasted partridge is shown to have met this doom
for the sin of becoming a weak bird and not the
strong Eagle. In the "Secrets of Self," he says :

"Sung Chau ae hamchu gul nazuk baden,
Ta shawi bunayd-i-diwar-i-chaman.

Zindgikisht asto hasil kuwat ast,

Sharch ramz-i-hak-o-batil kuwat ast.

"O ye delicate like a rose, learn to be
stone-like,

So that thou becomest the foundation-stone
of the

wall of Garden.

Life is Like a field whose product is
Strength ; Strength offers the explanation
between Right and Wrong.

Iqbal exhorts men to strengthen their ego,
abandon their dependence on others and achieve
a self respecting individuality. He says :

"Zindgi az taufi-digar rustan ast,

Khesh ra Bet ul Harem danistan ast."

"What is life but to be freed from moving
round others,

And, to regard thyself as the holy temple."

This self-reliance and self-faith is emphasised
in Milton's verse again and again. In Comus when
the heroine is lost in darkness and then chained
by Comus, she is utterly thrown back on her own
responsibility. She is indeed rescued by external
help but not before she has asserted her own firm
conviction :

"Fool do not boast,

Thou canst not touch the freedom of my mind
With all thy charms, although this corporal
rind

Thou hast immanacled ; while Heaven sees
Good".

Similarly in Samson Agonistes, we find
Samson all alone before God, with his friends
powerless to help him. Milton wants us to develop
self-reliance and look for light and strength within,
instead of depending on others.

Space does not permit me to multiply
examples. I shall, therefore, just mention some
other points of similarity between Milton and
Iqbal. Both of them had boundless faith in the
essential goodness of human nature and the
supremacy of the human soul. Both believed in
the doctrine of Free Will.

At one stage in their lives, both Milton and
Iqbal were troubled by serious doubts about the
utility of writing poetry. One day during his stay
in Europe, Iqbal said to Sir Abdul Qadir, "I

have decided to give up writing poetry and taken a pledge not to write a single verse any more. The time thus saved will be utilized more profitably." (Fortunately he was prevailed upon by Sir Abdul Qadir and Prof. Arnold to reconsider the matter and change his mind). Milton gives expression to a similar state of mind in Lycidas.

"Alas what boots it with incessant care

To tend the homely slighted shepherd's trade,

And strictly meditate the thankless muse?"

At another stage both these poets felt an irresistible urge to write poetry. In a letter to an intimate friend written on the 11th March, 1903, Iqbal says, "For a long time, I have been yearning to write in the manner of Milton (Paradise Lost etc.) and the time for that seems to be fast approaching, because these days there is hardly a moment, when I am not thinking seriously of this. I have been nurturing this wish for the past five or six years, but the creative pangs have never been so acute as now." This reminds us of Milton's sentiment :

"And that one talent which is death to
hide,

Lodged with me useless, though my soul
more bent."

Both of them were persons who possessed encyclopaedic knowledge. They were the most learned of our poets. Both were precocious geniuses and surprised the literary world with their wonderful poems like "The Himalayas" and "On the Morning of Ghaffar's Nativity" while still at College. Further, their works are meant for the select few who are genuinely interested in poetry. Milton's Invocation to Urania in Paradise Lost Book VII :

"Urania fit audience find, though few ;
But drive far off the barbarous dissonance
of Bacchus and his Revellers"

Finds an echo in Iqbal's verse ;

"Thool ki patti se kat sakta hai heerae ka
jigar

Mard-i-nadan par kalam-i-narm-o-nazuk ko
ast

(Zarb-i-Kalim)

"The heart of Diamond can be pierced by
rose bud

It is useless casting pearls before swine."

*Iqbal As Thinker by Khwaja Ghulam
Saidyan.



CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY A BALANCE SHEET OF RECENT YEARS

R.T. JANGAM

The paper seeks to attempt in brief a off a nuclear encounter with attendant catastrophe discussion of China's development of nuclear phic effects. This will introduce a note of growing weapons, her Cultural Revolution, and the com- caution in the dealings of the giants with China. parative aloofness from other nations and the Already, as a precautionary measure, the United United Nations in particular and the influence of States seems to have decided to provide itself these factors on her relations with various nations, with a China-oriented Anti-Ballistic Missile "It does not deal with the other aspects of her System"

foreign policy

The political repercussions of China's

A most arresting feature of China's recent possession of nuclear weapons are even more foreign policy is her development of nuclear for reaching. The world balance of power has been weapons. Since she exploded her first nuclear so far bipolar—the two poles being the United device in 1964 she has carried out so far seven States and the Soviet Union—supported by their tests in all, the sixth being a hydrogen bomb test. respective allies some of which, like Britain and While there is no question of China's being in a France, are also nuclear powers. ... with position to defeat—in case of an encounter—the China's alarming appearance on the scene, a United States or the Soviet Union, there is no stage is steadily being reached when she can doubt that her new-found nuclear power will give seriously disturb or disrupt the hitherto bipolar her a number of advantages. Militarily, she has balance. The local balance in the Afro-Asian enough capacity (at least) to harass or menace region in particular will come to be heavily these or other nations. According to the New dominated by her. None of the Afro-Asian York Times estimate, the hydrogen bomb exploded nations have any plans of developing nuclear by China had an enormous yield of 3,000,000 power on the Chinese lines. India has already TNT which places it in the class of the largest announced her intention of not producing nuclear warheads in the nuclear arsenal of the United bombs, partly because of her continued commit- States¹. In view of the United States Joint Com- ment to the policy of neutrality, non-alignment, gressional Committee on Nuclear Energy, this and peaceful coexistence, and partly or more fact, together with China's fierce determination importantly because of the enormous cost of to develop and perfect her fledgling delivery making the bomb—Rs. 400 to 500 systems programme, will enable her to hit some million per bomb. These facts make of the major United States cities by 1970². Thus China's position in the Afro-Asian region on the military plane the United States and the all the more overwhelming and menacing. A Soviet Union will have to be more careful probable effect of this uncomfortable situation because the traditional dragon has now acquired on the nonnuclear Afro-Asian nations will be nuclear teeth. Quite apart from whether or not that they may feel like developing their own China reaches the nuclear capability level of the nuclear weapons⁴ for which it is rather too late giants, she will have built up in the near future in the day in view of China's advances. Or, enough nuclear capability to initiate or trigger which looks more probable, they may feel 'driven

to seek the nuclear protection of the nuclear giants under "nuclear umbrella" or "nuclear guarantees". The pact-committed nations, the members of the SEATO, CENTO, and ANZUS, will be in a particularly advantageous position as they can readily use the defence shields.

In the Sino-Soviet ideological struggle and the struggle for winning satellites and spheres of influence in Afro-Asia and Latin America, the possession of nuclear power by China assumes immense importance. She has already proudly announced that her nuclear achievements have defeated the nuclear monopoly and blackmail of the "American imperialism" and the "Soviet revisionism". China has been energetically seeking to strike out an independent path. She has always resented being taken for granted and the Soviet Union's patronizing attitude, particularly in the early years of 1950-60 decade. The differences which were signified by the cold, grim receptions and angry exchanges at the 20th (1956) and 22nd (1961) Communist Congresses have been steadily widening. A number of frictions and problems—including the full-fledged border problem—have worsened the relations between the two countries. China feels that the Soviet Union, with her policy of peaceful coexistence and "gradual communism" has lost the revolutionary fervour, has almost gone over to capitalism, and forfeited her title to spread communism in the world or lead the communist nations. Nuclear power assumes special importance as it gives China a decisive advantage in her revolutionary struggle of spreading "genuine" communism in competition with or defiance of the Soviet Union. In the context of the Sino-Soviet struggle China seems to have every reason to celebrate her nuclear success because it has been achieved despite the Soviet Union's withdrawal of its nuclear scientists from China.

Another recent development which is of great relevance to China's foreign policy is the Cultural Revolution. The Revolution has brought about tremendous internal changes. The young students (Red Guards) and revolutionary rebels who have been deeply involved in the Revolution

have emerged as the shocktroopers of the allegedly complacent, flabby, capitalist-oriented rightist leadership and loyal supporters of Chairman Mao. Along with the loyalty of the shocktroopers Mao has also ensured for himself the loyalty of the party under whose direction the Revolution was conducted. The Revolution has enabled Mao to defeat the rightwing challenge to his leadership represented by those who are now disgraced and brushed aside—Lin Shao-ch'i, Chairman of the People's Republic, Lo Jui-ch'ing, Chief of the People's Liberation Army general staff and supporter of Liu, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, secretary general of the party, Wu Han, historian and playwright, and a host of others from the ranks of army men, party leaders, academicians, scientists, and literary figures. The Cultural Revolution has brought about a series of far-reaching changes which are military, political, ideological, economic, and educational in character. By ensuring Mao's triumph the Revolution has ensured the continuation—with a renewed vigour and fierce zeal—of the tough, relentless, and aggressive ideology of Chinese communism. Moscow can take little comfort in the defeat of the rightwing Peking leaders who would have been nearer its own brand of communism and Mao's confirmed grip over the army, party, students, intellectuals, and others. As regards America Mao's continuing leadership and influence and the fact that the Cultural Revolution has ensured the continuance of Mao-style leadership even after Mao himself disappears from the scene will continue to make her dealing with China difficult. On a more practical plane, the effects of the Revolution have been already reflected in the rough treatment of foreigners in China, the harassment and humiliation such as frogmarching of diplomatic personnel in the embassy compound and so on. Beyond the Chinese borders also the Revolution's spill-over effects have been reflected in the demonstrations and riots in Hong Kong, Indonesia, Burma, and Ceylon. Activities of the overseas Chinese following the Revolution have given much anxiety to some of the Asian capitals, Rangon and Jakarta in particular, and have considerably worsened

their relations with Peking. The Revolution has affected even the Chinese diplomats abroad who have misbehaved or created scenes as in London and New Delhi. These events and incidents have significantly disfigured Peking's image abroad and cast doubt on its ability (or willingness) to conduct relations with nations in accordance with the standard rules of international law and norms of civilized behaviour among nations.

However, in spite of her nuclear weapons, Cultural Revolution, and tough, aggressive and revolutionary ideology China remains isolated from the comity of nations. In the Afro-Asian region she is generally more suspected and feared than understood or loved. The recent anxiety of Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia, and Singapore to have an integrated air defence system⁶ (under the leadership of Britain) in view of Britain's phased withdrawal from Asia (by 1971) should be understood in the light of such suspicion and fear. As regards the United Nations, China continues to remain outside though her reactions have been aired from time to time by the Albanian representative. America has been the principal opponent of China's admission to the world body. Of late, the opposition may be said to have gained significantly because of the cold attitudes of the Soviet Union and India who have been frequent targets of the Chinese criticism and hostility. The question of her admission is further complicated because of the continuing membership of Formosa and its solution would seem depend on either regarding two Chinas as one or deciding to have both Chinas in the world body. But while China suffers because her isolation from the system of nations, she also appears to enjoy from it certain advantages. Like the member nations she need not be amenable to the influence of the United Nations. She does not have to follow the injunctions of the world body or international law inasmuch as it is formulated by it. This is particularly seen with regard to the momentous questions of disarmament and nuclear weapons. She does not regard herself as bound by the 1963 limited test ban treaty or the nuclear non-pro-

1. For details see *Keesing's Contemporary Archives*, Bristol, 1-3 July 1967.

2. For details see *Keesing's Contemporary Archives*, Bristol, 12-19 August 1967.

3. Ex-Defence Secretary McNamara's announcement of the US Government's decision. See *Keesing's Contemporary Archives*, Bristol, 28 October—4 November 1967.

4. There is a considerable body of public opinion in India, for example, according to which it is safer for India to develop her own nuclear weapons. This line of thinking was presented in a paper "A Strategy for India for Credible Posture against a Nuclear Adversary" published by the Institute of Defence Studies and Analysis, New Delhi, of which Union Home Minister Y.B. Chavan is the president.

For details see *The Times of India*, Bombay, 6 June 1968.

5. The effects of the Revolution have not been entirely beneficial. The movement and activities of the Red Guards and revolutionary rebels created an atmosphere of disturbance, insecurity, violence, and fights sometimes threatening to reach proportions of civil war. Cities like Peking, Shanghai, Tientsing, Sian, Tsingtao, Chunghsing, Changsha and Nanchang were particularly affected. There were considerable dislocations and losses in agriculture, industry, transport, and educational and training programmes. According to a Soviet view coal

production, for example, suffered by as much as 50%. Further "The cultural revolution consumed tremendous funds. According to preliminary estimates, the financial expenses for the cultural revolution comprised approximately 3 or 4 thousand million yuan, i.e., approximately one-tenth of the state budget. The press indicated that China's transport incurred great losses due to cultural revolution. Approximately 20-30 per cent of all rail transport was carrying 'Red Guards'".

For details see Fyodor Dimitriev: *Whither China? : Comments on the Economic Policy of Mao Tse-tung*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, p. 85.

Also *Facts on File*, Facts on File Inc., New York, 1-10 January 1968.

6. For details see *The Times of India*, Bombay, 12 June 1968.

7. *Indian Express* (Bombay Edition), 14 June 1968.

BENGAL SPORTING MAGAZINE:

India's First Periodical dealing with Sports and Pastimes

B. M. SANKHIDHER

The earliest newspapers in India such as James Augustus Hicky's Bengal Gazette, Peter Reed's India Gazette, and Francis Gladwin's Calcutta Gazette, established between 1780 to 1784, had for their objective the "information and amusement" of the European community in this country. But no newspaper exclusively devoted to sports and pastimes could be instituted in this country till the foundation of the Bengal Sporting Magazine in 1833. With the sole objective of providing recreation and entertainment to its readers, the Bengal Sporting Magazine or popularly known as the "Mage" dealt with all those means of entertainment, and subjects capable of raising a smile, which were common in India and the West. It was a monthly publication issued by Messrs. Samuel Smith and Company, Calcutta. It was priced at "one gold mohur" per annum. Messrs. Samuel Smith and Company, however, soon transferred their proprietorship to the printer and publisher of "the Englishman"* William Ruston, who became its sole conductor after December 31, 1833. The following notices to this effect were issued through the Bengal Sporting Magazine:

"Notice is hereby given, that from and after the 31st December, 1833; the undersigned will cease to publish the Sporting Magazine, or to have any interest therein.

All subscribers to that work from the commencement, who have not already done so, are requested to pay the amount of the first five numbers to the undersigned—also to the end of the present year for all copies which have been supplied through their establishment.

Calcutta, 1st December, 1833

Samuel Smith and Company.

Subscribers to the Sporting Magazine are requested, for the future, to address their communications to Mr. William Ruston, Printer and Publisher of the "Englishman", and to make payments to the proprietors of the Englishman Press, or his order."

The march 1833 number of the Bengal Sporting Magazine contained an account of the Calcutta hounds races, sporting adventures, Cricketing at Cuttack, Wolf hunting, Bengal archers, and a racing calendar comprising information about races

at Calcutta, Cawnpore and Aligarh. The Periodical also included legal information, pertaining, however, exclusive, to sports and pastimes. Thus, the same number published proceedings of the Calcutta Supreme Court regarding warranty of a horse in which two individuals, Sheikh Ibrahim and J.G.W Curtis were involved. The second issue of the Magazine contained an address to the correspondents, which precisely illustrates, how deeply the conductors were conscious of the preoccupation of other contemporary journals as to leave them hardly sufficient time and inclination to deal with sports and other means of entertainment. No doubt, among the contemporaries, the India Gazette, the John Bull or the Englishman, the Hurkaru, etc. did include a casual reference to sports, but their treatment of this subject was far from exhaustive and comprehensive.

In an address to the correspondents, the editor of the Bengal Sporting Magazine emphasized the inadequacy of proper treatment of the sports in newspapers and periodicals published in this country at that time, and stressed the need for a magazine devoted exclusively to that subject. The editorial said :

"Upon voluntary contributions, our readers are no doubt aware, that in India, a SPORTING MAGAZINE must be wholly dependent, and it accordingly remains to be proved. whether the Bengal sportsmen have in common with the Nimrods of Western India, that really disinterested regard for the source of their amusement which extends beyond the mere personal gratification of the movement, and which is not wanting in the generous desire, to share the feeling of delight, as much as possible, with others through the channel of the Press. Contributors are requested to write upon the spur of the excitement of a day's sport, while their imaginations are still warm with the recollections of the dangers past, and the enjoyment they have experienced :— while Naturalists are again entreated to take advantage of the publication of the SPORTING MAGAZINE, to give the result of their pursuits to the lovers of science, without incurring the

expense of a more costly method. We couple Sportsmen with Naturalists, because their business is with nature in her wildest forms, and it is to them that we owe many most singular discoveries. It will be recollected, for example, that the fact of the abode of the lion in Asia, was doubted, until the plains of Hurrianah were scoured by the hunters of the camp ; and that the scientific world were made aware of the existence of the supposed extinct race of the 'dhole' or wild dog, by the same medium. Much indeed that is agreeable and useful may be brought within the compass of a Sporting Magazine, and obtain under that form, a permanence vainly to be hoped for in the columns of a newspaper.

That it was a task to enlarge the number of contributors to a newspaper or a periodical, more so of a specialized nature, particularly one dealing with sports, during the East India Company's rule over this country, needs no emphasis. Consequently the editor of the Bengal Sporting Magazine, came out with a "Fork Out The Blunt" : in 1833 :

"Are our Sporting friends interested in the success or existence of this Magazine ? Our various letters, and a rapid increase of subscribers convey some assurance that they are, but "soft words" etc., and really these are no times to subsist upon gammon. We shall rather be thought too free of speech by some of our supporters, and there will be sundry indignant exclamations levelled at the "low fellow who asks us to pay". But in sober seriousness, we must brave all this, and tell our subscribers in that plain language which has ever been characteristic of true sportsmen, that unless the subscriptions to the Magazine are very regularly paid, the part of this publication devoted to the Sporting World will prove NO GO."

On account of limited number of contributors and subscribers, and the ordinary resources of the proprietors, who could not risk on this journalistic extravaganza, the Magazine was forced to publish many unwanted contributions and "dogegrels". It covered however a very vast field and published accounts of sports and pastimes in India, and the 'Western world.

Regularly information about sports in various parts of the country such as Aligarh, Ghazipur, Mhow, Behrampore, Agra; Dacca, Calcutta; Kanpur, Bangalore, etc. were published in this periodical.

It also published a large number of editorial comments or reviews of the various plays and dramas which were performed in the theatres of Calcutta, for the amusement of the people, from time to time. The editorials, thus published were considerably balanced and detached, as is evident from the following comments which the Magazine published about two different performances at the "Chowringhee Theatre" in 1833 :

"There have been two performances here since our last. On the first occasion the amateurs played 'The Fall of Clyde' and 'Animal Magnetism', and on the second 'The Sleeping Drought' and 'Monsieur Tonson'. There was much praise and something to condemn in both performances. The melo-drama was deficient in scenic effect, and the music was poor, but the acting was tolerably good and the 'tableaux' were successfully managed. On the second occasion there was an inefficient cast and a lack of novelty. Still the audience went away amused, and reproached for their apathy the absent 'bon vivans' who preferred regaling the inward man at the Bishop's expence, to feeding the intellectual part of the system at their own."

Comments about 'Charles II', 'The Actress at Work', 'The Two Gregories', 'Julius Caesar', and many other such dramatic performances, were almost regularly published in the columns of their periodical.

Interesting articles on different aspects of sports and other sources of recreation and amusement were published in this magazine. Writing about the "Calcutta Hounds", a writer traced its history from 1733 to 1833, but regretted the inadequacy of source material on the subject, by making the following interesting comments :

"It is no less singular than true that History for the last hundred years (i.e. since the year A.D. 1733, the date of the appointment of the first Governor General) has been most unaccount-

ably silent upon a subject of such vast importance to posterity, as the existence of an Establishment of Foxhounds in British India—neither have we any certain clue wherewith to discover the name of the ship, etc. on which the first foxhound took his departure from his "Fatherland" to follow his fortunes and his 'nose' over the burning strands of the East. We are equally left in the dark as to the fact of the existence of leather small clothes and boots in the wardrobes of Colonel Clive in 1759 or of Warren Hastings in 1772 :—the absence of all information upon these interesting subjects is deeply to be deplored, but how much more will the "gentle reader" be astonished when we inform that up to the year A.D. 1806 we are left in uncertainty as to the formation of any establishment of the kind alluded to, and since then until a very much later date, owing to moth or mismanagement, no records have survived."

The magazine cannot be described as devoted exclusively to information regarding sports and amusements of the Europeans. It did comprise valuable information about those Indian sportsmen and adventurers, who excelled in different fields. In 1833, the Sports Magazine published a graphic description of Alwunt Singh's tiger hunt. He was described by "a Rajput Zemindar" with a unique record of hunting adventures. Thus as early as 1833 there was no dearth of good sportsmen in this country. In the arena of Cricket, there were batsmen like Hollings of the Cuttack Club who scored an unbeaten century against the 'Station of Cuttack and Vicinity' team and bowlers like Francis and Paton, who could send the Cuttack Club in another inning back to the pavillion for a humble score of 28 runs.

Music, which was a chief source of amusement of the people of Calcutta; formed an important item of the Bengal Sporting Magazine. Writing about a great musical genius of the time, Signor Masoni, the Magazine commented :

"Signor Masoni is a man of genius, a devotee in music, and a modest, unaffected individual ; three circumstances that strongly dispose people

to support his undertakings. But Signor Masoni cannot impart talents to his neighbours, nor can he always make such selections for his Concerts, as are dictated by good taste, and the reputation of certain composers; in plain words, he must cut his coat according to his cloth and when he does this, his garment, seeing that the cloth is rather scarce must be somewhat scanty. In saying this, we beg not to be understood as casting the least reflection on the instrumental departments of the Concerts; there unquestionably the talent, though centred in Amateurs, is extensive and invariably affords satisfaction."

The casual reports about sports and pastimes which appeared in the contemporary newspapers, particularly, the Englishman, or the John Bull; the Indian Register, the India Gazette and the Mofussil Akhbar, found a frequent mention among the pages of this monthly newspaper.

Poetry, it seems was a favourite occupation of the editor, who gave an ample testimony of his interest in poetic compositions among the columns of the Bengal Sporting Magazine. Shelley, Byron, Scott, Moore, Somerville; Phoscophornic Foggins and many other poets and their works found a place of honour in this periodical. An interesting article, published in 1833, came from the pen of one Albinus Heatherby, of Chowringhee, Calcutta, under the title "Sir Walter Scott—A Sportsman". The article abounded in quotations from Byron, Scott and Shelley. Laughter, merriment and joy; it seems guided the

editor in the selection of poetic passages. Under 'Sorry Sonnets', it published a poem "To My Cigar". The poem is reproduced below as it contained an interesting idea: 'Tobacco is the cure for every ill'.

My poor Cigar! and art thou fallen so low?
Do blustering medicos thy powers revile
Swear that to health, thou art a deep sworn
foe.

That thou incitest headaches, stirr'st up bile
And playest the very devil with the nerves?

oh no,

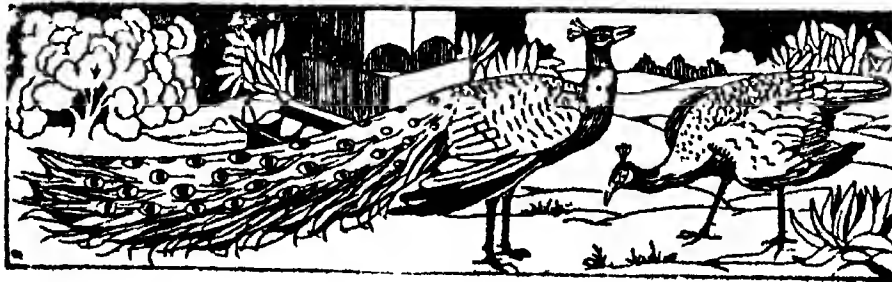
It must not, shall not, cannot sure be thou-
Solace of Sorrow,—sharer of my woe
Who didst when cares set heavy on my brow,
Smother in smoke reflections vain, and sad.-
If "written troubles from the brain you'd
root

Out," (and Brandy is not to be had)

There's naught beneath the sun like a
cheroot,

Havannah, Cinsurah, or Manilla-still
Tobacco is the cure for every ill."

Literary works published on sports were reviewed in this magazine, and a most uncommon characteristic of this early nineteenth century periodical was that the contributors were given remunerations for their contributions. The interest of the Indian rulers in sports is also evident in the casual reference to Maharja Ranjit Singh Cup, Begum Samaro Cup etc. among the columns of this Ruston's monthly.



Indian Periodicals

VIVEKANANDA OR Rammohan

Vedanta Kesari, published by the Sri Ramkrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras, gives us certain remarks of Swami Vivekananda about Raja Rammohan Roys' pioneer work for Indias regeneration. We are reproducing some passages.

The period when the Britishers were in political possession of India was, in many ways naturally, something of a dark age in India's history, but it was also a period which produced some very great Indians. One of them was Rajah Ram Mohan Roy, who is worthy of a very high place among the builders of modern India. He belonged to the generation prior to that of Sri Ramakrishna. Ram Mohan passed away in 1833 while the Paramhansa was born only in 1836 and Swami Vivekananda only in 1863. Swami Vivekananda with his keen historic sense always evinced a deep regard for Ram Mohan—whom he once introduced to an American group as 'the great Hindu reformer who was a wonderful example of (this) unselfish work.' Referring to his stopping the burning of widows the Swami remarked, 'It is usually believed that this reform was due entirely to the English, but it was Rajah Ram Mohan Roy who started the agitation against the custom and succeeded in obtaining the support of the Government in suppressing it. Until he began the movement, the English had done nothing.'

Whenever Swami Vivekananda analysed the causes of India's backwardness in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries he pointed out that it was because the nation narrowed itself, went into its shell and refused to give its jewels and its treasures to the rest of mankind that it fell. And

he always saluted Rajah Ram Mohan as the man who gave the right call to the nation at a critical moment. In an address to the people of Calcutta given in 1897 the Swami paid a signal tribute to the Rajah, saying, 'Every one of you knows that that little stir, the little life that you see in India begins from the day when Rajah Ram Mohan Roy broke through the walls of that exclusiveness. Since that day, history in India has taken another turn, and now it is growing with accelerated motion.'

ECONOMIC PLANNING

Prabuddha Bharata analyses the "perspective needs of Modern Indian Planning" in the October 1963 number. Some of the conclusions are reproduced.

It is well-known that the U.S.S.R. was the first country in the world to adopt centralized planning, as an instrument of economic development in the twenties of this century. To be precise 1927-1932 was the first plan period of Russia.

Ten years of intensive economic planning rendered the Soviet Union so powerful economically and militarily that it was able to face and repulse one of the biggest invasions of history.

The spectacular Russian experiment, example and success caught the imagination of the developing nations. The newly free nations coming out of the spell of colonial rule found in the creed of the economic planning the only hope for speedy improvement of their standard of living from sub-human conditions.

In the post second world war period there has been a powerful swing to planning in most of the developing nations. It is well realized that unless these nations collectively harness all their resources and make planned efforts to improve their conditions they will never see the day of their expected

tions. So the *laissez-faire* creed has lost all respectability and acceptability among developing nations.

History of Modern Indian Planning is briefly as :

- (a) Undoubtedly the inspiration for Indian planning came from Russia.
- (b) Even under British rule there has been a good deal of thinking in India on this subject.
- (c) The first to advocate Planning for India was Sir Visveswarayya, who published in 1934 the first book on planning entitled, *Planned Economy for India*.
- (d) In 1937 Indian National Congress set up National Planning Committee. But owing to political vicissitudes the work of the Committee remained suspended from 1942 to 1946. The Committee was able to submit its plan only in 1949.
- (e) In March 1950 the Government of India appointed the Planning Commission with Prime Minister as the Chairman.
- (f) The First Five Year Plan was published in 1952.

The First Five Year Plan ended on March 31, 1956.

The Second Plan came into force from April 1, 1956.

The Third Five Year Plan came into force in April 1, 1961.

Then there was the ad hoc plan for 1966-67.

In regard to the Fourth Plan a news item, New Delhi, November 10, 1967 said :

The Planning Commission, today decided to begin the Fourth Plan only from April 1969.

The new Plan will for 1969-70 to 1974-75. Next year there will be only an annual plan. The years between the end of the Third Plan and next Plan will be treated as annual Plan periods.

The sagacity of Russian Planning was here : that they planned entirely on their own resources, as far as we know. Whereas India planned

considerably on expectations of foreign help. This made Indian Planning nervous, uncertain and unrealistic.

Russians officially adopted a philosophy which accept matter as the ultimate fact of existence. And they base their planning squarely on this philosophy of materialism.

Whereas in India by and large people do not believe that there is nothing more than matter to existence. Yet for all practical purposes they too have based their planning on the assumption that matter alone mattered.

This has created a dichotomy in the heart of Indian people; the effects of which are yet to be fully and widely apprehended.

RAMMOHAN ROY

Visva-Bharati News reproduces what the Great Poet Rabindranath Tagore said about Raja Rammohan Roy in 1933. The opening paragraphs are given below :

It takes time to understand and appreciate any rare personality who comes at an age when his country has lost itself and contradicts its own majesty. His voice sounds painfully discordant only because the people have allowed the strings of their own instrument to slacken and fail to make them harmonise with the music of truth which once originated in the sublime height of their nature.

Rammohan Roy was one such man who had been rudely rejected by his country which refused to be reminded of the responsibility of its great inheritance while clinging with desperate infatuation to its degeneracy. But the occasion was urgent and therefore his appearance in the midst of an angry annoyance was inevitable. He came to represent the change of season which must follow the long indigence of drought and bring the wealth of shower which inspires in the heart of a parched up bareness a magnificence of life. It seems like a bewildering surprise, such a shifting of scene, and its fulness of meaning must wait to be unfolded till the harvest ripens and the reapers no longer hesitate to acknowledge it. Rammohan.

came to his countrymen as an unwelcome accident stupendously out of proportion to his surroundings, and yet he was the man for whom our history has been watching through the night, the man who is to represent in his life the complete significance of the spirit and mission of the land to which he belonged. It was a lonely life, but it had for its comrades the noble path-seekers who preceded him in India, whose courage was supreme in their adventure of truth.

CONTROL OF HUMAN HOSTILITY

Professor K. E. Moyer of Pittsburg University has carried out researches in the scientific control of the desire to fight. A shortened version of his paper on the future prospects of neurophysiology and neurosurgery has been published in *Science and Culture*. We are reproducing certain passages from it.

I must first say that I believe that brain research can contribute to a peaceful world. It will, and in fact it must.

It appears that the scientists in brain research today stand on a threshold similar to the one on which the atomic physicists stood in the early 1940s. The control of aggressive behaviour by physiological means is already here, and the scope of that control is going to increase as our understanding of the brain increases. We can only hope to consider widely the manner in which that knowledge can be used.

It is generally recognized that animals have well organized circuits in the brain which when activated results in hostile or aggressive behaviour. But there are a number of kinds of aggressive behaviour and each has a different physiological basis and is controlled by a different part of the brain. Thus experiments have shown if a friendly cat is stimulated in one particular part of the brain through an implanted electrode, it will ignore the experimenter and attack an available rat; but if it is stimulated in another part, the cat will ignore the rat and attack the experimenter.

It seems clear that man is not free of these aggressive circuits. King reports the case of a mild mannered female patient who became aggressive and threatened to strike the experimenter when she was electrically stimulated in one part of her brain. When the current was turned off, she again became mild-mannered and apologized for her behaviour. Her hostile feelings and aggressive behaviour could be turned on and off at the flick of a switch. Her interesting comments were that she felt no pain but that she did not like to feel so hostile.

Hungarian scientists have shown that maternal aggression in the rat can be directly manipulated by experimentally shifting the hormone balance. Lactating rats will attack frogs which are placed in their cages and this aggressive behaviour can be blocked by the administration of hydrocortisone.

Let us now look at the kinds of controls for aggression that are available now and those that might be available in the future.

First of all we have the educational process that several of my colleagues have suggested through which the subject may learn to inhibit his aggressive behaviour. And then we also have several physiological means at our disposal: we can, for instance interrupt some of the aggressive circuitry through surgery. Thus it has been demonstrated that the wild cat *lynx rufa* can be made tractable and friendly by an operation removing a portion of its brain.

Man is no exception. There are wild men as there are wild cats, men who have so much spontaneous firing of the aggressive circuits that they are a constant danger to themselves and to all around them. A few bold surgeons around the world have performed operations to enable these to lead peaceful if not profitable lives: in France, Professor Le Beau recommends cingulotomy in intractable cases of anger, violence and permanent agitation, and Dr. Sano of Tokyo University has had good success with lesions in the posterior hypothalamus—one of his patients even reported that he could not get angry if he wanted to.

While such technique have obvious medical applications for those suffering from pathological aggressive tendencies, what is the significance for the population at large? What manipulation will be possible 65 years from now? It is not inconceivable that specific 'anti-hostility' agents may be placed in the water supply to make a peaceful population. This is, of course, frightening, but the potential is there whether we are frightened by it or not and it will not disappear just because we ignore it.

Would this cure for war be worse than war itself? At the moment we just don't know. I submit that we had better find out as soon as

possible. It is in providing answers to problems of this kind that brain research can and must contribute to world peace.

There are many questions to be answered. I will mention just a few:

—Is it possible to reduce hostility without also affecting the intellect and ambitions?

--Is it possible to reduce hostility without reducing initiative and creativity?

—Is it possible to reduce hostility without reducing man's resistance to injustice and oppression?

To all these questions, the answer is: we do not know. Research is the way to find out.

Foreign Periodicals

WEST GERMAN SPIES

When Admiral Herrman Luedke committed suicide or was murdered, there were suspicions that he had not been very discreet about NATO secrets relating to "location of food and ammunition dumps, spare parts, atom bombs" and everything else. Had he been spying for Russia he could have given out every information of military value without any difficulty. Sebastian Haffner, writing in *NEW STATESMAN* says that suspicions against Admiral Luedke were based on the discovery of "some negatives of secret Nato documents" that "had unaccountably strayed into films of family snapshots which Luedke handed in for developing at a Bonn photographic shop." He was asked by his fellow officers to explain how this happened

No one knows or will tell what his explanations were. He committed suicide or was murdered soon after this. The NATO organisation had to be reshuffled most probably in order to counter the effects of secrets given out. Several suicides followed this and the persons who died were such as might have known military secrets. German security is being doubted. This cannot be tolerated by the Germans. But the writer in *NEW STATESMAN* takes rather a dim view of what he describes as "complicated, pedantic and self-defeatingly perfectionist in true German style. There are three overlapping, Competing and ill coordinated services: federal intelligence under the Chancellor, military security under the Defence Minister and constitutional protection under the Home Office. Theoretically it is all

wonderfully neatly thought out: federal intelligence is to operate abroad, military security is meant to deal with counter espionage at home, constitutional protection with non military official secrets on the home front. In practice, of course, each institution tries to do everything." In the opinion of the writer spying is done now on a grand and international scale and "keeping secrets a hopeless business." Be that as it may no nation can afford to tolerate spies. Those who do spying against their own nation are doubly despicable. Those who change their personality to do this work for their own nation are quite often very brave and intelligent persons. The question of nationality however cannot be very clearly and precisely answered were nations like east and west Germany are concerned. Pakistan and India are in the same boat. In such cases identities are easy to change and very difficult to detect.

BRITISH SPIES

Two servicemen, Douglas Ronald Britten and Robin Douglas Claude, were sentenced to 21 years and 5 years imprisonment by Lord Parker at the Old Bailey for spying. Both were spying for money according to the reports in the Manchester GUARDIAN Weekly.

THE BRITISH RICH

How rich are rich in Britain? Discussing the possibilities of a Wealth Tax in Britain Roger Opie says in NEW STATESMAN that according to some a Wealth Tax commencing at 1% with properties of £50000 and rising progressively may yield £250—£300m. per annum. The writer goes on to say "certainly there are plenty of incomes that even in these cruelly penal days seem quite large—even the Inland Revenue knows of some 200 that exceed £20000 AFTER TAX, and over 1000 that exceed £10000! Allowing for a little tax evasion here and there, there must be well over 100000 people who receive more than £100 a week NET OF tax." Converted to rupees £100 a week comes to Rs 93600/- per annum; £10000 to Rs. 180000/- and £20000 to Rs. 360000/-. If there are 100000 persons who have a spending income of Rs. 93600/- or more p. annum the total of that would be considerably more than Rs. 9360000000. The investing capacity of these top 100000 persons should be 300/400 crores annually. There must be a further 1000000 persons who can invest another 300/400 crores. There would then be the small investors and the business houses whose savings would be capitalised too. The total of all these would be a very large sum.

Book Review

MAHATMA GANDHI 100 YEARS

Published under the auspices of the National Committee for the Gandhi Centenary by Orient Longmans Limited, and Edited by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan (Price Rs. 17.50), this book is a collection of essays and reflections on Gandhi written in honour of his birth centenary by some eminent men and women of our time. Among the contributors are prominent men of letters, Lawyers, Politicians, Leaders of Religious Orders, from all over the world. Diverse facts of Gandhi's personality are presented by Louis Fischer, Valerian Cardinal Garcias, Emperor Haile Selassie, Kiesinger, the Earl Mountbatton of Burma, Father Dominique Pire, Herbert Read, Mikhail Sholokhov, Arnold Toynbee to mention but a few of the many non-Indian contributors, while among the contributions from India there are those by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, M. C. Chagla, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, C. Rajagopalachari, and a host of others.

The Editor is rightly of the opinion that this Centenary provides an opportunity to consider the impact of Gandhi's life and thought on India and the world. This is specially necessary when one bears in mind the fact that twenty years have gone by since the assassination of Gandhi, and a new generation throughout the world has

grown up imbibing knowledge of him as of a figure from the pages of history. Not having had the opportunity of seeing at first hand the tremendous impact of Gandhi's personality and philosophy upon the Masses in India as also upon a portion of the intelligentsia throughout the world, their perspective of Gandhi's life and his influence is quite often incorrect due to lack of knowledge. Gandhi's insistence on Ahimsa, his application of the doctrine of the dignity of all men to Indian society, and his advocacy of the universal brotherhood of man were ridiculed by some during his lifetime. Worshipped and revered by others, but never ignored or overlooked by society at large. Gandhi was a towering figure to the average man because he attempted to combine ethics and moral precepts with political aspirations.

In a world still torn by the creed of selfishness & violence, the ideals of Gandhi shine as does a solitary star against a dark and turbulent sky. For this reason only must these ideals be placed before generations of men continuously, and this collection of essays therefore should be appreciated by a large section of the reading public for many years to come.

Lakshmi Chatterji

Editor—ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

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